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THE INDIAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY REVIEW

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Special Number on
South Indian Temples

Edited by BURTON STEIN

Volume XIV *January-March 1977* *Number 1*

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Introduction

These several essays seek to say something new about South Indian temples. Each pursues different questions or problems according to the interests of its author; all speak to only a fragment of the ramified and changing functions and meanings of Hindu temples. The essays are presented here to stimulate discussion and, it is hoped, research which reaches beyond the cumulative scholarly quest for understanding Hindu temples, a quest which is of two centuries duration.

The methods which shape and the sources which inform these essays are, to some extent, those to which all scholars have turned for understanding and for communicating their understandings of these complex institutions. But, in some respects, both methods and sources are different from those of the learned predecessors in this task. Thus, inscriptions, puranas, and early eye-witness reports continue to provide the major sources of information about temples until quite recent times Each of these kinds of evidence involve methods appropriate to their idiom, methods which historians have long used to study temples and other elements of premodern life in South India. More recently, however, legal, administrative, and census evidence have come to figure in the analysis of temples, and these sources prefigure appropriate and different methodologies. The variability of sources and methods stem from the diachronic emphases of these essays In the case of only one, the work of Dennis Hudson, is there some deviation from the explicitly diachronic focus, and here the voice of the ethnographic present does not preclude the concern with change which occupies the other essays.

Why scholars of South India, generation after generation, return to the study of Hindu temples, is a question that may be answered in simple or complex ways. The simple answer is that like the mighty mountains they are often intended to resemble to the eye, they are there; and temples have been there for over a millennium Temples command attention in being the most enduring and grand monuments in the South of India. They have inspired the architectural creativity of South Indians, as the tombs and fortified palaces of the Muslim rulers of the north of India and the Deccan did for centuries; and great religious structures moved Europeans and Mayans in a contemporary period, or the archaic Egyptians and Harappans long before. To generations of scholarly witnesses of life in South India, the Hindu Temple was a compellingly attractive subject, because it was equally attractive to the South Indians these scholars sought to understand. Nor was it only in South India that the temple was observed to exercise this attraction, as is known from the reports of early Chinese Buddhist pilgrims.

Yet, it is widely assumed that the temple came to be more important in the lives of the people of the southern peninsula of the Indian subcontinent than in the lives and cultures of those of the North. Perhaps this was, as often argued, a consequence of the hostile context created for the public worship of Hindu deities by Muslim dominance in North India after the thirteenth century. That may be true, but it may also be true that the Hindu temple, from even pre-Muslim times, occupied a different place for South Indian Hindus than for North Indian Hindus. These essays do not take up the questions of differences among the several cultural regions of India—questions of the highest potential interest—but it must at least be considered that such differences were substantial, and not simply because of the Muslim presence, but because Hindus in various parts of the subcontinent perceived the shrines of their gods in essentially very different ways. One implication of this observation is that the various viewpoints and findings in these essays should not be construed as universal characteristics of Hinduism during the medieval or modern period. A greater degree of complexity in Indian Hinduism should be anticipated in this vast subcontinental civilization, just as complexity is the clearest attribute of the temple itself in South India.

It is precisely this complexity which makes the answer to the question of why temples are objects of endless scholarly fascination, a complex one. It could scarcely be otherwise when it is recognized that many South Indian Hindu temples are centuries old, and that each of the thousands of temples has a separate past. This past begins with its being one sacred place (*tīrtha*) among numerous others, a place of sacred performances, vows and supplications for local people as well as, in many cases, for persons of distant places. Of these many sacred places, some seized the interest (whether pious or self-aggrandizing) of a powerful local personage with the resources to build a modest or even magnificent shelter or palace for the deity of the place.

The term *kōyil* in Tamil preserves the dual conception of temples as shelters for deities and for kings; the word means both temple and palace. However magnificent the structure, the essential sacredness or importance of any sacred place is not to be measured in architectural terms alone. All sacred places are important to some devotees. But, it is clear that some such places became more important than others as this may be inferred from the number of pilgrims who thronged their precincts, the celebration of their fame in the sacred songs of Siva hymnists (*nāyanārs*) or Vishnu hymnists (*āḻvārs*), and the inscriptions incised on their walls.

Careers of temples may have been long—some were established in very ancient times and are still important in the present day—or short; but, each underwent changes which have been recorded in a way deemed appropriate by its supporters in accounts of the place. These accounts (*sthalapurāṇas*) are an aspect of the pasts of temples and of obvious interest to those wishing to understand temples in South India.

Changes in the development of single temples are not the focus of the essays here. It is rather the relationship of temples to other institutions with which temples are linked. Empirically and conceptually, South Indian temples were linked to other institutions in South Indian society by multiplex strands. It is these complex and integrated relationships which give to South Indian temples a major part of their consuming interest. Temples could not but reflect, and in fact influence, the totality of relationships within local societies of South India during medieval times and in more recent times. As the most significant locus of public information through its inscriptions, its varied constituent groups, and its special relationships with locally powerful groups and at times the most powerful of all, kings of the regions in which temples were—because of all of this, temples provide the best evidence available on the most important changes in society. They also provide hints as to why such changes occurred. Temples draw our attention as perhaps the most sensitive institution for registering changes in the surrounding society, certainly in South India.

Put another way, South Indian temples summed a varied set of social, political, and cultural relationships; at any time, the social composition of temples was the outcome of numerous and diverse social actions among local and supralocal people the meanings of which were clear to all. In this sense, the temple is the complex and transitory outcome of an extraordinary range of relationships (interactions and transactions); a temple is a statement about its constituent social groupings. The reading of such dynamic social situations requires of the researcher a sensitivity which is equal to the sensitivity of the temple institution itself in registering these most complicated and often "heated" interrelations. To consider the temple in the sort of isolation or compartmentalization as modern western religious institutions are considered is to commit the same violence upon truth and reality as when the Indian village is taken as a self-sufficient isolate. The solipsistic error, in both cases, is perilous.

Compartmentalizing the temple as just another of many South Indian institutions, and viewing the temple either as a sectarian sodality or as a bureaucratic institution under its managers (*sthanattars*), certainly imperils an adequate understanding of authority and dominance in medieval and early modern South India. The presence of kingly, great chiefly, or minor chiefly personages at large and small temples may be, and often is, taken either to be the expression of personal piety of such personages or of their dharmic, protective responsibility which extended equally to other spheres of South Indian life. It is the argument of all of these essays—in one way or another—that temples were in fact the prime locus of authority and dominance issues and decisions. In no other social or cultural context were matters pertaining to authority and dominance so explicitly raised and resolved as in temples.

This orientation with respect to the temple is somewhat more explicit in the central question or problem of some of the following essays than in others. The central question in the essay by Stein is: what factor or factors account for the particular configuration of over two thousand temples during the Vijayanagara period of the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries? Having determined that temples devoted to Siva deities declined relatively, at about the same rate that temples devoted to independent goddesses (*amman*) increased, the question of why this should have been so is considered. The answer is framed in terms of differential patterns of local dominance situations, especially whether local dominance was exercised by subcaste groups of the same larger caste category of the region, or whether by groups of different caste categories. Appadurai's central question even more explicitly turns on authority and dominance. The question which emerges from his analysis of sectarian fission among Sri Vaishnavas during the Vijayanagara period is: why were sectarian leaders and their constituencies as involved with kingly figures and temples as they were? Here, dominance patterns of realm, region and locality are engaged through the confrontation and conciliation of the diverse objectives of authoritative spokesmen from powerful warrior-groups, sectarian followerships, and temple organizations. Breckenridge's essay takes a close and graphic look at the question of authority and dominance in relation to temples. Why, she asks, was the Raja of Ramnad so intensely engaged in conflicts involving ritual and management over temples at a time, in the late nineteenth century, when his royal position with respect to British power was growing precarious or, at least, anomalous? Why were temples, and the Raja's relationship with, and participation in, them considered so vital to his interests? Her answer, framed in terms of inscriptional as well as legal evidence, focuses on the changing relationship between the social context of temples and royal rituals. In his study of the Cittirai festival in Madurai, Hudson discovers a popular myth which links two distinct temple festivals into a single event. The marriage of the deities Siva and Minakshi, celebrated in Madurai, is popularly understood to involve a nearby Vishnu deity, considered to be a brother of the goddess. Vishnu's journey (i.e. the procession of the deity) toward Madurai to attend the marriage is annually frustrated by the news that the marriage was completed before Vishnu could arrive on the scene. Hudson's question of why this popular mythology came into existence in the seventeenth century is answered by the proposal that it served as a means for the regional king, the Tirumala Nayaka of Madurai, to express his superordinate position over the Kaḷḷar devotees of Vishnu in the area. The idiom is kinship and marriage; the purpose is to express a problematic political relationship between the Nayakas and the warrior, Kaḷḷar folk of his realm. Hardy has raised the question of the meaning of the temple for Sri Vaishnava worshippers as this may be understood from the interaction of theological, cultural, and aesthetic formulations of Vaishnava hymnists and theologians of the sixth to the sixteenth centuries as well as more recent literary productions. Three principal interpretational foci are considered: the theological or philosophical conception of *arcavatāra;* the powerful emotional poetry of Sri Vaishnava hymnists (*āḻvārs*), and those mythic works (*sthalapurāṇas*) which intend to place a temple into a temporal and spatial universe and social context. Each of these interpretations draws upon a different idiom and each derives from different cultural sources, but all together merge as a distinctive Tamil variant of Hinduism.

These problematic issues are distillates of the present essays. Their formulation calls upon the long-standing interest of each of the writers in the temple and society in South India. An opportunity to present versions of the papers (except that of Hardy) occurred in August 1976, during the 30th International Congress of the Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa, in Mexico City. The present collection preserves much of the discussion in Mexico City. In "Temples in Tamil Country, 1300-1750 A.D.," Stein makes use of a series of volumes of the Madras State (Tamil Nadu) census of 1961, which surveys temples of the State. From this census data, 2,035 shrines which achieved importance between 1300 and 1750 A.D. are analyzed in order to form an estimate of the aggregative pattern of temple construction and worship during Vijayanagara times. The census data are analyzed in a set of categories: the time of major construction in four periods of about a century; the principal deity (Siva, Vishnu, Ganesha, Murugan, Amman, "other") worshipped; and the spatial distribution of these shrines according to the important cultural territory, *maṇḍalam.* Appadurai's, "Kings, Sects and Temples in South India; 1350-1700 A.D.," locates the origin of recent temple politics in South India in the period of the consolidation of the Vijayanagara kingdom over the Tamils. Then, authoritative relations, which in other political traditions are divided between religious and political hierarchies, were combined in a single authority system. Sri Vaishnava temples occupied a strategic place as the locus of ritual and economic exchanges between Telugu warriors seeking to establish their dominance over Tamil country and Tamil Vaishnava sectarian leaders. The enduring legitimacy of the former in Tamil country was achieved largely through exchanges at temples. A by-product of these interactions was the division of Sri Vaishnava sectarians into two subsects, Vadakalai and Teṉkalai; these sectarian subgroups during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries became competitors for temple control. Breckenridge deals with the crisis of a minor, South Indian kingly house, the Setupati Rājās of Ramnad, confronted with British courts and law, and the recourse of this royal house to the elaborate celebration of the Navarātri festival as a means of renewing its authority. Her "From Protector to Litigant—Changing Relations Between Temples and the Rājā of Ramnad" provides a dense description of the Navarātri festival of 1892 based on an eye-witness account. This festival has been one of the most popular public and domestic ritual events in South India for centuries; as a kingly ritual it is an elaborate and incorporative ritual performance of ten days duration. Then, through an examination of a set of temple inscriptions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Rājā's crucial role as donor in and protector over temples in his realm is established. Finally, the intervention of British judicial institutions is examined through several court cases. Shown here is the fundamental alteration of the Raja's role in temples and the subsequent divestment of his kingly qualities.

Hudson's previous research on the Cittirai (Citra) festival in Madurai brought to his attention the popular myth of the kinship relationship of the deities Siva, Minakshi and Vishnu. Though unrelated in a formal sense, two concurrent temple festivals are merged as a single expressive event for the people of Madurai and its vicinity. In the present essay, "Siva, Minakshi and Vishnu—Reflections on a Popular Myth of Madurai," Hudson attempts to discover the meanings expressed in the festival event. This leads him to the detailed examination of the idiom of family kinship (*kulam*) in which the popular myth is expressed and the marriage of Siva and Minakshi involving Vishnu as the brother of the goddess, hence the brother-in-law of Siva. By this means, the socio-political structure of Madurai and its vicinity is homologized as a unity, but one in which there are tensions The tension of the brother-in-law relationship in the South Indian system of cross-cousin marriage provides the popular structure of meaning for understanding and expressing tensions between the foreign Telugu dynasty of Nayakas established at Madurai during the seventeenth century and the indigenous, locally dominant Kaḷḷar people. Again, kingship is seen as expressively realized in temple ritual and events involving temples. Challenges to the unity of the realm under its king are given recognition and meaning in temple ritual performance. Finally, Hardy perceives an evolving set of understandings or interpretations of the temple for Tamil Sri Vaishnavas which result from the interaction of two cultures. One is the philosophical or theological culture of Sanskrit which perceives Vishnu as placed in a local temple as a manifestation (*arcavatāra*) of that god's universal and mythic characteristics. The other is the poetic and emotional linking of the devotee to the installed god whose attributes are those of king, lover, and child. This second culture is Tamil, its hymns of devotion are based upon earlier Tamil poetry of the *caṅkam* The full synthesis of meaning is achieved in *sthalapurāṇas* which place the temple into a mythic and thus social framework. These are complexly related elements of indigenous interpretation; they are highly variable with respect to historical conditions, on the one hand, and with respect to their expounders (*āḻvār* poets, *acharya* theologians, and *sthalapurāṇa* myth-makers), on the other hand.

It is our belief that these essays raise some new questions concerning South Indian temples in addition to addressing certain old questions in new ways. Notwithstanding several differences among these essays, in matters of scope, method, and particular focus of attention, they share a set of understandings of the South Indian temple which can be formulated in the following preliminary hypothesis. Temples play a central role in South Indian society, in virtue of their indispensability to structures of authority, at various levels. Temples come to be indispensable because of the widely shared South Indian conception that authoritative human leaders (kings both large and small, imperial and local), and the deities installed in temples, *share sovereignty.* That is to say, powerful human leaders, whether they rule empires or subcastes, in their ritual transactions with temple deities, actualize a model of rule in which neither (king or deity) is in any simple sense dispensable or dependent.

There is a temptation to propose neologisms, terms that more precisely and evocatively capture the character of sovereignty than the phrase *shared sovereignty.* "Segmented sovereignty," "partitioned sovereignty," and "reciprocal sovereignty" suggest themselves. But, each of these is deficient or extravagant in certain ways. Segmented sovereignty suggests a sameness in the attributes and dynamism of the kingly and deity expressions of sovereignty which is only partly true. For example, each has a court and each exercises sovereignty in ad hoc (administrative) rather than general and categorical (legislative) ways. But, segmented sovereignty implies so dispersed a conception of sovereignty as to distort the paradigmatic sovereignty relationship of kings and gods. Partitioned sovereignty properly denotes the divided character of sovereignty—that of a king and that of a deity—but, unfortunately, this notion implies some prior unity which has been divided and thus raises questions about origins and prior conditions which are neither important nor relevant. Reciprocal sovereignty implies process and especially transactions and thus correctly underlines the feature of exchanges as the expression and essential medium of sovereignty in the South Indian case. However, reciprocal, because it is contrastive with redistribution in much usage, obscures the crucial pooling and redistribution of resources which occur in the context and thus in the expression of sovereignty.

It may further be argued that traditional South Indian political communities are *communities of worship,* communities ultimately defined by their recognition of the shared sovereignty of their human rulers and their temple deities. This recognition is observed in the ritual contexts of South Indian temples, but it is not merely a ritual "idiom." The temple is the cultural and ideological context in which men and resources can be controlled, authority contested, and kingship revitalized.

This argument about the definition and articulation of traditional political communities in South India is less perverse than it seems. Indeed, criteria of caste, blood, territory, and language have united South Indians in a variety of ways, and for a variety of purposes. However, these conventional media for integrating South Indian political communities have two shortcomings. Firstly, they often define functional groupings which are not always explicitly or exclusively political in their nature and purpose; secondly, they define no *general* principle for the definition of political communities of different kinds, at different levels, and of different sizes and levels of integration. The hypothetical relationship of kings and deities presented here has the advantage of accounting, in principle, for the political implications of the smallest lineage temple as well as the largest temples favored and subsidized by imperial rulers and standing at the apex of a highly segmented polity Thus, the shared sovereignty of human rulers and temple deities is the *defining feature* of premodern South Indian political communities which, according to context, depend on a variety of other principles (e.g., caste, clientage, territory, language) to ensure loyalty, recruitment, and dominance. To be sure, these essays do not by any means provide conclusive evidence for such a proposal. Such evidence would focus more heavily on donors and endowments representing a wide assortment of authoritative domains not explicitly discussed in these essays. But, these essays constitute reasonable basis for a preliminary hypothesis of this sort.

No introduction to a set of papers such as these would be complete without discussion of two further matters. First, there is a deep sense of indebtedness to scholars who have treated the subject of the relations of temples and society in South India. Though seeking new ways to extend knowledge of this relationship, these essays are clearly an extension of that cumulative knowledge and wisdom which has come from generations of scholars, Indians and others. This debt will be clear from references in each of the papers, and none of the writers believes that these papers, jointly or severally, do more than add to the rich tradition of scholarship that South Indian temples have inspired.

A second matter is to acknowledge what any reader will become aware of on even a cursory reading. There are many relevant issues which are not, or are barely, touched on in these papers. Among them are the following. No attention is given to general and comparative questions of theology, theogony and ritual. Agamic texts, manuals of temple ritual, are barely discussed, nor is notice taken of somewhat similar studies of temples in other parts of India such as Bengal, Orissa, and elsewhere. Another gap in the discussion here is that there is no explicit attention given to contemporary or near contemporary political and social activities centered upon temples in the modern, bureaucratic context of India. Still another subject upon which there has been much creative scholarship is that of temple architecture, and this subject, though implied in some of the discussions below is not considered explicitly. Again, in these papers there are no comparisons of Hindu temples in South India and other sacred places and centers such as mosques, Jaina temples, Christian churches, and those sacred places marked by stones or splashes of color on trees or walls. Finally, none of the papers carefully examines the matter of what the South Indian temple's social and material catchment area is. All temples depend not only upon enduring participation and support by some groups, but the periodic participation of others during occasional festivals; and the issue of temples in relation to community formation is barely touched on.

The recital of what has not figured in the analyses of these papers is not meant merely to acknowledge their limited scope, but to suggest some of the many subjects to which attention should be given if this scholarly generation is to pay its dues to the fellowship of scholars who have always been attracted to the study of temples in South India.

BURTON STEIN
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Temples in Tamil Country, 1300-1750 A.D.*

BURTON STEIN
University of Hawaii

INTRODUCTION: QUESTIONS

This is a preliminary analysis of important structural shrines devoted to Hindu deities in Tamil country between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. The discussion is preliminary in a number of ways. It is, first of all, incomplete. The study does not take up the question of prevailing and perhaps changing contexts of religious practice and doctrine in South India during the several centuries under study. Nor is attention given to the prevailing and perhaps changing context of resource control and availability. On these and related matters, there is a growing corpus of published research.

The present discussion is preliminary in yet other and perhaps more important ways. It is based upon evidence of questionable validity; its methodology is based upon assumptions that are also questionable; and the principal finding on the relationship of Siva and Amman temples is too startling, perhaps, to be accepted without considerably more research.

Even so preliminary a study of temples of medieval Tamil Nadu is valuable, however, in that it seeks to identify and explain certain heretofore neglected features of what most South Indian historians have agreed is one of the most important institutions in Tamil society—the Hindu temple. It is widely agreed that in devotional (*bhakti*) Hinduism, the temple bridged social and cultural stress points in earlier centuries as they appear yet to do. Temples linked towns and their rural hinterlands; religious groupings (*sampradāyas*) lodged in temples incorporated new peoples within the context of the devotional religion, offering new conceptions of deity which assimilated different levels and kinds of religious experiences and affiliations; temples constituted an arena in which the ancient locality populations of Tamil country and the new, intermediary level of political authority of the Vijayanagara period of the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries were linked. The temple was the chief focus of all of these facets of society of the time. Yet, notwithstanding this widely recognized focal character of Hindu temples, almost nothing of an aggregative character has come to be known about temples. Where and when were structural temples constructed or enlarged beyond their often ancient and modest bases? To what deities were they devoted? Are there patterns that can be discerned and underlying processes that can be suggested about the temporal and spatial distribution of Hindu temples in Tamil country? These queries guide the present discussion.

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*First presented as a working paper entitled "Goddess Temples in Tamil Country, 1300-1750 A.D." to the Committee for the Study of Religion in South India, University of Chicago, 24-26 May 1974. Subsequent readings by Arjun Appadurai, Carol A. Breckenridge, and R. Nagaswamy have helped to clarify the argument.

EVIDENCE

Only the most imprecise knowledge exists about temple construction during the medieval period. Fuller understanding must await an altogether different use of inscriptional evidence than we have had heretofore,[1] together with research on the *sthalapurāṇas* and *māhātmyas* of individual temples of which we have but few Pending these developments, recourse must be had to evidence of a far less certain sort. One such body of evidence has recently become available as part of the Madras (Tamil Nadu) State Census of 1961 operation, that is, the series entitled, *Temples of Madras State.*[2] Some information on 10,542 temples[3] from the several districts of the State for which these volumes have been published has provided the basis for Table 1.

The limitations of the data upon which Table 1 is based are considerable. Not unexpectedly, coverage is a major problem. Thanjavur (Tanjore), the district with the largest number of temples in the State,[4] is not represented in

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[1] Professor George Spencer of Northern Illinois University has already embarked on a scheme of computer analysis of inscriptional data; others engaged in such work are N. Karashima and Y. Subbarayalu

[2] India (Republic), Census Commissioner, *Census of India*, 1961, Vol. IX, *Madras*, Part XI-D, *Temples of Madras State*: i, Chingleput and Madras City (1965); ii, Tiruchirapalli and South Arcot (1966); iii, Coimbatore and Salem (1968); iv, North Arcot and Nilgiris (1968); v. Kanya Kumari and Tirunelveli, vi, Ramanathapuram and Madurai (1969); and vii, Thanjavur, part 1 (under the altered title of "Temples of Tamilnadu") (1971).

[3] This figure is provided in the Thanjavur volume, p. xxiv.

[4] *Ibid.*, v. 7, Thanjavur, pt. 1 provides an estimate of 1809 temples for the district. Of these, 277 are discussed; the remainder are merely reported to have been distributed according to presiding deity as follows:

Deity	*Number*	*Per cent of Total*
Siva	914	51
Vishnu	426	24
Murugan	57	3
Ganesha	127	7
Amman	173	10
Other	112	6

tables because comparable data on the chronological and taluk distribution of temples in that district had not been published, when this analysis was undertaken and completed This has required the exclusion of Chōḷamaṇḍalam from the tables presented here and thus reduces the reliability of the overall analysis of the 1961 survey data. In the following discussion, it is also to be borne in mind that not all of the temples which were actually constructed in the period from 1300 A.D. to 1750 A.D. were surveyed in the Census volumes. The criterion for inclusion in the Census survey of temples was that temples be consecrated, functioning institutions. Many temples constructed over these several centuries have been abandoned; some were destroyed. Another source of error pertains to the presiding deity of temples during the time of the survey. Except where inscriptional evidence from the medieval period exist and were consulted, there is no way of determining whether the present deity was the original one. This does not merely refer to changes in the name of the deity, from one to another Siva appellation, for example. Such name changes seem to have occurred, but for the present purposes, these would not be important whereas a change from a Siva deity to a Vishnu deity, for example, would be.

Finally, and perhaps most hazardously of all, the dating of temples was based upon architectural features primarily, and in about a quarter of the cases, this information was not known or clear to the survey personnel. Nor were the survey personnel trained to make informed judgments on the basis of such features. Architectural features were grouped into well known stylistic categories beginning with those of the Pallava period and concluding with "modern" features from the late eighteenth century on.[5]

The procedure followed in this analysis was to consider the age of temple as that when its dominant architectural features were established. On that basis, each temple was assigned to one of the four time periods of this study. Major sacred places in Tamil country, as elsewhere, were often places of ancient sanctity, and in many temples, the sanctorum (*garbhagṛiham*) may date from the Pallava period (c. seventh to tenth centuries A.D.). However, most temples in Tamil country possess an overall architectural quality which can be associated with later eras when major construction occurred. And, even if some construction was undertaken at even later times, the modal architectural character of a particular temple would change but little.

Were elements of architectural style the sole criterion for dating (as perhaps assisted by inscriptional evidence) and were each temple enumerated in the

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It may be noted that the general proportions of the distribution resembles that of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, perhaps reflecting the fact that the latter area was, after the Kavērī, the principal locus of Chola authority.

[5] These features together with sketches are discussed in the first of the survey volumes to be published, vol. i, 'Chingleput and Madras City,' pp. 6-8, and again in vol. vii, "Thanjavur," pp. xxviii-xxxiv.

Census volumes appraised at its site by trained enumerators, few could cavil about the dating of these thousands of temples. However, this procedure was not followed in most cases; questionnaires and site evaluations by untrained personnel were resorted to in many cases. This error factor is compounded by the propensity of respondents and local "experts" to exaggerate the age, hence the venerability, of temples; at other times, spite or malice may have led to the opposite distortion of the age of some temples. These and other potential sources of error appear to have been taken into account by the compilers of the Census volumes on temples.

According to the summary statements for each district in the several volumes, temples whose major architectural features indicate construction between about 600 and 1750 A.D. constituted approximately one quarter of all the temples surveyed. However, based upon a detailed examination of the date presented in the volumes, this presumed proportion appears to be low: a truer estimate would be closer to thirty or thirty-five per cent of the temples surveyed falling within these dates.[6]

METHODS

To underestimate the many probable sources of error in the data displayed in the accompanying tables would certainly be rash. However, to reject the evidence provided by the 1961 Census temple survey because of its errors and incompleteness would be equally rash. For to do so means either to ignore the potential value of aggregative analysis or to revert to the usual impressionistic methodology of historical research on aggregative aspects of the question. Statistical procedures exist to assess the limits of reliability of findings involving evidence which is quantifiable, and these procedures have been followed in the present analysis. The number of temples is large enough to provide safeguards against incorrect inferences about general trends from the evidence, provided of course, that there has been no systematic error in the basic data themselves. No such systematic error in the evidence appears to exist,[7] and the statistical test for reliability and significance of the data presented in Table 1 provides the basis for proceeding with confidence in the analysis and interpretation of the evidence.[8]

[6] According to the summary statements for each district in their respective volumes (and excluding Thanjavur and Kanya Kumari for which there are no summary statements, 2,066 are stated to date from the seventh century to 1750 A.D. However, Tables 1 and 2 are based upon 2,035 temples, all of which have certain dates attributed to them and these 2,035 temples are those constructed between 1300 and 1750 A.D.

[7] This is evident both from the methodological sections of each of the volumes, and as a result of the special efforts which the present writer made to ascertain the reliability of the survey findings in 1967-68 and in 1975 while in Madras.

[8] The procedure followed for the data presented in Table 1 was as follows. For each of the taluks of the four maṇḍalams, the number of temples by deity and period were entered

The presiding deities of the temples in the present analysis are designated in slightly different form than those given in the census survey volumes. In the latter, presiding deities are enumerated as: "Siva and His consort," "Vishnu and His consort," "Murugan," "Vinayagar," "Goddesses (village deities)," and "Other Deities." For the present analysis, "Ganesha," a more common name for the elephant-faced god, "Vinayagar," has been used. In place of the designation "Goddesses (village deities)," the name "Amman" has been substituted to correspond with the actual names of the presiding goddesses enumerated in the census survey, e.g., "Sri Kaliamman," "Sri Mariamman," "Sri Badrakaliamman."[9] The designation "Amman" temples also avoids the ambiguous label of "village deities," since the survey volumes take considerable care to point out that the survey was restricted to "structural shrines" and "well-known and important temples," not the great number of shrines of a less substantial and more local nature.[10] The latter are properly distinguished as "bajanai koils" or "temples for village deities" and are far more numerous than the more substantial shrines enumerated in the survey. The magnitude of difference was estimated for Chingleput district where five randomly selected villages returned a total of seventeen structural shrines of importance and a total of fifty-three village shrines. As a result, the discussion for Chingleput concluded that, for that district, there may have been as many as 2,000 village shrines as against the 404 structural shrines enumerated.[11] Finally, the temples presided over by those designated as "Other Deities" deserve preliminary mention here. For the overall sample analyzed here, temples of "Other Deities" exceeded temples devoted to Murugan and approximately equalled those presided over by Ganesha (four per cent and nine per cent respectively). Little attention will be given to this category in the analysis below, but it is well to note here that this class of deities is limited in number for the survey region as a whole, and in any single maṇḍalam or part of a maṇḍalam a few of these "other deities" turn up consistently, suggesting localized cults.[12]

Other points of procedure in analyzing the temple survey data presented here should be made. The dating of the 2,035 temples is reported in the

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into a computer and a three-way analysis of variance was performed. This analysis revealed that there were statistically significant effects for the differences shown among maṇḍalams, periods and deities as well as for interactions among the three. It is general trends alone which are of significance in these displays.

[9] *Temples of Madras State*, iii, "Coimbatore and Salem," Gopichettipalayam, pp. 34-36.

[10] *Ibid*, vii, "Thanjavur," p. xxiv.

[11] *Ibid.*, i, "Chingleput and Madras City," p 9.

[12] Thus, for example, in the Krishnagiri and Hosur taluks of Salem, the god "Hanumantharoyaswami" is popular; in Tiruchengode taluk, the "other deity" frequently worshipped is "Ammamarswami"; and in Namakkal taluk, the god "Karuppannaswami" is popular; *ibid.*, v. 3, "Coimbatore and Salem." Or again, in Nilakottai taluk and elsewhere in Madurai, the gods "Ayyanar" and "Karuppuswami" are worshipped in substantial temples as well as in more modest village shrines; *ibid.*, v. 6, "Madurai and Ramanathapuram."

census survey volumes in a form different from that in the present analysis. Temples are reported in the survey as so-many hundred years old. This has been converted into four time periods for purposes of convenience in display and to avoid attributing an accuracy which is not supportable from the basic data. Thus, a temple reported to be "three hundred years old" is shown in the analysis as dating from the period, 1650-1750 A.D. The second clarification pertains to temples of Madras City, returned in the first volume of the survey. These seventy-six temples have been excluded from the analysis for the reason that the factors involved in the construction of many, if not most, may be considered to result from European occupation and developments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only two temples are returned from here for the time before 1550 A.D. when the major settlement was what is now Mylapore.[13] The Madras city distribution is strikingly and suspiciously different from that of the surrounding countryside both with respect to the periods of construction and the proportions among presiding deities.

Finally, the method followed here is to aggregate temples by the ancient maṇḍalam to which the taluks in which the temples are found belong (Map 1). The use of the maṇḍalam region is justifiable on the grounds that this territorial unit was a major cultural category through the entire period covered by the analysis. This is known from the *maṇḍala-Śatakams*[14] and from inscriptional references.

The frailty of the data permits little more than the present gross analysis according to the broad periods of about a century and the broad spatio-cultural units of the maṇḍalams. And even here a caution must be entered. That is, in only three of the four historical maṇḍalams is there anything like complete spatial coverage: Koṅgumaṇḍalam, Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam, and Naduvilnāḍu. Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam is incomplete because its ancient northern and western portions presently comprise parts of modern states of Karnāṭaka and Āndhra, from which states no comparable temple survey data are available. And, as has been noted, Chōḷamaṇḍalam is excluded altogether because of lack of comparable data from Thanjavur district which has made most of temple returns from most of Tiruchirapalli district as well as parts of South Arcot district useless for the analysis.

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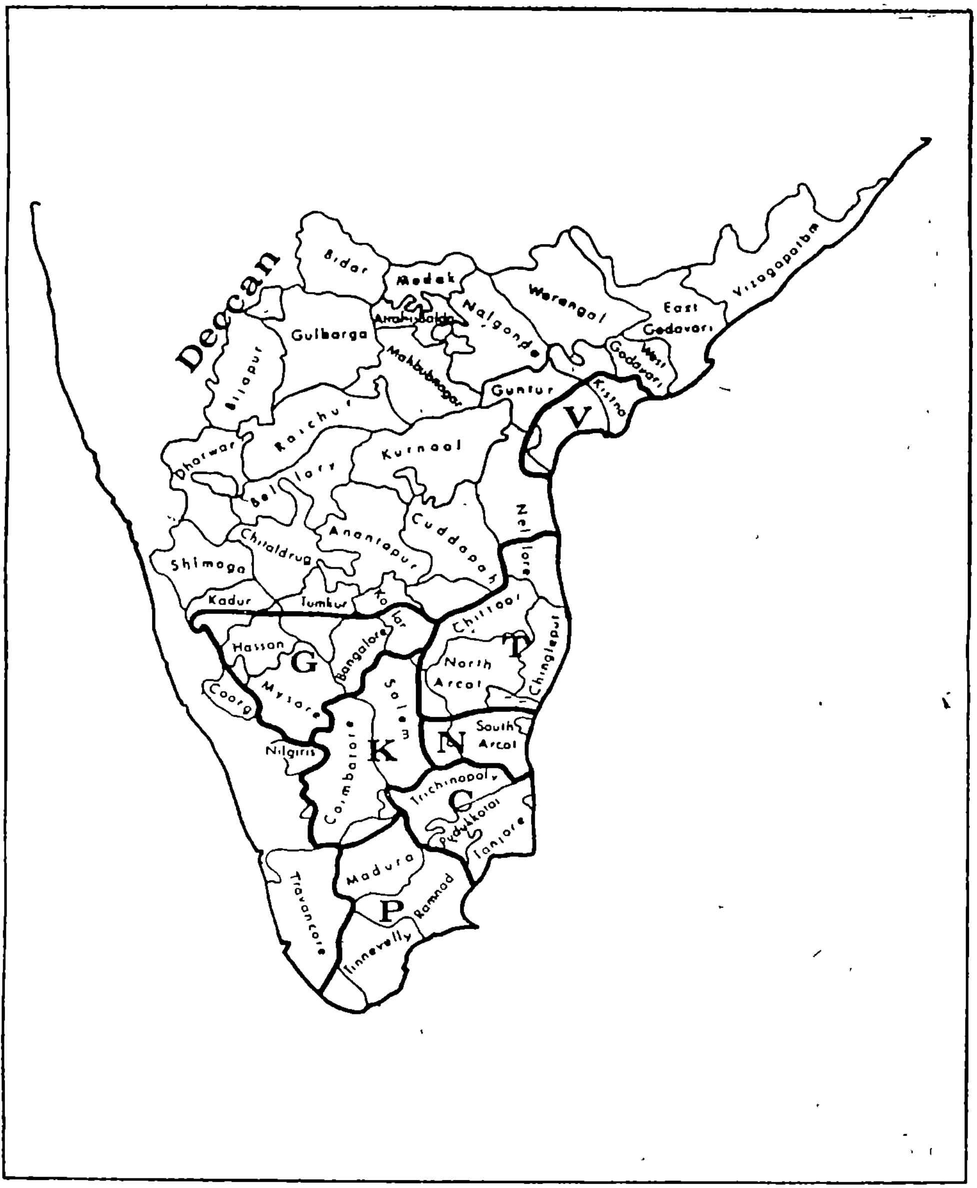
[13] K.V. Raman has drawn attention to the early religious significance of Mylapore: *The Early History of the Madras Region*, Madras, Amudha Nilayam Private Ltd., 1959, pp 189-207.

[14] The *śatakams* are: *Pāṇḍimaṇḍala Śatakam* by Aiyan Perumal Asiriyar of Madurai, Sirkali, 1932; *Chōḷamaṇḍala Śatakam* by Atmanathar Desikar Velur (1650-1728), ed. by Somasundaradesikar, Maynar, 1916; *Toṇḍaimaṇḍala Śatakam* by Paddikkasuppulavar (1686-1773), Madras, 1913; *Koṅgumaṇḍala Śatakam* by Karmegkkavinar of Vijayamangalam, ed., T. A. Muthuswami Konar, Tiruchengodu, 1923; and *Karmaṇḍala Śatakam* by Araikilar of Avanasi, ed by P.A. Muthuthandavaraya Madras, 1930 See the author's forthcoming essay entitled, "Circulation and the Historical Geography of Tamil Country," *Journal of Asian Studies.*


Deccan
Bidar
Medak
Warangal
Nalgonda
Atraf-i-Balda
Gulbarga
Mahbubnagar
Bijapur
East Godavari
West Godavari
Vizagapatam
Guntur
Kistna
V
Raichur
Dharwar
Kurnool
Bellary
Cuddapah
Anantapur
Nellore
Chitaldrug
Shimoga
Kadur
Tumkur
Kolar
Chittoor
Chingleput
T
North Arcot
Hassan
G
Bangalore
Mysore
Coorg
Salem
South Arcot
N
Nilgiris
K
Coimbatore
Trichinopoly
C
Pudukkotai
Tanjore
Madura
Travancore
P
Ramnad
Tinnevelly

Map 1: CHŌLA MACRO-REGION, c. 1300 A.D.
V. Vēṅgi; G: Gaṅgavāḍi; T: Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam;
K: Koṅgumaṇḍalam; N: Naduvil-nāḍu; C: Chōlamaṇḍalam; P: Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam

FINDINGS

Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2 summarize findings from the temple survey of 1961. Numerous questions are raised by these data and only a few can be addressed here. A salient feature in Figure 1 pertains to the variation in the number of temples constructed in each of the four maṇḍalams in the four periods. The 2,035 temples constructed between 1300 and 1750 A.D. are unevenly distributed over the four maṇḍalams if all four periods are taken together: Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, 406 temples; Naduvil-nāḍu, 332 temples; Koṅgumaṇḍalam, 517 temples; and Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam, 780 temples. Respectively the proportion of each maṇḍalam to the total is: 20 per cent, 16 per cent, 26 per cent, and 38 per cent. There are, of course, several good reasons for not assuming a uniform distribution of temples over the four maṇḍalams: variations in population, population density, and wealth strike one immediately. However, a partial analysis of variance of these factors in relation to the number of temples yielded nothing significant whereas the simple relationship of the number of modern taluks in which the temple data are given and the number of temples is close. Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam with 19 taluks, or 27 per cent of all of the taluks in the study area, contains 20 per cent of the 2,035 temples; Naduvil-nāḍu, 9 taluks, 13 per cent of total taluks, 16 per cent of total temples; Koṅgumaṇḍalam, 13 taluks, 20 per cent of total taluks, 25 per cent of temples; and Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam, 28 taluks, 40 per cent of the total taluks, 39 per cent of temples. There is, of course, considerable variation in the size and population of modern taluks of Madras (Tamil Nadu) State, but as mentioned above an analysis of a third of the taluks of the 1961 temple census survey indicates that there is no clear relationship between population, density or size (as these data may be obtained from the earliest censuses of the nineteenth century to 1961) and the number of temples enumerated in 1961.[15] Other indirect indices of taluk variation, such as relative wealth or prosperity, could be constructed from the middle of the nineteenth century, but such findings would at best provide only the most inferential bases for explaining phenomena of several centuries earlier.[16]

Figure 1 shows the general increase in temples over all four periods in each maṇḍalam. The single instance of a decrease is found in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in the period from 1450 to 1550 A.D. There are several possible reasons for this, but one factor to be considered is that it was precisely in those northern sections of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam presently included in the modern States of

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[15] Twenty-three taluks of the sixty-nine in the analysis changed in size by less than ten per cent between 1872 and 1961 thus permitting use of censuses from 1872 to 1961.

[16] For example, data are available on the proportion of wet and dry cropping, the proportion of double cropping, and the vulnerability of particular taluks to famine hazard between 1871 and 1891 from, among other sources, Charles Benson, *A Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency; Compiled from Existing Records*, Madras, 1895.

FIGURE 1: TEMPLES OF MADRAS STATE, 1300-1750 A.D., BY MAṆḌALAM, DEITY AND PERIOD

N=2035 Source: Data of Table 1

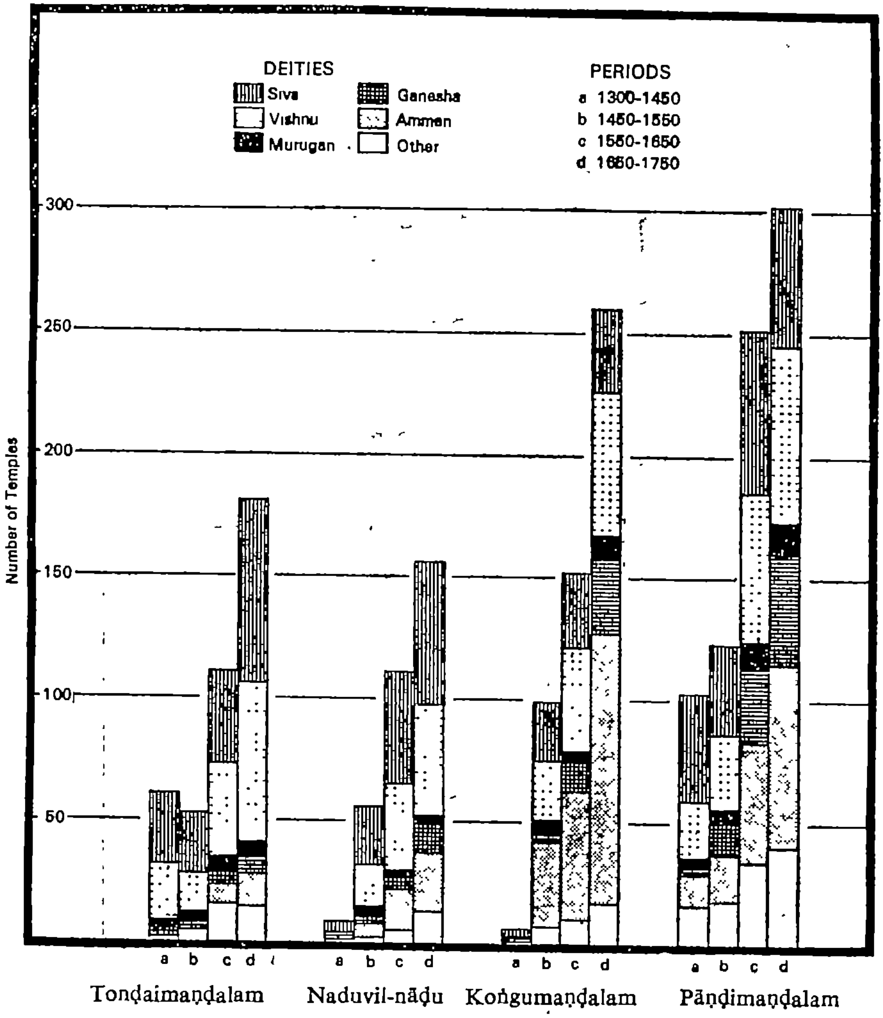


TABLE 1

TEMPLES OF MADRAS STATE, 1300-1750 A.D., BY DEITY, PERIOD, AND MAṆḌALAM

N=2035 Figures in parentheses are percentages of totals.

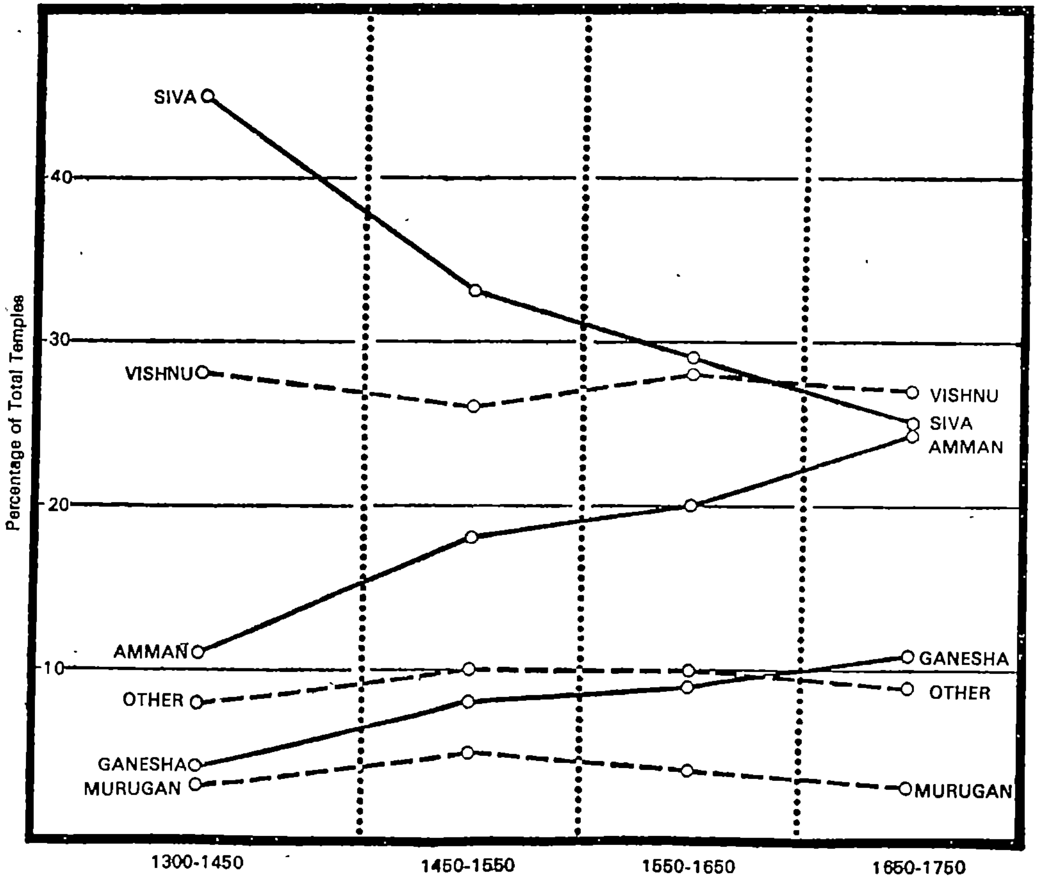
	Deity							
	Siva	*Vishnu*	*Murugan*	*Ganesha*	*Amman*	*Other*	*Total by Maṇḍalam*	*Total of Period*
a. 1300-1450 A.D.								
N_a=179 (9% of N)								
Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam	29(47)	23(38)	2(3)	3(5)	2(3)	2(3)	61(100)	(34)
Naduvil-nāḍu	5(55)	4(45)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	9(100)	(5)
Koṅgumaṇḍalam	3(49)	1(17)	0(0)	1(17)	0(0)	1(17)	6(100)	(3)
Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam	44(43)	23(23)	4(4)	3(3)	13(13)	18(15)	103(100)	(58)
Total for Madras	81(45)	51(29)	6(3)	7(4)	15(8)	19(11)	179(100)	(100)
b. 1450-1550 A.D.								
N_b=331(16% of N)								
Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam	25(48)	16(30)	2(4)	5(9)	0(0)	5(9)	53(100)	(16)
Naduvil-nāḍu	24(43)	17(30)	3(5)	4(7)	6(11)	2(4)	56(100)	(17)
Koṅgumaṇḍalam	24(24)	24(24)	6(6)	3(3)	35(36)	7(7)	99(100)	(30)
Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam	37(30)	30(24)	6(5)	13(11)	19(15)	18(15)	123(100)	(37)
Total for Madras	110(33)	87(28)	17(5)	25(8)	60(18)	32(10)	331(100)	(100)

c. 1550-1650 A.D.								
N_c=628(31% of N)								
Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam	38(34)	38(34)	5(5)	6(5)	8(7)	16(15)	111(100)	(18)
Naduvil-nāḍu	46(41)	35(31)	3(3)	5(5)	17(15)	5(5)	111(100)	(18)
Koṅgumaṇḍalam	31(20)	42(27)	4(3)	12(8)	53(35)	10(7)	152(100)	(24)
Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam	67(27)	61(24)	11(4)	30(12)	49(19)	34(14)	252(100)	(40)
Total for Madras	182(29)	178(28)	23(4)	53(9)	127(20)	65(10)	626(100)	(100)
d. 1650-1750 A.D.								
N_d=339 (44% of N)								
Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam	75(42)	65(36)	6(3)	7(4)	13(7)	15(8)	131(100)	(20)
Naduvil-nāḍu	59(39)	45(29)	2(1)	13(8)	24(16)	13(8)	156(100)	(17)
Koṅgumaṇḍalam	34(13)	59(23)	9(3)	31(12)	110(43)	17(6)	260(100)	(29)
Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam	57(19)	72(24)	13(4)	45(15)	75(25)	40(13)	302(100)	(33)
Total for Madras	225(25)	241(27)	30(3)	96(11)	222(25)	85(9)	849(100)	(100)
TOTALS: 1300-1750 A.D.								
Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam	167(41)	142(35)	15(4)	21(5)	23(6)	38(9)	406(100)	(20)
Naduvil-nāḍu	134(40)	101(32)	8(2)	22(6)	47(14)	20(6)	332(100)	(16)
Koṅgumaṇḍalam	92(18)	126(24)	19(4)	47(9)	198(58)	35(7)	517(100)	(26)
Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam	205(26)	183(28)	34(4)	91(12)	156(25)	108(14)	780(100)	(38)
Total for Madras	593(29)	568(27)	76(4)	181(9)	424(21)	201(10)	2035(100)	(100)

P1342

FIGURE 2: PROPORTIONS OF TEMPLES OF MADRAS STATE, BY DEITY, FOR FOUR PERIODS, 1300-1750 A.D.

N=2035   Source: Data of Table 1



Andhra and Mysore that substantial temple development occurred in the period from 1450 to 1550 A.D. Like much of Koṅgumaṇḍalam, the northern section of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was a region which saw rapid development in the post-Chola period. In contrast, the present nineteen taluks of the southern part of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam were areas of the much earlier settlement and development of the Chola period. During the period 1450-1550 A.D., the relatively short-lived Sāḷuva dynasty (1486-1505 A.D.) controlled the fortunes of the Vijayanagara State from its base in northern Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The dramatic growth of the Tirupati temple during this period may be taken as symptomatic of the general support for existing temples of this region as well as the construction of new temples by warriors of this region whose fortunes rose with those of Sāḷuva Narasimha and his successors.[17] Resources for the support of temples within the core territories of these warriors were drawn from a large region, including the southern parts of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam.

Striking variation in the number of temples constructed between 1300 and 1750 A.D. is shown in Figure 1. Considering variation from one period to the next, in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam the number of major temples doubled between 1550 and 1650 A.D.; in Naduvil-nāḍu, there was a six-fold increase between 1450 and 1550 A.D.; and in Koṅgumaṇḍalam there was an even more dramatic, sixteenfold, increase in temple construction between 1450 and 1550 A.D. These relatively short-term variations may be compared to the changes in the rates at which temples are recorded over all periods. The most impressive development is seen in Koṅgumaṇḍalam where temples increased by a factor of forty between 1300 and 1750 A.D. and in Naduvil-nāḍu where the increase was sixteenfold. In contrast, Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam, with the largest number of temples for the whole period, showed a threefold increase between the first and the last periods and that of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was even less.

Figure 2 moves the discussion to more pointed analysis. The most striking finding is the interaction of temples dedicated to Siva and to Amman deities. In the line graph, the relationship between the two temple types over the four periods and all maṇḍalams is one of reciprocal symmetry. That is, the proportion of temples dedicated to Amman deities increased over the four periods in the same proportion as those dedicated to Siva diminished. At the same time, the proportion of temples dedicated to Vishnu remained high and steady at around 30 per cent while those dedicated to the other deities display some of the same stability in the range of five to ten per cent of the total.

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[17] Burton Stein, "The Tirupati Temple: An Economic Study of a Medieval South Indian Temple," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, University of Chicago, December 1958, pp. 53 and 61-62, especially Table 3; p. 53 recording grants of land to the Tirupati temple between 830 and 1628 A.D. as 168 of which all but 21 grants came between 1456 and 1564 A.D. and grants of money as 397 of which all but 126 came in the same period.

The table and graphs expose certain clear differences in the proportions and numbers of temples presided over by the six types of deities. Taking all maṇḍalams for the entire period, the 2,035 temples analyzed here show Siva temples comprising 29 per cent, Vishnu temples 26 per cent, Murugan temples 4 per cent, Ganesha temples 9 per cent, Amman temples 21 per cent, and "Other Deities" 10 per cent. Each of the maṇḍalams contributes to the total array in quite different ways. Thus, in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, Siva temples comprised 41 per cent for all periods while in Koṅgumaṇḍalam, Siva temples comprised only 18 per cent of the temples of the period between 1300 and 1750 A.D. Or, considering the same two maṇḍalams, Amman temples in the former comprised only 6 per cent whereas in Koṅgumaṇḍalam, Amman temples accounted for 38 per cent of the total.

The six types of deities can be reduced to three classes in order to elicit certain differences. The gods Siva and Vishnu are universal deities of the highest order in Hinduism; Murugan and Ganesha may be regarded as secondary universal deities in medieval Hinduism;[18] while the Amman and "Other Deities" are essentially local, tutelary gods. Thus arranged, Siva and Vishnu together constitute the majority of temples—76 per cent—of all those constructed from 1300 to 1750 A.D in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam These two deities together constitute 72 per cent of the presiding deities in temples of Naduvil-nāḍu. In both of these maṇḍalams, Siva temples predominate. By contrast, Siva and Vishnu temples together contribute only 42 per cent of the temples of Koṅgumaṇḍalam and those dedicated to Vishnu enjoy about the same predominance as Siva temples do in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and Naduvil-nāḍu (i.e., about 6 per cent). In Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam, Siva and Vishnu temples together and in almost equal proportions comprise half of the temples constructed during the period.

Murugan and Ganesha temples are unevenly distributed over the four maṇḍalams, ranging from 9 per cent of the total in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, where Ganesha temples are three times as numerous as Murugan temples In Koṅgumaṇḍalam, temples dedicated to this pair of gods comprise 13 per cent, and in Naduvil-nāḍu they comprise 8 per cent; in both of these maṇḍalams Ganesha temples were most numerous.

Most important for the present discussion is the range of variation among the four maṇḍalams with respect to Amman temples. Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam's 409 temples in this analysis include only 23 Amman temples, and remarkably. returns from the taluks of Chingleput district in 1961 included no Amman temples within the fourteenth to eighteenth century period.[19] Koṅgumaṇḍalam, with 38 per cent of its temples of the period 1300 and 1750 A.D. dedicated to Amman deities, was the highest in this category of any maṇḍalam. When Amman and "Other Deities" are combined for these two maṇḍalams, Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam shows the lowest proportion, 15 per cent, and Koṅgumaṇḍalam shows the highest with 42 per cent of the temples of the maṇḍalam dedicated to these tutelary deities. In Naduvil-nāḍu, 20 per cent of the temples dating from 1300 to 1750 A.D. were presided over by Amman and "Other Deities," the former comprising 14 per cent of that region's total; in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam, 34 per cent of the temples in the period under study were dedicated to tutelaries, Amman shrines providing 20 per cent of the high total of 760 temples.

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[18] While Murugan is a god of the Tamils, his association with Skanda Subrahmanyam, and Kārttikeya iconographically and hagiographically gives him an equivalent status with Ganesha, the other son of Siva. See Fred W. Clothey, "The Many Faces of Murugan: the History and Meaning of a South Indian God," Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Divinity School, March 1968; and Alice Getty, *Ganesa: A Monograph of the Elephant-Faced God*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936.

INTERPRETATIONS

The 2,035 temples enumerated in the present analysis, incomplete as the numbers may be, for reasons already discussed, pose difficult problems of explanation Certain of the findings conform with our present understanding of the later medieval history of Tamil country. Thus, variations noted above which contrast the rapid and large increases in temple construction in the formerly peripheral areas of Chola times—Koṅgumaṇḍalam and Naduvil-nāḍu—with that of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam, each with well established ancient core areas, conform well with the general historiography of the Vijayanagara period. And, the large numbers of temples involved in this study confirms the profound devotional faith of Tamilians to the gods of bhakti Hinduism.

Temples represent an impressive commitment of resources to that faith. It is to be remembered that the temples enumerated in this analysis are often structures of great size and often constructed on hills, which would have required large and sustained inputs of skilled and unskilled labor. Once completed and consecrated, temples also required the mobilization and maintenance of personnel ranging from various kinds of ritual specialists to menials. These temple centers also became the principal resort of Brahmans and other learned persons whose livelihoods were supported by laic clienteles and whose activities generated even more permanent construction in the form of *maṭhas* and similar institutions capable of sheltering and feeding long-termed residents. Nor must it be forgotten that, apart from regular ritual performances and periodic festivals which were required to maintain the consecrated condition of temples, other kinds of cultural performances regularly occurred there, including Sanskrit dramatic presentations.[20] Finally, temples were sect and cult centers to which a large and dispersed clientele—from kings to humble cultivators—regularly gathered to pay homage to the presiding deity and to sect gurus. Feeding houses for pilgrims had also to be constructed along with other facilities for their stay. The thousands of structural shrines constructed during the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries, and enumerated in the 1961 census temple survey, provide a foundation for the more comprehensive definition of sub-regional cultural profiles than scholars have thus far undertaken. These census data, while not complete, permit a level of analysis which might be called "macro" to augment and provide a context for the growing number of separate temple studies which have been undertaken.

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[19] Madras City reported sixteen Amman temples half of which date from 1550 to 1650 A.D. and the rest for the last period. Amman temples accounted for twenty-four per cent of the Madras City total for the 1300-1750 A.D. period.

Among the questions raised by this analysis of temple construction in Tamil country are the following. What accounts for the statistical interaction of Siva and Amman temples in the portion of Tamil country covered by the four maṇḍalams? Why did temples dedicated to Siva decline relatively while the construction of Vishnu temples remained proportionately stable? What differential religious, cultural and social objectives were satisfied by devotion to Murugan and Ganesha in comparison to that offered Amman and "Other Deities," on the one hand, and the universal gods Siva and Vishnu, on the other? Other questions raised by these data could certainly be posed (e.g., factors involved in the variation within taluks and maṇḍalams over time), but these require further analysis of the temple census data.

The relationship of reciprocal symmetry between temples constructed to shelter Siva and Amman deities from 1300 to 1750 A.D. is the most interesting finding in the analysis. It is unexpected and paradoxical in the sense that Siva is the most ancient and entrenched of the universal deities among Tamilians whereas Amman deities are folk deities; theirs was a relationship of long-standing coexistence The commitment of most Tamil Brahmans has generally been to Siva, and the most impressive religious development in the age—the Saiva Siddhanta movement—was a renewed and resurgent devotion to Siva by the highest non-Brahman groups among Tamilians. Thus, the diminishing proportion of structural shrines dedicated to the Siva deities may be viewed as a significant shift of sectarian affiliation of most Tamils, a turning away from Siva to other deities, most notably to goddesses Such a view may be considered consistent with those interpretations of religious developments of the later medieval period which stresss the impressive development of Vaishnavism, on the one hand, and the importance, on the other hand, of devi shrines in Tamil country.[21] The former development is supported in the 1961 census survey data, especially in the showing of a steady and high (about 30 per cent) proportion of temples dedicated to Vishnu deities in comparison with the declining rate of new Siva temples.

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[20] This matter was recently discussed by Dr V. Raghavan in a paper entitled: "Sanskrit Drama in Performance," presented to an international conference on Sanskrit drama in Honolulu, 19-23 March 1974. Papers of this conference are to be published under the editorship of Professor Rachel v. M. Baumer and James Brandon of the University of Hawaii.

But, the suggestion of competition and displacement may be quite incorrect. What little is known of sectarian affiliations among South Indians now and in the past does not support the notion that most people forsook older sectarian associations and formed new ones. That this occurred among Brahmans is of course true; the history of medieval Vaishnavism and the growth of non-Vaikanāsa Brahmanism can only be explained by the shift of sectarian affiliation of Siva Brāhmans. However, for most non-Brahmans, exclusive sectarianism appears to be rare if the sectarian information provided of the eighteenth century and later is credited.[22] These eighteenth century reports and later ethnographic evidence provided, especially by Dr Brenda E. F. Beck and Professor Louis Dumont, suggest that most non-Brahman Tamilians maintained multiplex sectarian affiliations, seldom shifting from one to another, but more often adding to their affiliational connections through time.

There is another reason for rejecting the proposition that the increase in Amman temples between 1300 and 1750 A D. represented a transference of sectarian affiliations from Siva deities to goddesses. That is, both of these types of gods may be considered to possess strong territorial characteristics and the relative growth of Amman temples was essentially complementary with, rather than at the expense of, older patterns of Siva devotion. It is to be recalled that temples dedicated to Siva deities continued to be built; only the proportion diminishes.

To pursue the complementarity argument, it is noted that in proposing a threefold classification of deity types above, Amman and "Other Deities" were called "tutelaries," guardians of particular places and peoples. Supporting that assertion are the reports in the *Bāramahal Records* on "sudra" castes of that region in the 1790s as well as sections of Buchanan's report of 1800 A.D. From these sources, it is clear that there existed three levels, tiers, or concentric zones of sectarian affiliations of the non-Brahman, agricultural and artisan populations. The first level of religious activity, beyond the often elaborately described domestic ritual in the *Bāramahal Records*, pertains to clan and place tutelaries. Most often these were goddesses, several of whom were worshipped by any single group. However, in most cases, there was one goddess, or less frequently a male tutelary, who was worshipped in a locally important and often impressive structural shrine to which all or most of a particular group extended ritual homage. Such a shrine might at times have had Brahman pujaris, at other times it might have been officiated over by a non-Brahman priest (generically: *paṇḍāram*). The second level of ritual affiliations involved temples of pilgrimage usually presided over by a Siva or Vishnu deity under an established order of Brahman priests following agamic practices. The third level was that maintained through guru networks culminating in one of the premier temple centers of South India. In the Bāramahal, for many of the landed castes that temple center was Tirupati; for most of the Kongu castes, however, the place would have been the Siva temple at Pērūr in modern Coimbatore taluk.

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[21] B Stein "Devi Shrines and Folk Hinduism in Medieval Tamilnad," in *Studies in the Language and Culture of South Asia*, Edwin Gerow and Margery D. Lang (eds.), Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1973, pp. 75-91. This discussion is based on the earlier discussions of K. R. Srinivasan in, for example, his *Some Aspects of Religion as Revealed by Early Monuments and Literature of the South*, Sankara Parvati Endowment Lectures, University of Madras, 1959-60, Madras, University of Madras, 1960. pp. 32-35

[22] E.g.: Madras, Records of Fort St. George, the *Bāramahal Records*, III, "Inhabitants" (Madras: 1907) and Francis Hamilton, *A Journey from Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, v 1, pp. 236-61, v. 2, pp. 329-31, London, 1807. B.E.F. Beck, *Peasant Society in Konku: A Study of Right and Left Subcastes in South India*, Vancouver, University of British Columbia, 1972; Louis Dumont, *Une Sous-Caste de L'Inde du Sud: Organisation Sociale et Religion des Pramalai Kallar*, Paris, Mouton and Company, 1957, Pt. 3, "La Religion," pp. 315 ff. and his "A Structural Definition of a Folk Deity of Tamil Nad: Aiyanar the Lord," *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 3 (1959), pp. 75-87, reprinted in his *Religion/politics and History in India; Collected Papers in Indian Sociology*, The Hague, Mouton Publishers, 1970.

It is precisely from the regions described in the *Bāramahal Records* and in Buchanan's report of 1800 that the highest proportion of Amman temples are recorded in the 1961 census survey. This interior upland of Tamil country was also among the most variegated social regions in the macro region. Kongu country attracted immigrants from Andhra and Karnāṭaka as well as the lowland portions of Tamil country.[23] The resulting structure of cultivating and artisan castes is a mosaic in which boundaries among various ethnic elements seems to have included varied sectarian affiliations. Buchanan's discussion of Vellalas ("*Vaylaylar*, a tribe of Tamils")[24] in Coimbatore provides a good illustration of this. Seven Vellala groups are identified as comprising a large portion of the Tamil population of Coimbatore. Among these were the Sendalai ("Shayndalay") Vellalas.

> All *Vaylalars* can eat together; but these [seven] different kinds do not intermarry, nor can a man marry a woman of the same family with himself in the male line. The *Vaylalars* are farmers, day-labourers, and servants who cultivate the earth; many of them can keep accompts [sic] and read books written in their native language. At Canghium [Kangayam, Dharapuram

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[23] The 1901 census of Madras reported the following linguistic variety for Coimbatore: Tamil speakers, 66 per cent; Kannada, 12 per cent; Telugu, 21 per cent. Compare with: Tanjore, Tamil speakers. 94 per cent; North Arcot, Tamil speakers, 26 per cent and Telugu speakers, 39 per cent. *Census of India, 1901*, vol XV-A. *Madras*, Pt. II, v. 1, p. 107, Subsidiary Table 5

[24] Buchanan, *Journey*, v. 2, p. 329.

> taluk] resides *Canghium Manadeär*, hereditary chief of all *Shayndalay Vaylalars*. . . . They are all worshippers of *Siva*; but the proper *penates*, or family gods, are various *Saktis*, or female destructive spirits; such as *Kālī*, *Bhadra Kālī*, and the like . . . . The *Pūjāris* or priests in these temples are *Pāndarams* [sic], who are the *Sūdras* dedicated to the service of *Siva*'s temples . . . Their *Gurus* are *Siva Brāhmanas*, or *Brāhmans*, who act as *Pūjāris* in the temples of *Siva*, and the great gods of his family. These are considered as greatly inferior to the *Smartal*, either *Vaidīka*, or *Lokika*. The *Guru* comes annually to each village, distributes consecrated leaves and holy water, and receives a *Fanam* from each person, with as much grain as they choose to give.[25]

Thanks to the detailed research of Dr Brenda Beck on Vellalas (Beck's "KavuNTar") of Kangayam, we have a model of modern territorial religious affiliations which conforms well with descriptions of 150 years ago and which may even be taken as operative during the late medieval period. That model, in relation to the 1961 Census data on temple distribution for Koṅgumaṇḍalam particularly, where the largest proportion of Amman temples are found, suggest a persuasive explanation for the sharply contrastive, reciprocal interaction of Siva and Amman temples.

In her discussion of religion, as in other aspects of the society of Kangayam nadu in Coimbatore, Dr Beck distinguishes a fundamental division of Kongu castes (approximately two-thirds of the population of the district)[26] into a right division (*valaṅkai*) and left division (*iḍaṅkai*). This division provides a major theoretical focus for her discussion and revives an ancient social division long thought defunct among Tamils.[27] Within the right division of castes, worship is concentrated upon "territorially based divinities who protect well-defined local areas" as well as particular subcastes and clans; contrastively, left division castes worship universal gods of the Hindu pantheon, those whose renown and whose sacred domains are universal, not narrowly territorial. Each division is further contrasted with respect to other ritual features: among right division castes hierarchy is emphasized during worship whereas among left castes there is equality of worshippers;[28] among right division castes' sectarian allegiences are restricted to the Kongu region whereas left castes seek and maintain preceptorial and pilgrimage affiliations outside of the region.[29]

The right division of Kongu castes consist of agriculturists, particularly those of the Vellala or Gaunda (Beck: KavuNTar) community and their service dependents. Kangayam nadu consists of twelve major villages under the dominance of Gaundas, and in each village there is a Siva temple. The Siva temple of one of these villages, Sivaṉmalai, is the primary Siva temple of the locality, "spoken of as representing the [Kangayam] nāTu as a whole."[30] Moreover, each Kongu Gaunda subcaste has a chief temple for its constituent clans (*kulam*), and each clan in turn has a chief shrine for its constituent lineages (*pangāḷi*), and finally, each lineage maintains shrines for its constituent families (*Kudumbam*) units.[31] There is therefore a well-articulated territorial system of sacral associations which ties Kongu Gaundas of Kangayam together within their locality and with other Kongu subcastes elsewhere and, always, in opposition to other non-Gaunda groups. And the prime objects of caste temple devotion are goddesses who are often hagiographically connected with a particular Gaunda subcaste.[32]

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[25] *Ibid* , pp. 329-30.

[26] Beck, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59, Tables 1-3.

[27] Here the divisions are analytical categories, not empirical ones as in the past

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 71 and 74-75.

Dr Beck judiciously proposes that the Kangayam system of religious affiliation is part of regional one of Kongu as a whole; she also proposes that the system is quite ancient. There is reason to accept both proposals.

Inscriptional evidence pertaining to these central Siva temples of Kangayam nadu date from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries for the most part.[33] Of the twelve Siva temples referred to by Beck as the shrines of the major villages, inscriptions mention eleven.[34] These Tamil language inscriptions are no earlier than the twelfth century and for the most part refer to two local dynasties of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries: so-called "Kongu Cholas" or "Kongu Konāttār."[35] There are also several Vijayanagara inscriptions principally of the time of Mallikarjuna, whose regnal years were 1447-1465 A.D.

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[30] *Ibid.*, p. 66, note 10.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[33] Sivanmalai (Arasanpalayam village). Pālvannēsvarasvāmi temple. *A.R.E.* 256-72/1920; Kangayam, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, v. 1, p. 532, No. 123A; Kiranur, Adinathesvarasvami temple, 247-251/1920; Marudurai, Pattisvarasvami temple, 240/1920; Nattakkaraiyur, Jayangondanathasvami temple, 230-239/1920; Kannapuram, Vikrama Cholesvara temple, 218-224/1920; Parajervali, Madhayapurisvara temple, 558-560/1920; Muttur [Kadagattur], Cholesvara temple, 193-196/1910; Velliyarasal, Mandisvara temple, 619/1905; Pappani, Arda Kapilisvarasvami temple, 225-229/1920; and Vellakovil, Parakrama-Cholesvara temple, 216/1920

[34] Beck, *Peasant Society in Koṅku*, p. 67. The only village for which there appears to be no inscriptional material is Alampati. However, this village is mentioned in an early Vijayanagar inscription of another major village of Kangayam nadu, Pappani, 225/1920 without providing any information about a Siva temple.

[35] On these dynasties see: Robert Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 362 and *A.R.E.*, 1920, paragraph 24, pp. 108 ff; the most critical discussion of these dynasties, especially the Kongu Cholas, is by K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, *E.I.*, xxx (1953), No. 19, "Seven Vatteluttu Inscriptions from the Kongu Country," pp. 95-112 in which he argues that this designation be replaced with the more accurate, "Kongu Kōnāttār" chiefly lineage

Disappointingly little can be culled from these temple inscriptions about either the relationship among deities in Kangayam nadu during this early time or about the relationships of its dominant landed people to such deities. A set of Vijayanagara inscriptions of the sixteenth century from the Jayangondanāthasvāmin temple at the major Kangayam village of Nattakkaraiyūr (Beck: "NattakāTaiyūr") refer to local Kongu chiefs, with the title "Kongavēladaraiyar," as "Vellalāpayirar."[36] This confirms Beck's identification of one of the four Vellala "titled families" (*Paṭṭakkārar*) of Kongu as the "Payira clan." Beck also relates an account of this Kongu Vellala family in which an ancestor was rewarded for service to the Pandyan ruler Jatāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (regnal years : 1251-1268 A.D.) with land and the title "Nalla Sēnāpati Cakkarai Manrādiyar." This too is confirmed in a Nattakkaraiyur inscription dated 1622 A.D. in which among other things, the title "*gaundar*" is mentioned[37] The several inscriptions from the Siva-temple at the base of Sivaṉmalai hill, in the hamlet of Arasanpalayam, all date from the time of the so-called Kongu Cholas, and several are of the earliest of these local warriors, Vikrama Chōḷadēva of the early eleventh century.[38] This shrine to Siva as Pālvaṇṇēśvara appears to be among the oldest in Kangayam nadu which may account for the present recognition that this is the premier Siva temple of the nadu, as Beck reports.

There appear to be no suggestions in the inscriptions of the Pālvaṇṇēśvarasvāmin temple or the other Siva shrines of Kangayam that these territorial religious centers were linked together as Beck observes in present-day Kongu. Such an organization can by no means be excluded, however. According to Dr Beck, major Murugan and Siva temples of Kongu are linked hierarchically through affiliations of temple priests.

> Each of these groups of . . . temples is organized around a leading or primary shrine: a single great temple in which all the Konku-linked manifestations of the deity converge. In the case of the Civā temples this shrine [Sri Pattesvarasvamin temple] is found at Pērūr [Coimbatore taluk], while in the case of Murukan an equivalent status is ascribed to the [Sri Dandayudhapani] temple at . . . Palani. Each of these religious centers represents

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recognizing that the rulers of Kongu from the tenth century were warriors from Kōnādu, in modern Pudukkottai, abutting on southern Kongu, rather than scions of the Chola family. Also see K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, 2, Coimbatore, K.S. Vaidyanathan, 1967, pp. 64 ff.

[36] 235/1920, dated in the reign of Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagar.

[37] 239/1920. The title on this record is: "Nallatambi-Gaundar Visvanātha Chakkarai Uttamakkāmindamanradiyar, A Vellalapayirar of Karaiyur."

[38] Subrahmanya Aiyer, *E.I.*, XXX, No. 19, p. 105 points out that an inscription from the village of Piramiyan, Dharapuram taluk, of Vikrama Chōḷadēva begins with the words: "I am Vikrama Chōla of Kōnāḍu"; this is dated 1025 A.D.

> the pinnacle of a local organization of priests who serve that deity in the Konku area. All priests who work in the local Civā temples look ultimately to Pērūr for direction and for decisions in ritual matters.[39]

Just as the Siva pujaris at Sivaṉmalai (Arasanpalayam) look to Pērūr, the priests of the Siva temples of the twelve major villages of Kangayam are linked to the Sivaṉmalai temple.[40] Whether this linkage is replicated in each of the twenty-four nadus of Kongu, Dr Beck is understandably tentative about, but she believes it to be the case.[41]

Another way in which temples might have been linked horizontally or vertically was by the caste ties of most temple priests in Coimbatore and elsewhere. According to the 1961 temple census survey and to commentators from the eighteenth century, the priests of lower level temples were non-Brahman, *Paṇḍārams*. Thurston's summary statement on *paṇḍārams* identifies them generically as non-Brahman priests who are recruited largely from Vellala and Palli castes, who are Saivites, vegetarians, and celibate. Many underwent formal priestly investiture *(dhikshai)*, and many were the manager/priests of richly endowed temples.[42] That the ritual custodianship of non-Brahman priests was significant can be seen from a further analysis of the 1961 temple survey. Considering several of the most important districts in the present study, Table 2 summarizes evidence on officiating priests as provided in the 1961 temple census volumes.

Several features in Table 2 are important. One is the considerable variability in the proportion of all temples under Brahman priests. In three of the districts, the majority of priests in substantial structural temples were non-Brahmans: Coimbatore, Salem, and Madurai. In these same districts were the highest counts of Amman shrines, and here the priestly custodians of Amman temples were non-Brahman to the extent of 90 per cent. A second noteworthy feature of this table is that in Chingleput, where the overwhelming number of priests were Brahmans, one quarter of the Amman temples of the district were under Brahman ministration, and in Ramanathapuram district, where about 70 per cent of all temples were under Brahman priests, over a third of the Amman temples were also under Brahmans. These varying proportions of Brahman temple priests are independent of the number of Brahmans in the various districts of Madras. According to the 1901 census, the Presidency average of Brahmans as a proportion of the total population was 3 per cent. In the eight districts shown in Table 2, the percentage of Brahmans varied between 1 per cent in Salem and South Arcot and 3 per cent in Tiruchirapalli and Tirunelveli; the district with the highest proportion of Brahmans in 1901 was Tanjore, with 6 per cent.[43]

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[39] Beck, *Peasant Society in Konku*, p. 26.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Thurston, *op. cit.*, vi, pp. 45-46.

TABLE 2

MADRAS (TAMIL NADU) STATE TEMPLES BY OFFICIATING PRIESTS FOR SELECTED DISTRICTS*

*District*** *(Vol., p.)*	*1* *Number of Temples*	*2* *Temples under Non-Brahmans*		*3* *Amman Temples*		*4* *Amman Temples under Non-Brahmans*	
		No.	%	*No.*	%	*No.*	%
Salem (iii, 335)	1135	665	60	402	35	374	93
Madurai (vi, 5)	477	272	57	104	22	96	93
Coimbatore (iii, 3)	1201	677	55	424	37	403	95
Tiruchirapalli (ii, 2)	1226	411	33	284	23	227	80
Tirunelveli (v, 171)	864	270	31	162	19	136	84
South Arcot (ii, 92)	922	287	31	175	19	133	76
Ramanathapuram (vi, 188)	508	158	31	96	19	61	64
Chingleput (i, 3)	610	95	15	82	13	61	75
Total	6943	2833		1729		1491	

*Covers all of the temples enumerated, not only those from 1300-1750 A.D.

**SOURCE: India (Republic), Census Commissioner, *Census of India, 1961*, v. IX, Part XI-D, "Temples of Madras State", v. 7.

Coefficient of correlation between:

Columns 1 and 2: $r_{1,2} = 30$ N S.

Columns 3 and 4: $r_{3,4} = .735$, $p \angle .025$

Columns 2 and 4: $r_{2,4} = .794$, $p \angle .01$

Columns 2 and 3: $r_{2,3} = .834$, $p \angle .005$

While several factors may be involved in the often wide disparities among districts with respect to the incidence of non-Brahman priests, one interpretation of the findings in Table 2 is that in many parts of the macro region, the fact that its priests are not Brahmans need not diminish the status of a particular temple. And even where temples are reported as being under the direction of Brahmans, the role of non-Brahman officiants may be important. This is suggested by one of the early scholar-administrators of the Madras Presidency, F.W. Ellis, when he observed that in many, if not most, temples of the Bāramahal, the Arcots, Tanjore, Tiruchirapalli, Madurai, and Tirunelveli, the non-Brahman *paṇḍārams* managed and held important ritual offices of the temple while Brahman Gurukkals officiated over only a portion of the ritual.[44] The data in Table 2 also raise the further question of a probable close kinship relationship between the principal non-Brahman landed castes of a region and those *paṇḍārams* who officiate over its temples. This linkage, if demonstrable, would have the effect of strengthening the horizontal integration already extant where local temples dedicated to tutelary goddesses are sponsored by clans of the same subcaste (as in Kangayam according to the findings of Beck). It would also suggest the possibility that in many cases, the central Siva temple to which subcaste tutelary goddesses were vertically linked through the devotion of the major local subcaste representatives and their clients also drew its priests (or some of them at least) from the same locally dominant subcaste.

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[43] *Census of India, 1901, Madras*, v. XV-A, Pt. II, Table XIII, "Caste, Tribe, Race. . . ."

The kind of multilevel, hierarchical system of religious affiliations involving established Siva shrines and subcaste/clan temples dedicated to Amman deities described by Dr Beck receives some support from inscriptional records, but demographic evidence of the eighteenth century supports the historical persuasiveness of her position rather more fully. As already noticed, Buchanan in 1800 A.D. referred to seven "Vaylalar" groups of Coimbatore.[45] According to the 1881 census of Coimbatore, the core of Kongu country, Vellalas of various subcaste division numbered 629,540 persons, 83 per cent of the agricultural population of the district.[46] Other major agricultural caste groups in Coimbatore at the time included Vokkaligas, Kannada-speaking cultivators, comprising 6 per cent of the dominant agricultural population of the district and located almost entirely in the northwestern taluk of Kollegal, bordering on Mysore.[47] Telugu Kammas comprised 3 per cent of the agricultural population.[48]

In Salem district, a similarly high count of Amman temples is found (34 per cent of all of the temples constructed between 1300 and 1750 A.D.). Here, Tamil Vellalas and Telugu cultivating castes accounted for about thirty per cent of the total population in almost equal proportions and comprised a

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[44] Thurston, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 47-48.

[45] Buchanan, *Journey*, v. 2, p. 329; the groups enumerated are: "Caracatu [Karaikattu], Palay [Palai], Chōla, Codical, Cotay, Pandava, and Shayndalay." Also see Arokiaswami, *The Kongu Country*, Madras, 1956, pp 267-71.

[46] Nicholson, *op. cit*, p. 18.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 18; Kollegal is now part of Mysore State, and its population comprised Kannada-speakers to the extent of 80 per cent, *ibid.*, p. 23.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

majority of the district's agricultural population, though the single largest agricultural caste here were Pallis (especially the subcaste of Arasa Vanniyur Pallis) who comprised 28 per cent of the district population.[49] The spatial distribution of Tamil- and Telugu-speaking cultivating castes in Salem lends support to the argument made for Kongu. Almost eighty-five per cent of the Vellalas are concentrated in the southern portion of Salem district, below the upland divide, or the Talaghat.[50] Here, they constitute dominant landed communities. Most are called "Kongu Vellalas" and are further divided into two sections: a northern section (*Vadatalai*) in Salem, Attur, and Uttankarai taluks and a southern section (*Tentalai*) in Tiruchengodu and some Coimbatore taluks.[51] Other Vellalas are similarly segmented territorially.[52] Telugu-speaking landed groups in Salem included Reddis, Kammas, Telagas, and Velamas of whom 80 per cent were concentrated in the Hosur taluk.[53]

In the *Bāramahal Records*, sectarian affiliations of important localized agricultural groups were centered upon shrines serving a circle of several villages. This is specified for the following groups: Morsu Vellalas worshipping the tutelary Timraisvāmi, Bandi Vellalas worshipping Chandēsvara, Malaiyandi Vellalas worshipping Kaliyamma, and Telugu Kammas worshipping Yellama.[54]

The Tamil agricultural caste of Paḷḷis, or Vanniyars as they increasingly insisted on being called, comprised the single largest agricultural community in the Madras Presidency. They exceeded Tamil Vellalas by 100,000, Telugu Kapus by 200,000, and untouchable Paraiyans by 400,000.[55] Paḷḷis too were concentrated in several districts in addition to Salem where they reportedly comprised 28 per cent of the population: in North Arcot they comprised 25 per cent of the population; in Chingleput, 21 per cent; and in South Arcot, 31 per cent.[56] Like other peasant castes, Paḷḷis worship a variety of dieties with a preference for Siva.[57] However, Paḷḷis are also reported to favor a caste deity variously identified as Draupadi or, in a male form, Kuttandevar.[58] This last affiliation appears to be supported by data from the 1961 Census survey, though a full demographic analysis of this has not been undertaken.[59]

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[49] Richards, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 139, and 142. The Census of 1921 and 1931 return somewhat lower proportions of Pallis in Salem: 23 per cent and 25 per cent respectively.

[50] Richards (*op. cit.*, pp. 164-67) cites returns from the 1911 census showing the Vellala population of Salem as 268, 649 the bulk of whom were in Tiruchengodu taluk (96,000), Attur taluk (29,000), and Uttankarai taluk (31,000).

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] These are called "Kapus" or "Tottiyans," generic terms for Telugu-speaking Telugu groups in Tamil country, but many appear to have been Kannada-speakers; *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[54] Section III, "Inhabitants," in the chapter on "Sudras."

[55] India, Census Commissioner, *Census of India, 1921*, v. 13, *Madras*, Part I (Madras: Government Press, 1922), p. 155 and Part II, Table 13, p. 131.

[56] *Ibid.*, Provincial Table 1, pp. 328 ff.

[57] India, Census Commissioner, *Census of India, 1872, Madras, Report*, Madras Government Press, 1872, pp. 157-58.

The proposal in this paper that the relationship between the declining rate of construction of Siva temples and the rising rate of Amman temples was complementary in Kongu and in the Pāṇḍya country appears to be supported by Dr Beck's recent findings, by the historical, inscriptional evidence related to Kangayam, and by demographic evidence of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Where an agricultural group lacked sufficient number in any place to maintain its own territorial shrine, it often retained an affiliation with a shrine at some distant place where their kinsmen were numerically powerful. Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam Vellalas in the Bāramahal are said to worship their tutelary, Yellama in the distant Arni taluk of modern North Arcot district.[60] Certain clans of Kongu Vellalas living in Tiruchengodu taluk of Salem district, the Nattan Vellalas, are reported to have maintained affiliations with a clan center in Kangayam nadu, fifty miles from their villages in Salem, from which the Nattans probably originally migrated.[61]

In her study of Kangayam nadu, Dr Beck confirms this with her observation that clan temples are only found in those places where the particular clan of the Kongu Vellala subcaste are the dominant landed group of the locality. Thus, neither other clans of Kongu Vellala subcastes nor the non-Vellala subcastes bound in service relations to the locally dominant Kongu Vellalas maintained shrines of their own in settlements or in localities under the dominance of another Kongu Vellala clan. Instead, all Kongu groupings—whether they were Vellalas or service castes—worshipped at the shrines of the dominant landed Kongu patrons of the place:

> Not all clans and lineages belonging to the Konku KavuNTar subcastes. . . have their own separate set of temples. A full complement of levels with tiers [subcaste, clan, lineage, household] seems to develop only when a particular subcaste, clan, or lineage becomes numerically and economically dominant in a given place. . . .[62] [Other Kongu castes] instead of establi-

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[58] H. Whitehead, *Village Gods of South India*, London, Oxford University Press, 1921, pp. 27-28; Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, v. 6, p. 10, K.A.N. Sastri, *Development of Religion in South India*, Madras, Orient Longmans, 1963, p. 116; and Oppert, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 ff.

[59] A total of 138 Amman shrines are enumerated of South Arcot district of which 38, or 28 per cent, were devoted to the goddess "Dhrowpathiamman": India (Republic), Census Commissioner, *Census of India, 1961*, v. 9, *Madras*, Part 11-D, "Temples of Madras State," v. ii.

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] F.J. Richards, *Madras District Gazeteers: Salem*, Madras, 1918, p. 144; F.A. Nicholson, *The Coimbatore District Manual*, Madras, 1898, p. 51.

[62] Beck, *Peasant Society in Konku*, p. 79.

> shing independent sacred structures to express parallel divisions within their own community . . . tend simply to worship at the clan or subcaste temple of whatever landed family they have traditionally served.[63]

These findings of Dr Beck together with the fragmentary evidence of the eighteenth century sect networks reported in the *Bāramahal Records* and by Buchanan suggest that in those parts of the South Indian macro region where tutelary, especially Amman, deities were established in impressive structural shrines and where such temples constituted a large proportion of all temples, local peasant groups were completing a pattern of sectarian affiliation long based upon the worship of Siva as a territorial deity, i.e. as a nadu deity. This completion—a filling in—of the pattern of territorial worship at local levels was accomplished by raisin the sacral credentials of non-vedic, tutelary deities worshipped by the dominant cultivating groups of a locality and their dependents to a higher order while not divesting them of their local significance.

Indeed, it is precisely the enhancing of the independent, local importance of established local subcaste tutelaries by dominant landed groups that seems to explain the most interesting findings uncovered in this analysis. Continuing to focus upon Koṅgumaṇḍalam and Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam, where goddesses and to a lesser extent other tutelaries were installed in structural temples in proportionately large numbers, it is proposed that this is to be seen as a means by which locally dominant landed subcastes strengthened their local control. Subcaste goddess shrines, when linked to established Siva temples of a locality contributed both to the dominance of peasant subcastes in Kongu and Pāṇḍya countries and to the horizontal and vertical integration of an agrarian region. Horizontal integration among various peasant subcastes, already extant in shared ethnic titles (e g. Kongu Vellalas), allegience to regional chiefs (e.g. Kongu *Pattakkārar*), and even kings (e.g. Kongu Cholas, or Kōnāṭṭār), was deepened by shared ritual affiliations to the locally dominant subcaste tutelary by all related subcastes of a place. Simultaneously, vertical, or spatial, integration was strengthened by the linkage of all such tutelaries to local Siva shrines and through these to great regional Siva centers. Secular dominance based upon subcaste segmentation of land control was thus joined to ritual affiliation to distinguish the core of peasant peoples of a territory from non-peasant, local groups on the one hand (Beck's left division of castes of mobile traders and artisans) and from outsiders (e.g. Telugu and Palli cultivating groups in Kongu) on the other hand. Established Siva temples under Brahman and agamic direction had long constituted one of the significant religious affiliations of peasant groups in every nadu. This assertion is supported by the temple inscriptions of Kangayam where, in ancient times as well as in the present time, major support and worship of local Siva shrines came from "gaunda" or "Vellala" subcastes.

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[63] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

Neither the early inscriptions of Kangayam nor those from other parts of the macro region refer to the nature of linkages between subcaste, tutelary shrines and locality Siva temples; tutelary shrines appear never to have had inscriptions, and the inscriptions of Siva temples, not surprisingly, say nothing about the relationships with minor, non Brahmanical shrines. How these two kinds of shrines are linked can only be guessed therefore. It would not be expected that the subcaste shrines were formally subordinated to local and supra local Siva temples, even in the loose manner of sacred centers of Brahmanical *sampradāyas* (e.g., Srivaishnava centers linked subordinately to Tirupati). In contrast to Brahmanical sacred networks, the linkage between lineage shrines and territorial Siva shrines as in Kongu involved no sharing of doctrinal or ritual traditions requiring instruction, initiation and guidance. Pujaris at the two kinds of shrines were custodians of very different sacred lore, preserved and transmitted within families.

Beck's observation is that linkages among shrines in Kongu were essentially those between priests, that is, priests serving in local Siva temples of Kangayam were oriented to the major Siva center at Pērūr. Whether it is, moreover, appropriate to interpret Beck's sparce description of this relationship between the two kinds of shrines as comprising a *hierarchy* of shrine affiliations is also unclear. Certainly, one view of Beck's findings on this relationship is to suppose a hierarchical structure of shrines at the base of which are the lineage shrines of the dominant subcaste of Kongu Vellalas of a locality. These lineage shrines, in turn, are linked to subcaste shrines and these to local Siva temples. The capstone of such a presumed hierarchy would then be a primary Siva shrine, such as the one at Pērūr. A structure of this sort certainly goes beyond, but is consistent with, the descriptions of sectarian affiliations in the *Bāramahal Records* and other contemporary evidence. In these late eighteenth century records, affiliations of a number of peasant groups ranged from varieties of domestic worship to occasional relations with learned preceptors of the primary sacred centers of South India; but there is no suggestion of local and supralocal hierarchies of religious affiliation.

Whether or not linkages between subcaste, tutelary shrines and nadu Siva temples are seen as hierarchical, there is another question which deserves attention. That is, why did the elaboration of structural shrines of goddesses occur when it did?

Once again, considering the question of timing in Kongu and Pāṇḍya countries, notice is taken of the high overall proportion of Amman shrines in these two Tamil regions: 38 and 20 per cent respectively. Note is also taken of the very rapid growth of Amman shrines after the first period in this analysis, 1300-1450 A.D. What accounted for this rapid increase between 1450 and 1750 A.D.?

Two different kinds of factors can be considered. The first may be thought of as internal to the religious system. Here, the salient fact would be that the Hinduism of Kongu and Pāṇḍya countries gave greater prominence to non-vedic gods than the variants of Hinduism in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, Naduvil-nāḍu, and Chōḷamaṇḍalam. Though detailed comparative figures are not available for Chola country, summary information in the Thanjavur volume of the temple census (volume vii, part 1) for temples of all periods reveals that, as in Toṇḍaimaṇḍaḷam and Naduvil-nāḍu, temples dedicated to Siva and Vishnu comprised 75 per cent of all temples surveyed. One reason for the differences between Kongu and Pāṇḍya countries and these other places is that the former were more remote and thus later to fall under the influences of efflorescence of puranic Hinduism during the Pallava and Chola periods. One student of this early period, Suresh B. Pillai, has argued that under the Cholas a deliberate policy of "canonization" of temple deities resulted in the demise of non-canonical temples in Thanjavur, especially those devoted to independent goddesses.[64] Another possible reason for the prominence of Amman shrines in the interior portions of Tamil country is that there was a lower density of the foremost institution of South Indian puranic Hinduism prior to the fourteenth century, the great Brahman (*brahmadēya*) settlements of the Coromandel coast. These reasons can hardly be accepted as final ones; they obviously confound a variety of issues which are not exclusively religious (e.g., environmental and political factors). However, these factors may explain a part of the variance among the subregions of Tamil country.

Yet another explanation of this variance would stress exigent demographic factors. The principal of these would be the incursions into Koṅgumaṇḍalam and Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam of Vijayanagara warrior groups. Both of these territories became increasingly diverse in their ethnic composition from the middle of the fifteenth century as a result of the movement of Telugu- and, to a lesser extent, Kannada-speaking, Vijayanagara soldiers into the Tamil interior upland. Even before the fifteenth century, however, both of these interior subregions of Tamil country had received waves of Tamil-speaking migrants from the coastal plains whose descendants retained an identification with their place of origin. This process is outlined by Arokiaswami for Kongu.[65] Moreover, prior to the fifteenth century, people like the Maravars, Kaḷḷars were well marked off from others in Pāṇḍya country and in the border region between there and Chola country (e.g., Pudukkottai) and in other less hospitable parts of the macro region. To this ethnic mosaic were added new and quite different elements of population during and after the fifteenth century. Telugus serving in Vijayanagara armies invaded Tamil country several times, and each time a residue of these warriors remained behind to establish themselves as dominant in some of the more sparsely settled zones along the foothills marking the edge of the Coromandel Plain. From these bases, before very long, these intruders extended their dominance elsewhere. The result of all of these developments were numerous, highly variegated local societies within the Tamil interior country, each with different patterns of cultic affiliations. These affiliations when orchestrated as locality religious systems resulted in very complex overall arrangements.

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[64] "The Raajaraajeesvaram at Tancaavuur," *Proceedings of the First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies*, v. 1, Kuala Lumpur, International Association of Tamil Research, 1968, pp. 439-43.

[65] M. Arokiaswami, *The Kongu Country*, Madras, University of Madras, 1956, Ch. 10.

The Kongu territorial system of Dr Beck is centered upon the Kongu castes of the region, perhaps two-thirds of the population There are Telugu-speaking and Kannada-speaking groups as well. Coimbatore thus shares with several other Tamil districts the kind of ethnic mosaic which prompts consideration of other findings in the 1961 census temple survey. One promising possibility pertains to the often remarked relationship between Telugu-speakers in Tamil country and Vishnu worship.

It has long been recognized that ancient Telugu settlement in Tamil country followed a distinctive spatial pattern. Thus, in the *Report* of the Madras volumes of the 1931 Census, M.W.M. Yeatts observes:

> A remarkable feature of Telugu is its persistence throughout the region between the Western and Eastern Ghats. With the exception of the southern taluks of South Arcot, the whole of Tanjore district, Pudukkottai State, the Ramnad and Sivaganga zamindaries and Tinnevelly south of the Tampraparni river, Telugu remains throughout an appreciable though never majority element. Its course is capricious but two points can be observed (*i*) a tendency to follow the higher ground and (*ii*) a preference for the black soils similar to those of the Ceded Districts. The deltaic or coastal belts are practically free of Telugu. The stretch of red soil that runs along the Eastern foot of the Ghats in Tinnevelly and Ramnad has a smaller Telugu element than the black cotton soil which thrusts down the centre of the region through Sattur, Srivilluputtur, Sankaranayanarkovil and Kovilpatti. Similarly Tirumangalam taluk in Madura which is largely black cotton soil has stronger Telugu element than Melur to the East which resembles Eastern Ramnad and Pudukkottai in its peculiar yellow soil. . . .[66]

It has also long been supposed that Telugu-speakers in Tamil country showed a marked preference for the worship of Vishnu deities. Charles S. Crole noted that in Chingleput district:

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[66] Census of India, 1931, v 14, *Madras*, Pt. I, "Report." Madras, Government Press, 1932, p. 289, graphically supported by a map on a p. 286.

> While the religion of Siva seems to have taken hold of the original people of the district and became naturalized among them, so as to make it difficult to tell whether, in its principal form, it is not a local superstition with an Aryan name and surroundings, the Vishnuvite creed seems never to have got rid of its foreign and intrusive flavour. . . a very numerous class of brahmins, chettis or merchants, nāyudus, who are soldiers and so forth, together with many other northern and Telugu-speaking people. . . are all, without exception, Vishnuvites, and it might be said that to these foreigners, is the creed of Vishnu even yet confined.[67]

Nelson in Madurai makes a similar observation, and later census officials and compilers of the district gazetteers of the Madras Presidency also notice this relationship.[68]

Utilizing the 1961 Census temple survey, it would appear that there is little support for this presumed relationship between Telugus in Tamil country and Vishnu temples. There are 15 taluks among the 69 taluks analyzed here which consist of black soil tracts and in which the proportion of Telugu-speakers is relatively high, in excess of 15 per cent of the population of each taluk. Table 3 shows that in only 9 of the 15 taluks with substantial Telugu population in Tamil country (i.e., 15 per cent or more) do Vishnu temples exceed the proportion of Vishnu temples in the districts to which each taluk belongs and, calculated on a maṇḍalam basis, the proportion is smaller: 8 of 15. This would seem scant support for the observations noted above and suggest caution in attempting to attribute any clear sociological causation to the distribution of Vishnu temples for the period from 1300 to 1750 A.D. in terms similar to those adduced for the distribution of Amman temples. Further, if all of the 69 taluks of this study are examined for the relationship of the distribution of Telugu speakers and Vishnu temples of the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries, this cautionary position is confirmed.

Considering all 69 taluks, the coefficient of correlation of Telugu-speakers as reported in the Tamil districts in 1961 and Vishnu temples of the same taluks which can be dated to the period of the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries is 0 13, not significantly different from zero. If the taluks are grouped by maṇḍalams, as in Table 4, the findings are not significantly different.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has presented a unique view of temples in Tamil country during the later medieval period. It is a first attempt to enumerate ancient temples

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[66] *Chinglcput: A Manual* Madras, 1879, p. 27.

[68] J.H. Nelson, *Madura Country*, Madras, 1868, p.81. Also, see *Madura Gazetteer*, p. 108; *North Arcot Gazetteer*, p. 185; Thurston, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 248.

TABLE 3
VISHNU TEMPLES (1300-1750 A.D.) IN TALUKS SELECTED FOR HIGH PROPORTION OF TELUGU-SPEAKERS

1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
Maṇḍalam [% Vishnu Temples, 1300-1750] *District (% Vishnu Temples 1300-1750)*	*Taluk*	*Telugu-speakers (% 1961)**	*Total Temples (1300-1750 A.D.)*	*Vishnu Temples*	*Col. 4/ Col. 5*
Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam [35]					
Chingleput (34)	Ponneri	21	25	8	32
	Tiruvallur	21	23	7	30
	Tiruttani	31	11	4	37
	Arkonam	16	19	9	47
	Gudiyattam	23	30	7	23
Salem** (27)	Krishnagiri	18	72	23	32
	Hosur	37	40	11	28
Koṅgumaṇḍalam [24]					
Coimbatore (24)	Palladam	20	54	11	21
	Udumalpet	35	27	8	30
	Gobichettipalayam	20	45	12	26
Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam [24]					
Madurai (25)	Periyakulam	21	46	10	21
Ramnad (19)	Sattur	27	19	4	21
	Srivilliputtur	15	21	6	29
	Aruppukottai	20	21	3	15
Tirunelveli (30)	Kovilpatti	20	23	8	35

*India (Republic). Census Commissioner, Census of India, 1961, Vol. IX, Madras, Pt. X-IV, "District Census Handbook" for the above districts, Table C-V, "Language (Mother Tongue)."

**These Salem taluks are not included in any traditional maṇḍalam.

for a substantial part of the Tamil region and to probe some of the findings pertaining to the distribution of some of these temples. The evidence and the method of analysis raise obvious problems. Caution is mandated as a result of the, at times, casual and inexpert way that the age of temples was determined by census enumerators and to some extent by the way the major deity of particular shrines was assigned. And, some uneasiness must attend the necessary homogenization of great temples of all-India fame with very local shrines in order to make the counts required in this analysis. The results are therefore to be considered quite tentative. However tentative the findings and interpretations, the analysis has raised several interesting issues. Particular attention was given to the finding of a symmetrical and reciprocal relationship between the proportion of Siva shrines which attained importance from 1300 to 1750 A.D. and shrines devoted to independent goddesses (Ammans). Secondary attention was given to the presumed relationship between Vishnu temples of the time and the distribution of Telugu-speakers in Tamil country.

Often eloquent on the religious enthusiasm of Hindus in Tamil country and elsewhere in South India, the extant historiography gives deserved prominence to the importance of temples: to temples as a manifestation of the devotional faith of the time; to the variety of social, cultural, and even economic function which temples carried out; and to the significance of sectarian organizations and cleavages. A few major shrines have also received monographic attention. Until recently, however, it has not been possible to consider other questions, specifically, those raised by an aggregative analysis.

TABLE 4

CORRELATION OF TELUGU-SPEAKERS AND VISHNU TEMPLES*
(1300-1750 A.D.) IN ALL TALUKS AND BY MAṆḌALAMS

1 *Maṇḍalam*	2 *No. of Taluks*	3 *Average Proportion Telugu-speakers*	4 *Average Proportion Vishnu Temples*	5 *Correlation Col. 3:4*
Toṇḍai-	19	12 32	35.11	—.11
Pāṇḍi-	28	6.54	23.07	.27
Koṅgu-	13	18.46	26.92	—.36
Naduvil-nāḍu	9	6.78	29.78	.06
All Maṇḍalams	69	10.41	27.00	.13

*As in the tables above, i e , 69 taluks excluding those of Chōlamaṇḍalam.

The volumes of the 1961 Census in Madras entitled "Temples of Madras State" do permit such an analysis. A set of findings emerges which in some ways was to have been expected and in other ways could not have been anticipated. Thus, it would be expected that there would be a considerably larger proportion of older structural shrines in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam than in Koṅgumaṇḍalam and Naduvil-nāḍu. The former were the more ancient settled territories, and each was the seat of a major ancient kingship. It might also have been anticipated that in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, the proportion of universal canonical deities—Siva and Vishnu—would be greater than in other territories owing to the density, and probable origin there, of the uniquely brahmanical institution, the *brahmadīya.* The last expectation would obviously apply to Chōḷamaṇḍalam for which comparable returns were not available. The data in Table 2 pertain to and support such expectations; these data also form the basis for an empirical hypothesis about Chōḷamaṇḍalam when comparable data in this region are finally prepared.

But contrary to reasonable expectations were other findings of this aggregative analysis. Among these are: the differential distribution in time and space of the deities for whom impressive structural shrines were constructed; the apparently simple correlation of the number of taluks and the proportion of temples on a maṇḍalam basis; the relatively stable proportion of Vishnu temples over time and to some extent across maṇḍalams in contrast to the general (and in some places, the sharp) decline in the proportion of Siva temples, and finally, the relationship between Siva and Amman temples to which the major attention of this discussion has been addressed.

With respect to the last finding, what has been proposed is an explanation based on conflict. The conflict was not between devotees of rival gods as might be suspected. This displacement thesis was rejected Rather, the explanation of the declining proportion of Siva temples and the almost symmetrical rise of Amman shrines is seen as complementary.

Religious affiliations of various locally dominant Tamil landed groups and particularly their temple building activities reflected an effort to buttress their landed dominance against others who might be somewhat like themselves (e.g., other Tamil speaking Vellalas) or quite different (e g., Telugu Reḍḍis). One way of accomplishing this was to solidify cultic cooperation by building temples to which only members of the same landed group of a locality, together with their dependents, offered worship. Often, in Kongu and Pāṇḍya countries these temples would be dedicated to ancient female tutelaries, and these tutelary shrines, now transformed architecturally and possibly transvalued in ritual practice, were linked to established Siva temples of the locality and region. Analytically, the choice of the diety to be sheltered in a new temple may be taken as a clue to the principle of segmentation operating among dominant landed groups in various parts of Tamil country. In those parts of Koṅgumaṇḍalam and Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam where Amman temples were complementarily linked to established locality and regional Siva shrines, the principle of segmentation of land controllers was that of subcaste membership.

Elsewhere in Tamil country, other orchestrations of religious affiliation are conceivable. Where Tamil Vellalas competed with other Tamil castes (e.g , Maravar, Kaḷḷar, Paḷḷi) or with non-Tamil agricultural groups, it is hypothesized that the latter did not support established Siva temples, but established shrines for other deities. These included male tutelaries (e.g., Karuppuswami) or deities with better sacral credentials, such as Murugan.

Whatever the weaknesses of the 1961 Census evidence on temples—and these are acknowledged to be considerable—the volumes offer a unique opportunity to extend our knowledge about religious affiliations of the recent and remote past. These volumes also present a challenge to our methods of analysis which this study has attempted to address.

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Kings, Sects and Temples in South India, 1350-1700 A.D.*

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PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESIS

It is a commonplace of Indian social history that Indian society has lacked an overarching, hierarchical and authoritative religious organization. How then are we to account for the pervasiveness of shared religious beliefs, and the endurance of institutions predicated on such beliefs in India? Similarly, it has recently been argued that the pre-modern State, at least in South India, lacked the unitary, bureaucratized and centralized features of political systems in the medieval West and elsewhere.[1] How then are we to account for the durability, size and widespread legitimacy of political systems such as that of the Vijayanagara period in South India?

A solution to these two problems can be generated by following a single line of argument. The hypothesis of this essay is that, at least in South India in the three centuries preceding the arrival of the British, a *single* system of authoritative relations existed, which combined features that have elsewhere been divided between religious and political hierarchies. The historical components of this system can be summarized as follows: in the period between 1350 and 1700 A.D., Srī Vaiṣṇava temples in South India provided a nexus for ritual and economic transactions between warrior-kings from outside the Tamil country and Srī Vaiṣṇava sectarian leaders who belonged principally to the Tamil country. These transactions had two consequences: Telugu warrior-kings were able to establish the stable and legitimate links with core Tamil institutions required to consolidate their authority in South India, and Srī

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[1] B. Stein, "The Segmentary State in South Indian History" in R.G. Fox (Ed.), *Realms and Regions in Pre-Modern India*, Duke University Press (forthcoming).

Vaiṣṇavism itself became divided into two sub-sects, which in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, became self-conscious and antagonistic competitors for temple-control. In the essay that follows, the hypothesis of a single system of authoritative relations is supported by the historical documentation of these transactions and their consequences.

The general framework which underpinned the relationship of kings, sects and temples during this period can be described in terms of four propositions:

1. Temples were fundamental for the maintenance of kingship.
2. Dynamic sectarian leaders provided the links between kings and temples.
3. While the day-to-day management of temples was left in the hands of local (generally sectarian) groups, the responsibility for solving temple conflicts which resisted local resolutions vested clearly in the sovereign.
4. In a specific ethnosociological sense, kingly action re: temple-conflict was not *legislative* but administrative.

TEMPLES AND KINGSHIP

In classical Indian thought, generosity to Brahmans, codified as the "law of the gift" (*dānadharma*), was an important element of the role of kings.[2] It has recently been carefully demonstrated that in South India, under Pallava rule, in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, a fundamental change occurred in the conception of what constitutes sovereignty: the giving of gifts, which was previously only one element of the basic definition of kings as *sacrificers*, now became the central constituent of sovereignty.[3] This shift during Pallava rule coincides with the beginnings of temple-building associated with Purānic deities, such as Viṣnū and Sivā. During the next period of South Indian history, when the Chōla house dominated the South (ca. 900 to 1200 A.D.), this model of kingly generosity was the basis for generous royal endowment of temples, as well as for the establishment and subsidy of *brahmadēyas* (settlements of learned Brahmans, with highly favorable tax-assessments). However, in the articulation and public display of sovereignty, even in the Chōla period, it appears that temple-construction had begun to play a peculiar and powerful role.[4]

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[2] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, 1967, pp. 53-59; V.R.R. Dikshitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, Madras, 1929, pp. 102-104.

[3] Nicholas B. Dirks, "Honor, Merit and Prosperity: From Ritual as Gift-Giving to Gift-Giving as Ritual in Early South Indian Kingship," June 1975 (unpublished Mss.), *passim*. but particularly p. 29.

[4] George W. Spencer, "Religious Networks and Royal Influence in Eleventh Century South India," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XII, Pt. I, January 1969, pp. 42-56; *ibid.*, "Royal Initiative under Rajaraja I," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 7, No. 4, December 1970, pp. 431-42.

Starting from about 1350 A.D., and during the next three centuries of Vijayanagara rule, there was a serious decline in the status of *brahmadēyas*, and a concomitant growth and expansion of temples in South India [5] Royal endowments to temples became a major means for the redistributive activities of Vijayanagara sovereigns, which played an important role in agrarian development in this period.[6] At the same time, temple-endowment was a major technique for the extension of royal control into new areas, and transactions involving both material resources and temple "honors," permitted the absorption of new local constituencies into Vijayanagara rule. This latter process is documented in the body of this essay.

SECTARIAN LEADERS AS MEDIATORS

Even before the commencement of the Vijayanagara period, the relationship of sovereigns to their predominantly agrarian localities was mediated by a host of powerful local personages and groups.[7] This continued to be so, although in rather different ways, in the Vijayanagara period. The relationship of kings to temples in the Vijayanagara period cannot be understood without taking into account the wide variety of local corporate groups and local leaders who were responsible for the management of temples.[8] But of all these groups and persons, increased prominence was gained by local sectarian assemblies and mobile sectarian leaders. The function of these sectarian leaders and the local sectarian constituencies which they represented, in facilitating the linkage of sovereigns to temples, is dealt with in detail later in this essay.

LOCAL MANAGEMENT AND ROYAL INTERVENTION

Although royal figures conducted extensive and elaborate relationships with temples (by the building of new temples and the extension and enrichment of old ones), the day-to-day management of temples remained in the hands of local notables.[9] Nevertheless, it is clear that Vijayanagara kings and their agents played an active role in the supervision of these increasingly complex religio-urban centers. This supervisory role, which is demonstrated in the increased participation of royal agents in all sorts of local decisions,[10] was activated primarily in contexts where the locality was unable to internally resolve temple-conflicts.

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[5] Burton Stein, "Integration of the Agrarian System of South India" in R.E. Frykenberg (Ed.), *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, Madison, 1969, pp. 191-194; *Ibid.*, "Goddess Temples in Tamil Country, 1300-1750 A.D.," presented to the CSRI Workshop, University of Chicago, May 24-26, 1974, *passim*. but especially Fig. 1; K. Sundaram, *Studies in Economic and Social Conditions in Medieval Andhra* (1000-1600 A.D.), Madras, 1968, *passim*, but especially Ch V; A. Krishnaswami, *The Tamil Country under Vijayanagara*, Annamalainagar, 1964, pp. 98-105.

[6] Burton Stein, "The Economic Function of a Medieval South Indian Temple," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XIX, 2 (1960), pp. 163-176.

[7] Dirks, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Burton Stein, "The Segmentary State in South Indian History," *op. cit.*

[8] T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, Madras, 1967, pp. 386-389.

[9] Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, pp. 386-389; see also B.A. Saletore, "The Sthānikas and Their

In analyzing these authoritative settlements of temple-disputes, it is important to notice that they are neither vertical administrative fiats nor pieces of royal legislation, but are rather administrative commands (*rāja-śāsana*) of an arbitrative sort. These publicly and communally arrived at decisions must be understood as *vyavasthās* (regulations) amongst members of local corporate groups, which were rendered authoritative by the participation of the king or his agents. In this context, the *rāja-śāsana* (royal command) was "the act by which the king sanctions a collective regulation."[11] Such *rāja-śāsanas*, which rendered local *vyavasthās* authoritative, were widespread in middle-period South India.[12]

KINGSHIP AS ADMINISTRATION, NOT LEGISLATION

This species of royal intervention presumes a model of the Hindu king as an *administrator* rather than a *legislator*, following the suggestive formulation of Robert Lingat.[13] This contrast is important in two senses. Firstly, it suggests that the commands of Hindu kings were administrative, in the sense that they were addressed to specific groups and individuals, were not of general applicability, and were subject to alteration or repeal according to the pragmatic needs of kingship.[14] On the other hand, legislative power would imply "a right attributed to a constitutionally competent authority to pronounce rules having a general application and possessing, in principle, a permanent character."[15] The most important consequence of this contrast is that royal judgements were only orders, which could not fix the law or even strictly serve as an illustration:

> Although the intervention of the king in judicial matters may be decisive,

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Historical Importance," *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. VII, July 1938, Part I, pp. 29-93.

[10] For detailed examples of royal intervention, see: *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IV, Ch. 113, p. 15; *Ibid.*, V, P. 1, Bl. 5, p 45; *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1913, para 51; *Ibid.*, 1914, pp. 96-97; B.A. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire* (2 Vols.), Vol. I, Madras, 1934, p. 371.

[11] Robert Lingat, *The Classical Law of India*, Delhi, 1973, p. 229, fn. 54.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

[13] Lingat, *The Classical Law of India*, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

[14] *Ibid.*, 224-32.

[15] *Ibid*, p. 224.

it brings no new element to interpretation. In settling disputes between his subjects, the king merely does his duty, which is to secure order and peace in his realm. This is the office of an administrator and not a legislator.[16]

But the orders of Hindu kings in reference to temples were "administrative" only in a special ethnohistorical sense. The administrative actions of the king did not necessarily imply a centralized bureaucratic staff on the Weberian model of legal-bureaucratic authority.[17] As in the validity of royal commands, so also in the machinery of making and enforcing such decisions, context-sensitivity was the rule. In much of the inscriptional evidence describing cases of royal arbitration, the "staff" that makes and carries out the decision is a complex, and contextually variable, nesting of local individuals and corporate groups, forming a single, unique, interlocking system, linking the king, his agents, local assemblies, sectarian groups and leaders, temple functionaries, and, in some cases, local worshippers.[18] There was thus no single, centralized, permanent bureaucratic organization, but a temporary affiliation of local groups, authoritatively constituted by, or in the name of, the king, and empowered to make public decisions on specific matters.[19]

In classical Indian thought, the distinctive function of the king is expressed in the formula "*prajānām paripālanam*" (protection of his subjects)[20] or in some other variant formulaic expression of the same idea. In respect of temples in South India, the central aspect of this royal function was the responsibility of the king to maintain peace between his subjects and order in his realm.[21] However, given the spatial and temporal variability in the set of "staffs" through which kings did actually arbitrate temple-disputes, they could only stimulate, ratify and render authoritative reasonable local agreements. The actual day-to-day maintenance of these royally sanctioned *vyavasthās* was necessarily the responsibility of authoritative local groups. Thus, we find in the bulk of the inscriptions from temples in middle period South India, a stylized conclusion to these inscriptions, whereby the protection (*raksai*) of these *vyavasthās* was entrusted to local sectarian groups: for example, in the inscriptions of the Tirupati temple, the stylized formula is: "Śrī Vaiṣṇava Rakṣai."[22] The second aspect of the kingly role, the lavish endowment or temples, did not by itself distinguish kings, since temple-donors, in the middle-period, came from a wide cross-section of society.[23] In relation to temples, the distinctive function of royalty was the combination of generous endowment with the task of "protection" (paradigmatically: dispute-arbitration). It was this second aspect of the kingly role that formally distinguished it from other social roles, and thus we have a record of a sixteenth-century dialogue between a Paṇḍya ruler and the learned Brahmans at his court, as to which was preferable: donation or protection. They declared protection to be superior, saying: "Render thou protection which is purifying."[24]

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[16] *Ibid*, p. 256: I am grateful to Prof. A.K. Ramanujan, University of Chicago, who in unpublished work as well as personal communications, first suggested to me the widespread importance of this kind of "context-sensitivity" in various aspects of Indian culture; these features of royal arbitration of conflicts, namely, their freedom from precedent and their particularity, explain much that is crucial in the impact of British legal institutions and ideas on the temple in the 19th and 20th centuries. This impact, which was fundamentally a product of the orientation to precedent as well as the partial legislative (i.e. generalizing) basis of British courts, is dealt with in Ch. V of my Ph.D. dissertation, *op. cit.*

[17] Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (T. Parsons, Ed.), New York, 1964, pp. 329-36

[18] See n. 10, for several examples; in one such case, we are told that: "The great minister Nāgaṇṇa and various important officials like *Pradāhni* Dēvarasa, along with other *arasus* or lords, and the Jaina Mallappa summoned the elders of the three cities and the Eighteen Kampanas, and held an equiry . . " (Saletore, *Social and Political Life . . ., op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 371). Such examples could be multiplied.

[19] This is an extension of the argument in B. Stein, "The Segmentary State in South Indian History," in R.G. Fox (Ed.), *Realms and Regions in Pre-Modern India*, Duke University Press (forthcoming).

Here again, the British bureaucracy in the 19th century broke down this delicate relationship between local participation and royal authority, with important consequences for temple politics, a subject dealt with in Chs. 3 and 4 of my doctoral dissertation, *op. cit.*

[20] Lingat, *op. cit.* p. 222.

Hindu kings in middle-period South India, thus, had two sorts of relationships to temple-deities: endowment and protection. The latter aspect of their role, however, did not connote a capacity to legislate in the modern Western sense, nor did it imply centralized bureaucratic management of temple affairs. The effective bearers of royal commands, and thus of the "protective" function were local, generally sectarian, groups and leaders. Without endowment, the king would cease to place himself in an active relationship with the redistributive powers of the deity, and thus would fail to acquire the honor constitutive of sovereignty. Without protection, i.e. the authoritative ratification of local *vyavasthās* by royal edicts (*rāja-śāsana*), the king would have abnegated his fundamental duty towards his subjects. In South India, between 1350 and 1700, this cultural model formed the basis for a dynamic set of relationships between warrior-kings, sectarian leaders and temples, which had important consequences for Vaiṣṇava sectarian development.

THE TRANSACTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Towards the middle of the fourteenth century, certain scholastic disputes within the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava community in South India had divided its leadership into two schools By the end of the seventeenth century, this rift had become the intellectual expression of a complex social phenomenon, namely, the division of the community into two antagonistic sub-sects, which were beginning to compete, pan-regionally, for control of Vaiṣṇava temples. To account for this fundamental alteration in the structure of the sect, it is necessary to appreciate a certain set of relationships which lay at the core of sectarian activity in this period The method of the following section is to schematically describe this set of relationships, then describe its empirical manifestations and transformations over the entire period, and thus account for the ultimate shape of South Indian Śrī Vaiṣṇavism at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

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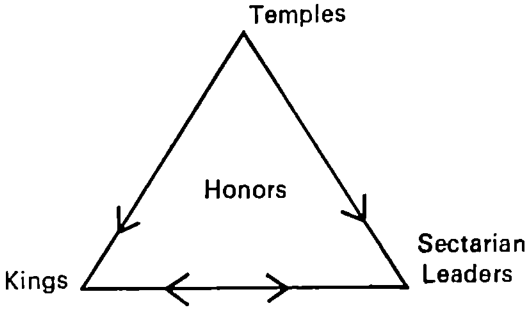
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

[22] *Tirumalai-Tirupati Devastanam Epigraphical Series*, 6 Vols., Madras, 1931-1937, *passim.*

[23] See, for example, *ibid.*, Vol. VI, Part 2, *Epigraphical Glossary*, Section III, "List of Donors for the Temples at Tirumalai and Tirupati."

[24] *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Trivandrum, 1930, Vol. 1, Group 6, pp. 108-9 and 113.

In analyzing sectarian activities (whether Vaiṣṇava or not) in this period, a three-way transactional system emerges from the evidence. This set of transactions links political rulers, sectarian leaders and temples, in a complex triangular set of exchanges. Although, in the South Indian temple, "honors" and material endowments represent two aspects of a single redistributive process,[25] it is analytically possible to separate them. So separated, it is possible to see two parallel but distinct levels of transaction that link kings, sectarian leaders and temples: one involving transfers of "honor" and the other involving transfers of endowed material resources. In the medium of "honors," it is possible to see four kinds of transaction during this period. Temples confer "honors" on political rulers; political rulers confer "honors" on sectarian leaders; temples confer "honors" on sectarian leaders; and sectarian leaders confer "honors" on political rulers. This level of transaction can be schematized as follows:



In the medium of endowed material resources, a different set of transactions obtains. Political rulers transfer material resources (most often shares in the agrarian produce of specified villages) to temples; political rulers also transfer such material resources to sectarian leaders; and sectarian leaders, in their own capacity, also endow temples. This transactional level can be schematized as follows:

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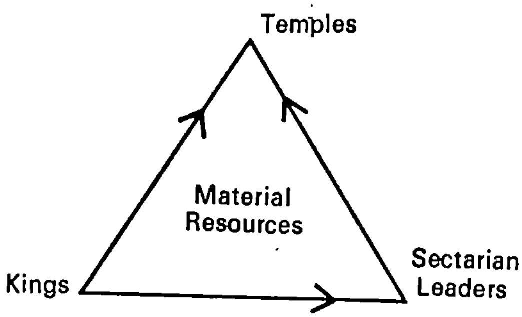
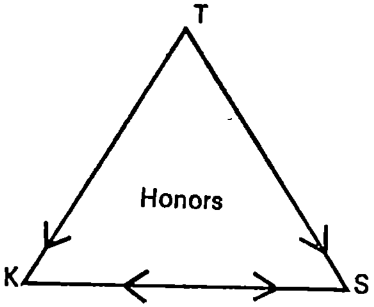
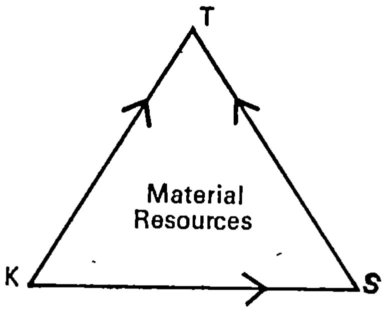
[25] For a detailed analysis of "honors" and the redistributive process of the temple, see Arjun Appadurai and Carol A. Breckenridge "The South Indian Temple: Authority, Honor and Redistribution," *Contributions to Indian Sociology: New Series*, December 1976.



If these two transactional levels are visually juxtaposed, the complexity of the relationships between these three loci becomes obvious:





The juxtaposition of these two diagrams raises a problem. Except in one transactional case, the relationships between any two of these units is symmetrical, and involves the exchange of "honors" for material resources. The only problematic, and seemingly gratuitous, relationship is the conferral of "honors" by political rulers on sectarian leaders. That is to say, the relationship between political rulers and sectarian leaders, conceived in terms of "honors" and material resources, is asymmetrical. Political rulers confer "honors" as well as material resources on sectarian leaders, whereas sectarian leaders seem to repay this only in part, i.e. by the conferral of "honors" on political leaders. Is this asymmetry a real one? While this question can be posed in schematic terms, it can be answered only empirically and historically. What is proposed below is a hypothesis concerning the relationship between political rulers and sectarian leaders during this period, which will give empirical flesh to the above scheme, and suggest also that sectarian leaders did indeed repay the endowments given to them by political leaders, in a cognate medium Specifically, it is argued below that in the socio-political context of the period from 1350 to 1700, sectarian leaders were crucial intermediaries for the introduction, extension and institutionalization of warrior-control over constituencies and regions that might otherwise have proved refractory. This intermediary role of sectarian leaders, which rendered control by conquest into appropriate (and thus stable) rule, was effected primarily in, and through, sectarian control of the redistributive capacities of temples. Thus, sectarian leaders permitted Telugu warriors to render their military expansion culturally appropriate by "gifting" activity, and its main product, temple honor. Put differently, it might be said that the ceremonial exchanges of honor between warrior-kings and sectarian leaders rendered public, stable and culturally appropriate, an exchange at the level of politics and economics. These warrior-kings bartered the control of agrarian resources gained by military prowess, for access to the redistributive processes of temples, which were controlled by sectarian leaders. Conversely, in their own struggles with each other, and their own local and regional efforts to consolidate their control over temples, sectarian leaders found the support of these warrior-kings timely and profitable. Empirically, and diachronically, this relationship between warrior-kings and sectarian leaders is neither simple nor transparent. It is a complex symbiosis in which mobile figures, of both types, augmented and sustained each other. How did this relationship come to apply to Śrī Vaiṣṇava institutions?

ŚRI VAIṢṆAVISM FROM 1137-1350 A.D.: SCHOLASTIC FISSION

The activities and writings of Rāmānujā, the great synthesizer of South Indian Śrī Vaiṣṇavism, represented a complex institutional and ideological union of disparate traditions and groups: between the Sanskrit texts of the North and the Tamil devotional poetry of the Āḷvār poet-saints of South India, known as the *Prabandham*; between the largely domestic and anaconic ritual injunctions of the Vēdic tradition and the temple-centered and idol-oriented rituals of the Āgamic tradition; between the metaphysical severity of Advaita-Vēdānta and the personal, emotional intensity of popular devotionalism in South India; between the *varna* basis of the Vēdic tradition and the sectarian orientation of *bhakti* devotionalism in South India.[26] The two institutions that expressed these reconciliations were those of the *ācāryā* (sectarian leader/spiritual guide) and the organizationally complex sectarian temples, paradigmatically the great Vaiṣṇava temple at Srīrangam.[27] In Rāmānujā's own life

[26] J.B. Carman, *The Theology of Rāmānujā*, Yale, 1974, Ch.2; N. Jagadeesan, "History of Sri Vaisnavism in the Tamil Country (Post-Ramanuja)," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Madras, 1967, p. 60.

[27] V.N. Hari Rao (Ed.), *Koil-Olugu*, Madras, 1961, *passim*.

and work at Srīrangam, these two institutional emphases were directly connected. After Rāmānujā's death, traditionally dated in 1137 A.D., the weak institutionalization of this gigantic mosaic became apparent.

In the two centuries that followed the death of Rāmānujā, his followers became divided into two schools, whose main intellectual difference was their respective preference for the Sanskrit tradition, represented at its peak by Rāmānujā's *Srī Bhāsya,* and the Tamil *Prabandham* poetry of the Āḻvār poet-saints.[28] This linguistic and textual division had, as its most important doctrinal consequence, divergent interpretations by the two schools of the doctrine of *prapatti* (self-surrender), as a technique for salvation.[29] The Sanskrit (or Bhāsyic) school, which gradually shifted its base from Srīrangam to Kāncipuram, accepted a more conservative view of *prapatti,* expressed in later sectarian literature in the analogy of the "monkey" whose young make active efforts to attach themselves to their mothers. The Prabandhic school, which gradually grew dominant at Srīrangam, had a more radical view of *prapatti,* later described by the analogy of the "cat," whereby the devotee, like a kitten, makes no effort to help himself, and depends wholly on divine grace.[30]

Both schools linked their views on *prapatti* to another belief: submission to a human mediator, specifically an *ācāryā,* for salvation.[31] But the Tamil school laid much greater emphasis on the idea of submission to the *ācāryā,* and also laid more explicit emphasis on the link between these two ideas.[32] It has often been remarked that the Tamil school, because of its radical interpretation of *prapatti,* and because of its reliance on the Tamil *Prabandham* rather than the Sanskrit *Vēda,* was more flexible and open to the participation of Sūdras in sectarian life.[33] This is undoubtedly true, but what was probably of greater long-term significance is that, in relating individual helplessness to the need for an absolutely authoritarian sectarian leadership, the Tamil school made a much more imaginative intellectual leap, by granting doctrinal legitimacy to the link between wider recruitment and radical submission to sectarian leadership. Thus, while both schools, by 1350 A.D., had laid the groundwork for sectarian expansion through "discipleship" and initiation, it was the Tamil school which had placed the link between *prapatti* (self-surrender in the interests of salvation) and *ācāryābhimāna* (respect for the sectarian mediator) at the center of their teachings. It was this strategic leap in their view of the means of salvation combined with their natural advantage in the medium of religious communication, i.e. Tamil, which underlay the institutional expansion of Prabandhic Vaiṣṇavism, first at Srīrangam and later throughout the Tamil country. After 1350 A.D., the division between the two schools, which had so far been primarily scholastic, exploded out of textual and rhetorical arenas to the primary political arenas of temple and royal court.[34]

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[28] V. Rangachari, "The Successors of Ramanuja and the Growth of Sectarianism among the Sri-Vaishnavas," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Vol. XXIV.

[29] A. Govindacharya, "The Astadasa-Bhedas . . ," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* 1910, pp 1103-12.

[30] A. Govindacharya and G. A. Grierson, "The Artha-Panchaka of Pillai Lokacarya," *Ibid.,* p. 567.

[31] A. Govindacarya, "Tengalai and Vadagalai," *ibid.,* 1912, p. 716.

[32] T.K. Narayanaswami Naidu (Ed.), *Śrī Pillai Lōkācāriyār Srīvacana Pūšanam: Manavāla Māmunikal Tamil Ākkam,* Madras, 1970, *passim,* but particularly *sūtra* no. 450, p. 660; see also Govindacharya and Grierson, "The Artha.Panchaka. . .," *op. cit* , p. 567; see also K. K. A. Venkatachari, "The Manipravāḷa Literature of the Srivaiṣṇava Acāryas, 12th to 15th Centuries A.D." Doctoral Dissertation, Utrecht University, 1975, pp. 139-149.

[33] See, for example, B. Stein, "Social Mobility and Medieval South Indian Hindu Sects," in J. Silverberg (Ed.), *Social Mobility in the Caste System in India: An Interdisciplinary Symposium,* Paris, 1968. See also K. K. A. Venkatachari, "The Maṇipravāḷa Literature. . .," *op. cit.,* pp. 36-49,

Telugu Control and Temple Politics, 1350-1500 A.D.

The growth of Śrī Vaiṣṇava sectarian activity, in the century and a half after 1350 A.D., has for its context a transitional political situation. It was during this period that the Telugu warrior-founders of the Vijayanagara Empire consolidated their control of South India. The first fifty years of this period, especially in the Tamil country, illuminate the process by which this Telugu penetration was achieved. Indigenous sources, both inscriptional and sectarian, describe this process in a remarkably unified stylistic code, of which the primary elements are: (1) the defeat of the Muslim invaders of the Tamil country by Telugu warriors; (2) the "restoration," by these warriors, of temple-worship (alleged to have been interrupted or destroyed by the Muslims); and (3) the establishment of new political order by these Telugu warriors. A typical example of this stylized description is an inscription from Tirukkalākuṭi in the Ramnad district, which states that "the times were Tulukkan (Muhammedan) times and that Kampana Odeyar came on his southerly campaign, destroyed the Muhammedans, established orderly government throughout the country and appointed many nāyakkaṇmār for inspection and supervision in order that the worship in all temples might be revived and conducted regularly as of old."[35]

The first 30 years of the Sangama dynasty (the first dynasty) of Vijayanagara are characterized by a number of inscriptions, which adhere to this code. Several of these inscriptions involve Kōpaṇṇa, a Brahman minister-general of Kampana Udaiyar II, of the Sangama dynasty, who seems to have been the model for Telugu penetration of Tamil country through the "restoration" of temples. The inscriptional evidence shows that Kampana's conquest of the Tamil country, and his defeat of the Muhammedans, was followed by extensive involvement in temple-endowment, in South Arcot district,[36] Trichinopoly district,[37] Chingleput district,[38] and Madura district.[39] Kōpaṇṇa, his minister-general, seems to have been one of the main agents of Kampana Udaiyar II, in this institutional penetration of the Tamil country.[40] Three inscriptions from Kāncipuram,[41] in the Kailāsanātha temple, give us an idea of the nature of this Telugu involvement in Tamil temples. The first, dated 1364 A.D., comes from the Rājasiṃhavarmēsvaran shrine, and testifies to the restoration of temple lands and worship, by the order of Kōpaṇṇa.[42] The second inscription, also dated 1364 A.D., is from the same temple but is far more detailed and interesting.[43] It describes Kōpaṇṇa's order to the temple authorities, ratifying the sale of some temple property to a community of weavers and their leaders (*mutali*), with the right to mortgage and sell this property. Along with this property, however, they were to be free to mortgage and sell their "honors" as well: their precedence (*mutalmai*) in the receipt of the betel-nut honor (*aṭaippam*), their service of the deity (*tēvar aṭimai*), and their proper place in rank (*aṭaivu*). The third inscription, dated 1369 A.D., refers to the establishment of a *maṭha* (monastery) and the allotment of some property, in return for the job of sharing in the recitation of sacred hymns before the deity, to the religious preceptor of a chieftain in a town in South Arcot.[44] This last inscription indicates that one function of allocating such temple-privileges, by these Telugu warriors, was to ease their ties with Tamil rulers. In this case, Kōpaṇṇa appears to have done this by allocating a specialized ritual role in a temple in Chingleput district to the *ācārya* of a chieftain in South Arcot. Taken together, these three inscriptions from Kāncipuram suggest that the initial penetration of Tamil country by Telugu warrior-chiefs was not simply pillage. It involved inroads into some major Tamil temples, whose function was revived or extended, and whose resources were re-allocated to individuals or groups favored by these warriors. The result not only was to establish constituencies beholden to these warriors (such as the weavers), but also to establish links between these warriors and indigenous chiefs. In establishing such linkages, sectarian leaders were of considerable importance.[45] This linkage can most directly be observed in the case of Śrī Vaiṣṇava temples after 1350 A D., particularly at Srīrangam. In this general atmosphere of intensification of royal involvement in temples, Vaiṣṇava sectarian leaders, particularly of the Prabandhic (Southern Tamil) school, made spectacular progress.

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[34] This is not to imply that before the 14th century, the growth of Srī Vaiṣṇavism was a quiet textual affair. It was indeed characterized by conflict, sometimes violent, but these conflicts were rooted in somewhat different issues than the ones discussed here.

[35] A.R. 34 of 1916, in para 33, *Annual Reports for South Indian Epigraphy for 1916.* (In the rest of this chapter, this numbered series of inscriptions will be prefaced by the initials A.R. The text of these reports will be referred to as *Annual Reports* . .). For an excellent sample of the indigenous sources that adhere to this code, see V.N. Hari Rao, *A History of Trichinopoly and Srirangam*, Ph.D. Thesis, Madras, 1948, pp. 299-307.

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[36] A.R. 159 and 163 of 1904.

[37] A.R 282 of 1903.

[38] V. Rangachari, "The History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura," *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 43, 1914, p. 7.

[39] A R. 111 of 1903.

[40] E. Hultzsch, "Ranganātha Inscription of Goppanna; Saka-Samvat 1293," *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 322-330.

[41] A.R. 27, 28 and 29 of 1888.

[42] *See South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 120.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

[44] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 123-125.

TELUGU WARRIOR-KINGS AND PRABANDHIC VAIṢṆAVISM, 1350-1500 A.D.

The first signs of institutionalization of the Southern school are expressed in the formation of the Śrīranganārāyaṇa Jīyar *Ātīna* (monastic organization) at Srīrangam. Although traditional hagiologies vary about the date of the establishment of this Prabandhic institution, it seems safe to assign it to the first quarter of the 14th century.[46] Kūranārāyaṇa Jīyar, the first occupant of this seat, appears to have been an outsider, but one who gained immense popularity at Srīrangam. As a response to his popular status, the temple-servants, lead by Periya Āyi,[47] installed him in this institution and also gave him several duties and privileges in the temple.[48] The honors and duties which were allocated to this *Jīyar*[49] indicate the growing power of the Prabandhic school. In the course of time, the honors allotted to the incumbent of this position increased and came to be on a par with the other prominent *ācārya-purusa* families at Srīrangam. Later incumbents of this position enhanced their power by offering discipleships to the Sūdra servants of the temple.[50] The primary index of the growing importance of this sub-sectarian institution was the nature of the honors given to its head: precedence in the receipt of *prasātam* (sacred remnants of the food consumed by the deity) in certain ritual contexts; exclusive receipt of the *prasātam* in certain physical areas of the temple; the periodical receipt of certain insignia from the temple-servants to indicate his fitness for this pontifical seat; the receipt of *tīrtam* (sacred water left over from the deity's meals or his bath), *parivaṭṭam* (a silk turban first worn by the deity), and a garland, also previously worn by the deity.[51] It appears, moreover, that the entry of this popular sectarian leaders into the redistributive process defined by temple-honors was not automatic. It was resisted by the members of the Kantāṭai family, who had been powerful in temple affairs since the time of Rāmānujā. They eventually accommodated the *Jīyar* and offered him an important share in these honors in deference to his popularity.[52] This monastic seat was subsequently to become one of the most important loci of Teṇkalai sectarianism.[53] To understand this process, however, it is necessary to take a lengthy detour, and to examine in detail the impact of Vijayanagara rule on Srīrangam in the period from 1350 to 1500 A.D.

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[45] A.R. 56 of 1900 in V. Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* (3 Vols.), Vol. I, Madras, 1919, p. 57; see also T. Gopinatha Rao, "Soraikkavur Plates of Virupāksha; Saka Samvat 1308." *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 298-306.

[46] Hari Rao "A History of Trichinopoly . . . ," *op cit.*, p. 295.

[47] The grandson of Mutali Andān, to whom Rāmānujā had assigned the *srīkārīyam* (management) of the temple.

[48] *Koil-Olugu*, pp. 121-122.

[49] This term indicates a sectarian leader who also has a fixed role in temple-management, and goes back, according to sectarian tradition, to Rāmānujā's organizational activities all over South India.

[50] *Koil-Olugu*, p. 124

The Srīrangam temple was a major example of the process by which Telugu warrior-chiefs "restored" Tamil temples after Muslim rule. Both Kōpaṇṇa and Sāḷuva Cuṇda, generals under Kampana II, were major benefactors of the temple, after 1371 A.D. But their endowments were not made directly: they were made through sectarian notables. Kōpaṇṇa, for example, is believed to have donated 52 villages to the temple through Periya Krishnarāya Uttamanambi.[54]

The rise to power of several sectarian leaders, and the involvement of Telugu warrior-kings in temple "honors" disputes is carefully recounted in the *Koil-Olugu.*[55] According to this narrative, Sāḷuva Cuṇda appointed a certain Uttamarkoil Srīrangarājan to be the fifth head of the Srīranganārāyaṇa Jīyar Ātīna, and established for him certain honors in the temple. The members of the Kantāṭai family took umbrage at this, seeing in it a reduction of their own status, and appealed to Kōpaṇṇa, the other Telugu general involved in the affairs of the temple But, we are told, "since that Durgātipati patronized the Jīyar, he overlooked it."[56] At this point, the Kantāṭai family appealed to Periya Krishna Uttamanambi, who was already rising in power as an agent for Vijayanagara interests in the temple. Uttamanambi is said to have proceeded to Vijayanagara in 1372 A.D to lay these problems before the Rāya (king). Although the outcome of this dispute is not known, it certainly heralds the rise of the Srīranganārāyaṇa Jīyar Ātīna, as a base for Prabandhic Vaiṣṇavism, as well as the beginnings of a long and fruitful relationship between members of the Uttamanambi family and the Vijayanagara court.

The Uttamanambi family claim descent from Periya Āḷvār, who migrated to Srīrangam from Srīvilliputtūr.[57] Their rise to power began in the lifetime of Periya Krishna Uttamanambi. He appears to have received cash grants from Kampana II, as well as from Kōpaṇṇa and Virupaṇṇa Udaiyar, which he converted to land grants to the temple [58] He apparently also used this cash to make various kinds of gifts to the temple such as ornaments, utensils, *maṇṭapas* (pillared halls adjoining shrines), *kōpuras* (towers on temple structures), and *vāhanas* (processional vehicles for the deity).[59] These endowments were sometimes explicitly in behalf of patron-kings,[60] but they were sometimes apparently wholly personal acts by this sectarian figure. This Uttamanambi made another trip to Vijayanagara in about 1375 A.D. and was commanded by Virupaṇṇa, one of the brothers of Kampana II, to build a special type of hall, and subsequently this chieftain came to Srīrangam and performed a special ceremony there: the *tulapurusa* ceremony.[61] According to the *Koil-Olugu*, Periya Krishnarāya Uttamanambi visited Vijayanagara several times, and obtained land-grants from a number of highly placed warriors in the Vijayanagara alliance, many of which he converted to specific ornamental and architectural additions to the temple, in the names of these warrior-chiefs.[62]

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[51] *Koil-Olugu*, pp. 122-25.

[52] *Ibid.*. pp. 121-22.

[53] V.N. Hari Rao, "Vaishnavism in South India in the Modern Period" in O.P. Bhatnagar (Ed.), *Studies in Social History (Modern India)* Allahabad, 1964, pp 129-30.

[54] *Koil-Olugu*, p. 135.

[55] *Ibid*, pp. 136-38.

[56] *Koil-Olugu*, p. 136.

[57] Hari Rao, "A History of Trichinopoly . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 307.

Between 1397 and 1419 A.D., fresh complications arose in the arena of temple-control and temple-honors, because of the rise to power of Vēdācārya Bhattar, a member of another *ācāryāpurusa* family, who is believed to have usurped some privileges belonging to the Kantāṭai family, which was temporarily in eclipse. This generated honors-disputes in the temple.[63] The disputes were settled by Mai-Nilai-Yiṭṭa Uttamanambi, who appears to have effected a compromise in 1418 A.D., whereby the powers of Bhattar were diminished and those of the Kantāṭai family revived. This settlement was made in the authoritative presence of an agent of the Vijayanagara ruler as well as agents of the Srīranganārāyaṇa Jīyar.[64]

During the reigns of Dēvarāya I and Dēvarāya II, (1406-1449 A.D.) two brothers of the Uttamanambi family became all powerful in the Srīrangam temple.[65] Their link with these rulers was expressed through the endowment of various lands to the temple by these rulers, whose supervision and application to specific purposes was entrusted to these sectarian leaders.[66] These land grants permitted the Uttamanambis to associate themselves prominently with the construction of new shrines, the installation of new deities, the building of *maṇṭapas*, and the gifting of ornaments to the deity, all activities bound to increase their share in the redistributive process of the temple.[67] For the Vijayanagara rulers, this relationship ensured the application of these resources to the proper ends, and ensured as well that they would be recognized as the benefactors of the temple. Indeed the relationship must have been a profitable one for the Vijayanagara rulers, since an inscription of Dēvarāya II states that Uttamanambi was the recipient of several royal honors such as a pearl-umbrella, a pair of *kāhalas* (musical instruments), two lamps, a golden vessel, and an ivory shield from Dēvarāya II, along with other royal emblems.[68] In this intricate set of transactions between Vijayanagara warrior-kings and the Uttamanambi family of sectarian leaders, we see the working out of a complex process: one in which the Telugu warriors linked themselves to the temple as a source of honor, through the patronage of sectarian leaders and the re-allocation of land and cash to these sectarian figures. At the same time, they associated these sectarian leaders with their own kingship by investing them with royal honors. This increased the local authority of these sect leaders at the same time as it made Vijayanagara rule locally honorable.

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[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 307-308.

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 307-10; *Koil-Olugu*, pp. 142-43; T.N. Subramaniam(Ed.), *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Pt. 2, Madras, 1957, p. 1300.

[60] *Koil-Olugu*, p. 143.

[61] *Ibid.*, p 138; on the role of the *tulapurusa* ceremony in the fulfilment of the sovereign function, see Mahalingam, *South Indian Policy, op. cit*, pp. 26-27.

[62] *Koil-Olugu*, pp. 142-43.

[63] *Ibid.*, p 144.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

[65] Hari Rao, "A History of Trichinopoly . . . ," *op. cit.* pp. 310-315.

[66] *Ibid*, see also *Annual Reports* . . . (1937-38), para 63; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, pp. 222-23 and Vol. XVIII, p. 138 ff.

This fruitful and symbiotic relationship between Vijayanagara rulers and the descendants of Periya Krishna Uttamanambi continued throughout the fifteenth century: Tirumalainātha Uttamanambi had a similar relationship with Mallikarjunā (1449-1465 A.D.).[69] Similarly, Krishnarāya Uttamanambi, in 1487 A.D., mediated the endowments of Eṟṟamanji Timmappā Nāyakar to the temple.[70]

The last decades of the fourteenth century witnessed the breakdown of the First Dynasty of Vijayanagara and the concomitant rise of the Sāḷuva dynasty. This turbulent political shift had its effects on temple-politics at Srīrangam. The Uttamanambi family appears to have retained much of its power in this transitional period.[71] But they did have to make one major accommodation to the new rulers of Vijayanagara, by conceding considerable status to a foreign (*dēsāṇtiri*) sectarian leader called Kantāṭai Rāmānujadāsar. This particular individual is a model of the social and geographical mobility of sectarian leaders during this period, and of their close links with kings. Kantāṭai Rāmānujadāsar is best known for his activities at Tirupati, as the agent of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha, a subject which is dealt with later in this essay. The available evidence makes it difficult to identify this person.[72] But it seems fairly certain that he rose from obscurity to prominence by the appropriate manipulation of his "discipleship" to prominent sectarian leaders, and his trading of this credential for political currency under the Sāḷuvas at Tirupati. He arrived at Srīrangam after having established his credentials as the agent of Sāḷuva Narasimha at Tirupati between 1456 and 1489 A.D. He seems to have entered the highest levels of the sectarian hierarchy at Srīrangam by becoming the disciple (*sishya*) of Kantāṭai Aṇṇan. He then gained the privilege of the "*disāṇtiri mutra*" (seal which gives certain rights to the prominent visiting sectarian figure), which seems to have been his sumptuary instrument for gaining a wedge into temple-affairs, and for appropriating certain honors, in precedence over a member of the powerful Uttamanambi family.[73] Kantāṭai Rāmānujadāsar also seems to have expanded his powers in the temple by associating himself with Narasa Nāyaka, a general of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha. Narasa Nāyaka's defeat of the provincial chief Kōnēri Rājā, the semi-independent representative of the previous dynasty in this region, signalled the establishment of Araviṭu rule in this region.[74] The *Koil-Olugu*, in fact, ascribes Narasa Nāyaka's defeat of Kōnēri Rājā, to the repeated requests of Kantāṭai Rāmānujadāsar for relief from the depredations of the latter.[75] The role of sectarian intermediary for Narasa Nāyaka at Srīrangam seems to have been as fruitful for Rāmānujadāsar as his relationship to Sāḷuva Narasiṃha had been at Tirupati. He managed Narasa Nāyaka's endowments, made some endowments himself, and as a consequence gained a significant share in temple-honors.[76] He also seems to have had a cordial relationship with the Srīranganārāyaṇa Jīyar Ātīna.[77] Kantāṭai Rāmānujadāsar's activities at Srīrangam testify to the close connection of sectarian intermediaries to warrior-rulers during this period, a connection which was pivotal to the rise of these leaders as also to the penetration by these warriors of the institutional structures of the Tamil country.

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[67] *Koil-Olugu*, pp. 146-58; *Annual Reports . . .* (1937-38), *op. cit.*

[68] A.R. 84 of 1937-38; see *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Pt. 2, pp. 1298-99; this inscription partly verifies the indigenous account in the *Koil-Olugu*, pp. 146-47 which describes the quasi-royal status of these brothers in Srirangam.

[69] *Koil-Olugu*, pp. 158-61.

[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 161-63; Hari Rao, "A History of Trichinopoly . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 331.

[71] Hari Rao, *ibid.*

It was in this environment that Prabandhic Vaiṣṇavism at Srīrangam received its institutional form under the leadership of Maṇavāḷa Māmuni (1370-1445 A.D.). During the lifetime of Maṇavāḷa Māmuni, Prabandhic Vaiṣṇavism became the dominant sect of the Southern parts of the Tamil country, and made inroads as well into its Northern parts, and marginally into the Telugu and Kannaḍa countries. Maṇavāḷa Māmuni's activities involved a judicious combination of five kinds of strategies: (1) the enhancement of the *Prabandham* as an authoritative doctrinal source, (2) the elaboration of the importance of radical submission to the *ācārya*, (3) the creation of sub-sectarian networks organized around "discipleship," which spanned most of Tamil country, (4) the use of royal patronage, on a disaggregated, local basis, to provide both material resources and royal honors for sectarian leaders, in specific localities, and (5) the specific linkage of sub-sectarian affiliations to temple-control. The interdependent and synthetic use of this fivefold strategy by Maṇavāḷa Māmuni ensured specifically Teṉkalai control over a number of temples in South India. How was this strategy historically realized?

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[72] *Ibid*, p. 336; T.K.T. Viraraghavacharya, *History of Tirupati*, 2 Vols, Tirupati, 1953, Vol. II, pp. 582-83.

[73] *Koil-Olugu*, pp. 165-66.

[74] Hari Rao, "A History of Trichinopoly . . . ," *op. cit.*, pp. 338-43.

[75] *Koil-Olugu*, pp. 166-67.

[76] A.R. 13 of 1939 and *Koil-Olugu*, pp. 169-70.

[77] Hari Rao, "A History of Trichinopoly. . . ," p. 342.

Maṇavāḷa Māmuni was a native of Āḻvār Tirunagari (in the Tinnevelly district) which had become, by the time of his birth in 1370 A.D., the stronghold of Prabandhic Vaiṣṇavism. After becoming the major Vaiṣṇava figure in Āḻvār Tirunagari, he proceeded to Srīrangam, the heart of Vaiṣṇava sectarian activities. In Srīrangam, early in the 15th century, he appears to have gained control of a *maṭha* (monastery) in Srīrangam and some share in temple honors through the Kantāṭai family.[78] He then went to Kāncipuram where he pursued Bhāsyic studies for some time, but returned to Srīrangam in 1425 A.D.[79] It was betweeen 1425 and 1432 A.D. that he seems to have become a decisive power at Srīrangam and acquired the title of "Periya Jīyar."

Maṇavāḷa Māmuni's major achievement was the conversion to discipleship of the powerful Kōyil Kantāṭai family. He also converted to discipleship the current head of the Uttamanambi family,[80] Prativāti Bhayaṇkaram Aṇṇān (a native of Kāncipuram and previously a strong adherent of the Sanskrit school), as well as Erumbi Appa, Emperumānar Jīyar, Bhaṭṭar Pirān, Appiḷḷai, Appiḷḷān. These seven individuals, along with Rāmānuja Jīyar (who had been his disciple and lieutenant originally at Āḻvār Tirunagari), came to be known as the *ashṭa-diggajās* (eight pillars of the faith). These eight individuals after the death of Māmuni carried on and consolidated the Prabandhic enterprise all over South India:[81]

> He authorized Aṇṇa and Aṇṇan to carry on his lectures in the Bhasya and Bhagavadvishaya. He sent Tōḷappa to Tirunarayanapuram to carry on his work there. He appointed Ramanuja Jiyar the guardian of his creed in the South, and Bhattar Piran Jiyar at Srirangam. He dispatched Erumbi Appa to his native place. . . . He appointed Appillai, Appillan on similar missions. All these who formed the *Ashta-diggajas* popularized the creed of their teacher, thanks to the support of stray kings and chiefs, and thus introduced

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[78] V. Rangachari, "The History of Sri Vaishnavism," *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vols. 7-8, 1916-18, pp. 197-98.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[80] *Koil-Olugu*, pp. 150-51.

[81] V. Rangachari, "The History of Sri Vaishnavism," *op. cit.*, p. 206.

a socio-religious change which was of a revolutionary nature.

These individuals provided the institutional basis of Teṉkalai Śrī Vaiṣṇavism in South India in the centuries that followed Māmuni's death. During Maṇavāḷa Māmuni's own proselytizing period at Srīrangam, and in his travels all over South India, he seems to have benefited from the patronage of local princes to assist his own activities. He converted a local chief called Sathagōpa-dāsa and was his intermediary for the construction of various *maṇṭapas* in the Srīrangam temple.[82] He also appointed a *Jīyar* in Tirupati and converted a Tuḷuva prince under the name of Rāmānujadasar.[83] Similarly, in the Madurai/Ramnad region, he gained the discipleship of a king called Mahābalivāṇada Rāya, "who not only received the *panchasamskara* from the teacher but gave him all royal paraphernalia, lifted his palanquin and endowed the village of 'Muttarasan' or Aḷagia Maṇavāḷanallūr."[84] Finally, he managed to establish his second-in-command at the Vānamāmalai Maṭha in Tinnevelli, which is today the single most important base for Teṉkalai sectarian activity in South India.[85] After his last triumphal tour of the South, when Māmuni returned to Srīrangam, his decisive role in relating royal figures to his sect is noted in a traditional biography called the *Yatīndrapravaṇaprabhāva*, which points out that "the *Jīyar* brought with him costly jewels, umbrellas of silk, *chāmaras*, flags and colours, carpets, cushions and quilts of silk, and presented these to the deity, and how the temple authorities honoured him by escorting him in pomp to his *maṭha*."[86]

But it was not simply to the politics of conversion that Maṇavāḷa Māmuni devoted himself. He wrote a number of works, but most of these were of the nature of commentaries on the works of his predecessors.[87] The most important of these was his commentary on the *Śrīvacana-Bhūsana* of Piḷḷai Lōkācārya, which gave Māmuni further opportunity to clarify and elaborate the related Teṉkalai doctrines of *prapatti* and absolute dependence on an *ācārya*. But his most important intellectual and rhetorical act was the year-long lectures on the sacred *Prabandham* which he gave at Srīrangam between 1432 and 1444 A.D.[88] These lectures, which have a very special place in Teṉkalai historiography, were given at the peak of Maṇavāḷa Māmuni's powers, and symbolized the centrality of the *Prabandham* to all future Teṉkalai activity and affiliation.

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[82] Rangachari, "The History of Sri Vaishnavism," *op. cit.*, p. 201.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 206.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] For a detailed description of this process and its consequences, see D. Ramaswamy Tatachar, *The Vanamamalai Temple and Mutt*, Tinnevelly, 1937.
[86] Rangachari, "The History of Sri Vaishnavism," *op. cit.*, p. 204.
[87] *Ibid*, p. 203.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 205.

Thus, by the time of the death of Maṇavāḷa Māmuni in 1445 A.D., Prabandhic Vaiṣṇavism, through its sub-sectarian proponents, achieved considerable success, measured by royal patronage and temple-control, in Tamil country, principally at Srīrangam, but also in numerous other temple centers. It also had made some minor headway at Kāncipuram, but this was negligible In Tirupati, representatives of the Prabandhic school had achieved some success, but by no means controlled the temple. This consolidation of much of the Tamil country by this Vaiṣṇava sub-sect was doctrinally associated with the emphasis on the Tamil *Prabandham*, and with the skilled intermediary functions of sectarian leaders who, by linking royal patronage and temple-honor, managed to become powerful religious chiefs themselves, by 1500 A.D. It is after 1500 A.D., that members of the Sanskrit school began to consolidate their own institutional bases, along similar lines and by similar strategies. But to understand this transition, it is necessary to consider the nature of sectarian politics at Tirupati, the great "Northern" (in Tamil country) center of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism.

The temple-complex at Tirupati, during the Vijayanagara period, evolved in three major ways that distinguished it from its structure in earlier periods: (1) the embellishment of the ritual calendar with a vast number of new festivals, supported by many architectural/iconic additions[89]; (2) the shift in the nature of endowments from an emphasis on things like the burning of perpetual lamps to an emphasis on food offerings: these food offerings and their redistribution as *prasātam* formed the core of temple economics in the Vijayanagara period[90]; and (3) the increased importance of the recitation of the *Vedas* and the *Prabandham* by Brahman and non-Brahman devotees.[91] These three interlinked developments in the period from 1350 to 1650 A.D. transformed this temple-complex from a small set of shrines, dominated by the simple rituals of the Vaikhānasa priesthood,[92] to a vast socio-religious center, attracting rich endowments from rulers and merchants. This process was also reflected in the creation of numerous sectarian establishments, and the organization of numerous institutional structures, managed by sectarian leaders, for the housing and feeding of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava pilgrims from all over South India. This transformation was effected by the penetration of the temple by Tamil Śrī-Vaiṣṇava leaders and their disciples, and their fruitful mediation of royal (and non-royal) endowments to the temple.[93]

It was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that Vaiṣṇava, primarily Tamil, sectarian leaders helped in the growth of popular and royal support for the Tirupati complex, and used this growth to extend Vaiṣṇava sectarian activity into Telugu and Kannaḍa country. The model for the symbiotic relationship between rulers and sectarian leaders is the relationship between kantāṭai Rāmānuja Aiyengār (whose activities at Srīrangam have already been noticed) and the king Sāḷuva Narasiṃha of Vijayanagara.[94] It is worth investigating this relationship in some detail, since it casts light on matters that are pertinent to all such relationships.

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[89] S. Subrahmaṇya Sastry, *Report on the Inscriptions of the Devasthanam Collection with Illustrations*, Madras, 1930, *passim*.

[90] Burton Stein, "The Economic Function of a Medieval South Indian Temple," *op. cit.*, *passim*.

[91] Viraraghavacharya, *History of Tirupati*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. vi.

[92] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 517-19.

[93] Viraraghavacharya, *History of Tirupati*, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 519-41.

Kantātai Rāmānuja Aiyengār was the agent through whom, starting in 1456 A D.,[95] Sāḷuva Narasiṃha linked himself to the redistributive cycle of the Tirupati temple and publicly established his patronage of non-Brahman worshippers there. He did this by allocating taxes from some villages for some food offerings to the deity. He allocated the "donor's share"[96] of the *prasātam* to the *Rāmānujakūṭam*[97] established by him at Tirupati, to be managed by Rāmānuja Aiyengār. In this case, the *Rāmānujakūṭam* managed by Rāmānuja Aiyengār was for the benefit of non-Brahman Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, a group of whom were his disciples.[98] It was this non-Brahman constituency that benefited from the "donor's share" of the *prasātam*, created by Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's endowment. Between 1456 and 1473 A.D., Rāmānuja Aiyengār was the intermediary between this non-Brahman constituency and the sanctified products of royal endowments,[99] as well as endowments by other land-controllers.[100]

Kantāṭai Rāmānuja Aiyengār was originally commissioned to simply oversee his royal patron's endowments and their proper redistribution to his non-Brahman disciples of the *Rāmānujakūṭam.* But he appears to have used his status to give these non-Brahmans some important roles in temple-worship and thus in temple-honors.[101] In the period between 1467 and 1476 A.D., he apparently used his influence with the Sāḷuva emperor to make crucial alterations in the redistributive cycle of the temple. He made an agreement with some Paḷḷis who had rights over some temple lands to pay them a fixed rent, and to give to his *Rāmānujakūṭam* the benefits of extra productivity created by building channels on the land.[102] On 25,4.1467, he made an agreement with the *Stānattār* (temple-managers) to create an offering to the deity, the "donor's share" of the *prasātam* being allocated to his non-Brahman constituency, by the investment of his own capital in the agrarian development of some temple land.[103] In November 1468, he persuaded the temple-managers to allot some temple-land for worship to an image of Kulasēkhara Āḻvār which he had installed in Tirupati.[104] Between 1469 and 1470 A.D., Rāmānuja Aiyengār made six arrangements with the temple-managers to develop temple land, endow additional temple ritual by the additional agrarian product so generated, and allocate the "donor's share" of the resulting *prasātam* to his non-Brahman constituency.[105] In one of these cases, he explicitly recognized his dependence on his royal patron, by describing the offering as being for "the merit of Narasiṃharāja-Uḍaiyar."[106]

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[94] Stein, "Social Mobility . . . ," *op. cit.*, and Viraraghavacharya, *ibid*, II, pp. 557-60.

[95] *Tirumalai-Tirupati Devastanam Epigraphical Series, op. cit.*, Vol. II: 4.

[96] Stein, "The Economic Function . . . ," discusses this term.

[97] This term designates a free feeding house for Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, often non-Brahman pilgrims and devotees, at a sacred center.

[98] Viraraghavacharya, *History of Tirupati, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 591.

[99] *T.T.D.E S., op. cit*, II: 23, 31, 50.

[100] *Ibid.*, II: 64, 67, 68.

[101] *Ibid.*, II: 22, 81, 135, 31, 38, 50, 68.

[102] *Ibid.*, II: 24.

The most interesting example of Rāmānuja Aiyengār's influence and his use of it to generate additional honor (in the form of *prasātam*) for his own non-Brahman following, is seen in an inscription dated 23.11.1476.[107] In this case, Rāmānuja Aiyengār seems to have been the intermediary for the endowment of a large sum of cash to the temple, by a local Śrī-Vaiṣṇava devotee. This sum was to be invested in agrarian development by the temple-managers, and from the resulting agrarian surplus, a number of ritual events was to be subsidized. But amongst these ritual events were two important innovations: the celebration of the natal stars (*tirunakṣattiram*) of all twelve *Āḻvārs* in front of the shrine of Rāmānuja, and the singing of the *Prabandham* by Brahman and non-Brahman devotees *together* in the same shrine.[108] The achievement of these innovations was made possible by embedding them in a complex scheme of allocation of resources for various items of worship, and an equally disaggregated allocation of *prasātam* honors for various temple functionaries as an inseparable part of this overall package.

Kantāṭai Rāmānuja Aiyengār served a crucial intermediary function linking outside endowers, temple officials, and local Śrī-Vaiṣṇava constituencies eager for shares in the honors represented in the leavings of the deity (*prasātam*). Such intermediaries were numerous at Tirupati, and it is precisely their large number that is an index of the wide range and large quantity of endowments (particularly land) that were gifted to the deity, transformed into *prasātam* and distributed according to the constituencies/ideas favored by the donor.

Although attempts were made by Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas of the Tamil school to give the recitation of the *Prabandham* a regular role in the ritual of Tirupati even as early as 1253 A.D.,[109] it was not until 1468 A.D., under the aegis of Rāmānuja Aiyengār, that this was achieved. From this time onwards, the recital of the

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[103] *Ibid.*, II: 26.

[104] *T.T.D.E.S.*, *op. cit.*, II: 36.

[105] *Ibid.*, II: 38, 40, 44, 45, 47.

[106] *Ibid.*, II: 45.

[107] *Ibid.*, II: 68.

[108] Viraraghavacharya, *History of Tirupati*, *op. cit.*, discusses the potential resistance on the part of the Vaikhānasa priests in Vol. I, pp. 241-45 and Vol. II, pp. 590-91.

[109] Viraraghavacharya, *History of Tirupati*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1016.

Prabandham hymns began increasingly to attract donors, who allocated a share of their *prasātam* to the reciters of the *Prabandham.*[110] In the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the increasing popularity of *Prabandham* recital among donors led to rivalry among the various sectarian leaders of the two schools at Tirupati, for the management and control of this aspect of temple-ritual.[111] Starting in 1516 A.D.,[112] one of the major leaders of Sanskrit persuasion, the *jīyar* of the Van Saṭakōpan Maṭha, made endowments in which there was a conspicuous absence of any part in the "donor's share" of the *prasātam* for the *Prabandham* reciters. Between 1520 and 1528 A.D., some inscriptions reveal a change in the relationship between this *jīyar* and the Kōyil Kēḷvi *jīyars*, who were of the Prabandhic school.[113] During this decade, the individuals to whom these sectarian leaders allotted their shares in the *prasātam* were increasingly united by their common sub-sectarian preferences.[114] By 1530 A.D., therefore, it is possible to infer that the increasing prestige of Prabandhic Vaiṣṇavism at Tirupati had hardened the divisions between sectarian leaders of the two schools, and provided the motive for at least one set of leaders of the Sanskrit school, the *jīyars* of the Ahōbila Maṭha, to seek opportunities for their own sub-sectarian beliefs elsewhere (see below).

On the whole, by the early part of the fifteenth century, the activities of sectarian leaders of the Prabandhic school, given an organizational and ideological basis by Maṇavāḷa Māmuni and his network of disciples, had ensured that most of the Vaiṣṇava temples in the Tamil country, with the exception of some in the Chingleput district, were controlled by sectarian leaders of the Tamil school.

WARRIOR-KINGS AND THE SANSKRIT SCHOOL, 1500-1700 A.D.

Sectarian leaders of the Sanskrit school were involved in temple-related activities before 1500 A.D. But it was only after A.D. 1500 that they created a counter-structure of an institutional sort, by linking themselves to Vijayanagara kings. Given the establishment, by this time, of Prabandhic Vaiṣṇavism in most of the Tamil country, it is not surprising that these leaders looked for new areas in which to promulgate and institutionalize their beliefs. They succeeded in setting up bases in Kannaḍa and Telugu areas, and in some temple-centers in the northernmost parts of the Tamil country. Three sets of sectarian leaders were responsible for the major part of this activity: the *jīyars* of the Ahōbila Maṭha in the Kurnool district; members of the Tātācārya family of *ācāryāpurusas*, who spread through the Telugu districts in the sixteenth century; and the *matādipatis* (monastic heads) of the Brahmatantra Parakāla Tantra Svāmi Maṭha in Mysore. Let us consider briefly these three institutional bases of Sanskrit school activity.

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[110] *Ibid*, pp. 1031-46.
[111] *Ibid.*, pp. 1046-55.
[112] *T.T.D.E.S.*, *op. cit.*, III: 110, 114.
[113] *Ibid.* III: 143, 173, 178; Viraraghavacharya, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 1055-57.
[114] Viraraghavacharya, *History of Tirupati*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 1055-57.

The heads of the Ahōbila Maṭha in Kurnool district were the successors of the *jīyars* of the Van Saṭakōpan Maṭha at Tirupati, where they conducted intermediary functions for some Telugu chiefs, even after the headquarters of the *maṭha* had shifted to Kurnool.[115] As we have already noticed, there is some evidence that the shift of this set of Sanskrit school sectarian leaders to Kurnool from Tirupati was probably linked to the increasing prestige of Prabandhic Vaiṣṇavism at Tirupati. In the period between 1554 and 1584 A.D., the heads of this *maṭha* established in Kurnool a complex set of temple-centered relationships with Vijayanagara chiefs.[116] By this time, these sectarian leaders must have gained sufficient control of the local Narasiṃhasvāmi temple, for their transactions with representatives of the Vijayanagara kingdom show them to have been at the center of various land transactions involving these chiefs, linked directly to temple-ritual as well as to agrarian development.[117] For example, in 1544-55 A.D., an inscription reports that "the Vaishnava teacher Parāṇkusa-Van-Sathagōpa Jiyamgāru, the trustee of the Ahobala temple and the agent of Aḷiya Rāmapayyadēva-Mahārāja, granted a *dasavanda-mānya* to Avubaḷarāja, son of Kōnēṭi Rājayya and grandson of Rāmarāja-Peda-Kondayadēva-Maharājā of Atrēya gōtra and the lunar race, for having built at Alamuru, which was a village of the temple (*tiruvaḷayāṭu*), the tank Kōnasamudram, otherwise called Nārāyaṇasamudram."[118] Also, these sectarian leaders re-allocated land originally granted to them by Telugu warrior-chiefs, to specific ritual purposes in the local temple: an inscription of 1563 A.D. reveals that "a gift of land in the village China-Komerḷa in the Ghaṇḍikōṭaṣīma, by Vaṇ Saṭhagōpa-Jiyyamgāru, to Ahōbalēsvara for providing offerings of rice-cakes on specified festivals in the maṇṭapa in front of the *maṭha* which he had constructed. . . . The village China-Komerḷa was a gift made to the Jīyyamgāru by the chief Krishṇamarāja, son of Nadēla China-Obaṇṇamgāru."[119] At the same time, these sectarian leaders cooperated with warrior-chiefs in the management of royal endowments.[120] In the period 1578-1584 A.D., these sectarian leaders appear to have invited Vijayanagara aid in ousting hostile Muslim forces from the locality and, subsequently, they granted temple-honors to the warriors responsible for this victory.[121] Thus,

[115] *T.T.D.E.S., op. cit.*, II: 101.

[116] V. Rangacharya, *A Topographical List. . . , op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 970-74.

[117] A.R. Nos. 65, 69 and 79 of 1915 in *ibid.*

[118] A.R. 65 of 1916, in Rangacharya, *A Topographical List. . . , op. cit.*, II, p. 971.

[119] A.R. 82 of 1915, in *ibid*, p. 975.

[120] A.R. 76 of 1915, in *ibid.*, p. 974.

[121] A.R. 70 of 1915, in *ibid.*, pp. 972-73, see also, "Ahobalam Inscription of Sri Rangarāya," in V. R. R. Dikshitar (Ed.), *Selected South Indian Inscriptions*, Madras, 1952, pp. 327-31.

by the end of the sixteenth century, the Ahōbila Maṭha became a major base for the sectarian activities of the Sanskrit school in Telugu country.

The second set of leaders of the Sanskrit school was provided by the Tātācārya family of *ācāryāpurusas* who, in the second half of the fourteenth century, settled in Eṭṭūr (Kistna District) and appear to have spread their activities through large parts of the Telugu country, as well as in the northern most parts of the Tamil country.[122] Sectarian tradition links them with the Vijayanagara court, and its increasing preference for Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, starting during the reign of Vīrupākṣa I (1354-1378 A.D.).[123] Pancamatabhanjanam Tātācārya was the *rājaguru* (royal preceptor) of Sadāsiva Rāya and his minister Aḷiya Rāmarāya.[124] It is also interesting that this Tātācārya was the nephew of Parāṇkusa Vaṇ Saṭagōpa Jīyar, the sixth head of the Ahōbila Maṭha, thus indicating kin-based connections within the leadership of the Sanskrit school.[125] But it was during the rule of the Araviṭu dynasty of Vijayanagara in the sixteenth century that the royal patronage of the Tātācāryas reached its zenith, and was displayed in the massive control of temples by them. Lakshmikumāra Tātācārya, the adopted son of Pancamatabhanjanam Tātācārya, achieved great influence over his patron, Venkata I of the Araviṭu dynasty: both sectarian sources as well as inscriptions lay great emphasis on the coronation of Venkata I by a Tātācārya, although there is some question as to which of these two individuals was the sectarian leader in question.[126] Although inscriptions suggest that Lakshmikumāra Tātācārya was in charge of all the temples in the kingdom, he seems to have concentrated his activities in the Chingleput district, to some extent in the Srīperumbudūr and Tiruppukuḷi temples, but primarily in the Varadarāja Svāmi temple in Kāncīpuram.[127] In this last temple, it is clear that the power of Lakshmikumāra Tātācārya was great over land, ritual and the functionaries involved in the transformation of the one into the other.[128] In the 1660s, reflecting the decline of the Vijayanagara empire, and the growth of independent kingships all over South India, Venkata Varadācārya, Lakshmikumāra Tātācārya's son, migrated to Mysore and associated himself with the growing sovereignty of the Woḍeyār kings of Mysore.[129]

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[122] S. Vijayaraghavachari, "A Few Inscriptions of Laksmikumara Tatacharya" in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXV, Pt. 1, April 1947, pp. 121-31; see also Viraraghavacharya, *History of Tirupati*, *op. cit.*, Vol II, pp. 760-61 for a genealogy of this family.

[123] Vijayaraghavachari, "A Few Inscriptions. . .," *op. cit.*, p. 124; see also T.A. Gopinatha Rao, "Dalavāy-Agrahāram Plates of Venkatāpatidēva Mahārāya I: Saka-Samvat 1508," *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XII, pp. 162-63.

[124] H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Madras, 1927, pp. 301-6.

[125] Rangacharya, *A Topographical List. . .*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 971.

[126] Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 302 and Vijayaraghavachari, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-27.

[127] Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 305; Vijayaraghavachari, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-31; *Annual Reports. . .*, *op. cit.*, 1920, pp. 115-16.

[128] A.R. 383 of 1919; *Annual Reports. . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[129] C. Hayavadana Rao, *History of Mysore*, Bangalore, 1943, Vol. I, p. 247.

It was probably at this very time in Mysore, during the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyār (1659-1673 A.D.) that the nucleus of the third base of Sanskrit school leadership, the Brahmatantra Parakāla Tantra Svāmi Maṭha, was laid.[130] This *maṭha* was founded in Kāncipuram in the fourteenth century, by a disciple of Vēdānta Dēsika, the revered figure of the Vaṭakalai tradition, through the support of an unknown royal patron.[131] The *maṭha* subsequently shifted to Tirupati, where its heads appear to have been intermediaries for the benefactions of the Mysore chiefs.[132] During the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyār, the then head of the *maṭha* shifted its headquarters to Mysore.[133] This was not unnatural, since the rulers of Mysore, from early in the seventeenth century, publicly displayed their commitment to Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism: by taking the rites of initiation from the *Svāmis* of the Parakāla Maṭha, by using the *varāha-mudre* (boar-seal) in their documents,[134] and by the building and endowment of Vaiṣṇava temples.[135] The foundation of this relationship of mutual benefaction between this *maṭha* and the Mysore royal court was probably laid during the headship of Periya Parakāla Svāmi (1677-1738 A.D.).[136] This enterprising leader, probably responsible for the beginnings of the pan-regional Vaṭakalai movement for temple-control, seems to have had the support of his royal patrons for his scheme.

A Kannaḍa *nirūpa* (order), probably dated in 1709 A.D., during the reign of Kāntirāva Narasarāja Woḍeyār, King of Mysore, contains a royal edict to the effect that "the practice of using *tanian* [invocatory verse] Rāmānuja Dayāpātra in sacred places like the Tirunārāyaṇasvāmi temple at Mēlukōte on the occasion of reciting Prabandhas which was in vogue from the time of Rāja Woḍeyār, King of Mysore, up to the reign of Kāntirava Narasarāja Vodeyar, shall continue in the future also in the same manner."[137]

This royal order represents the beginnings of self-conscious pan-regional conflict for temple-control between the two schools of South Indian Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and to some extent in the twentieth century, attempts were made by individuals and groups of the Sanskrit school to penetrate temples controlled by the Tamil school or to extend their rights in temples where they shared control with members of the Prabandhic school. In every such case, the introduction of the "Rāmānuja

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[130] *Ibid.*

[131] A.R. 574 of 1919; see also N Desikacarya, *The Origin and Growth of Brahmatantra Parakala Mutt*, Bangalore, 1949, pp xii-xv.

[132] Desikacarya, *ibid.*, p. 8.

[133] *Ibid* , p. 13.

[134] Hayavadana Rao, *History of Mysore*, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 169, 170-71, 224, 232.

[135] *Ibid.*, pp. 363-65, 166-68, 375-77.

[136] Desīkacarya, *The Origin and Growth. . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[137] *Archaeological Survey of Mysore: Annual Report 1938;* also see Desīkacarya, *op. cit.*, Appendix VI.

Dayāpātra. . ." invocatory verse[138] was the first stage in these battles for temple-control, wherein the Sanskrit school was united and inspired by the three sets of sectarian leaders previously described.[139] The examination of these post-medieval conflicts, however, lies beyond the scope of this analysis.

CONCLUSION

The hypothesis which this paper began can be reviewed as follows: in South India, in the three centuries that preceded British rule, a *single* system of authoritative relations united religious and political interests, and wedded them into a flexible and dynamic pan-regional network. The key components of this system were: (1) the growing number of temples which served as redistributive centers, where gifts to deities enabled the continuous transformation of material resources into status and authority;[140] (2) the shared orientation of political and religious figures to these myriad economic/religious centers; (3) the resulting willingness of religious and political leaders to transact with each other and share authority in a symbiotic, rather than in a mutually exclusive, fashion. If this hypothesis is taken as valid, or even as suggestive, the following questions need further investigation: (1) How did the role of Saivite, Mādhvā or other religious institutions complicate or coexist with this system? (2) What were the economic/technological changes at the end of the Chōla period that made possible the growth of this system? (3) Were there structural weaknesses in this system that hastened its breakdown in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

[138] For a discussion of the place of this verse in Śrī Vaiṣnava temple-ritual, and for a Teṉkalai account of the circumstances of its origin, see P.B Annangarachariar, *Rāmānujā Dayāpātrā*, Kancipuram, 1954.

[139] V.N. Hari Rao, "Vaishnavism in South India in the Modern Period," *op. cit.*, pp. 120-25: N Jagadeesan, "History of Sri Vaishnavism. . . ," *op. cit.*, pp. 252-58; K.S. Rangaswami Aiyengar, *A Second Collection of Papers Relating to Sri Ranganadhasvami Temple, Its Management etc.*, Trichinopoly, 1894.

[140] For a nineteenth century view of the immense complexity of the relationship between endowed material resources and ritual, at a single temple, see Carol A. Breckenridge, "The Śrī Mīnāksi Sundarēsvarar Temple: Worship and Endowments in South India, 1833 to 1925," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1976.

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From Protector to Litigant—Changing Relations Between Hindu Temples and the Rājā of Ramnad

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> . . . the wrathful and furious Maravars, whose curled beards resemble the twisted horns of the stag, the loud twang of whose powerful bow-strings, and the stirring sound of whose double-headed drums, compel even kings at the head of large armies to turn their backs and fly.[1]

Described in the nineteenth century as a fierce, capricious and cunning community skilled with arrows and boomerangs, the Maravars dominated the agriculturally dry strip of coastal land called Rāmanātapuram Samastāṉam (in present-day Tamiḻnāṭu).[2] Throughout the nineteenth century, the royal family of this proud and elegant people was referred to as litigious, bankrupt, and decadent. The royal court became known for its orgiastic *nautch* parties at which cock-fighting and other indulgences were thought to have squandered away the energy and resources of the people. According to the prescriptions of Manu as understood and interpreted by or for British officials, Maravars were ranked low for they were eaters of animal-flesh Similarly, their marriage alliance patterns, eating-habits and "martial" disposition did not correspond with the rules and practices of "clean" castes as understood by the institutions and officials of Government.

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[1] Edgar Thurston, *Caste and Tribes of Southern India*, Johnson Reprint Corporation, U.S.A., 1965, Vol V, p. 27.

[2] A samastāṉam is a kingdom, state, place of residence for a royal personage, capital *Madras University Tamil Lexicon*, p. 1296. Rāmanātapuram Samastāṉam has been variously referred to in the literature as: Maravar *Dēsam* (country), Maravar *Simai*, and Rāmanātapuram *Zamindari*(from 1803 to 1908).With the passage of the Estates Abolition Act, in 1908 the Zamindari became a district in the then Madras Presidency. The newly drawn district boundaries, however, include Rāmanātapuram (hereafter Ramnad) and Sivaganga Zamindaries, and Srivilliputtur and Sattur Taluks, previously situated in Tinnevelli District.

Yet, historically, the royal head of the Maravar community, entitled "Sētupati," had played a prominent role among Tamil kings.[3] Since at least 1600, Sētupatis had borne royal titles,[4] had carried royal paraphernalia, and had commanded contexts in which both to grant and to receive honors. Other markers also attest to his royal stature. He was successful in conquest, often returning from warfare with booty. His royal generosity was to be witnessed in his gifting activity to temples, feeding houses, and monastic institutions. And finally, such donations were protected by him. He was invoked when necessary to resolve disputes, and to determine who was, and who was not, appropriate for various roles and ranks pertaining to endowments in his domain.

In the mid-eighteenth century the independence of the Sētupati was challenged by the Nawāb of Arcot in collaboration with the Government of the British East India Company.[5] The Nawāb sought to extract revenue from the Sētupati, while the British sought to mobilize such commercial products found in Ramnad as cotton, textiles and saltpetre. Although their superior troops were periodically capable of overrunning Maravar battalions, they were not able to maintain systematic control in the Samastāṉam. Nearly fifty years of almost continual warfare resulted. Not until 1801 did this warfare, costly to all involved, cease. Subsequently, in an effort to consolidate their growing political interests in Madras Presidency, the Government of Madras introduced the zamindari system which conferred administrative responsibilities upon local elites. Among the newly titled zamindars of the Presidency, the Sētupati commanded one of the largest "estates."

In converting local royal figures into zamindars, however, the Madras

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[3] The title Sētupati literally means the protector of the causeway (*sētu*) between the Indian subcontinent and the island of Śrī Lanka. For a review of the geneological tree of the Sētupati or Tēvar lineage see: Robert Sewell, *Lists of Inscriptions, and Sketches of the Dynasties of Southern India*, 2 Vols., Madras, Government Press, 1884, Vol. 2, pp 228-32; T. Raja Rama Rao, *Ramnad Manual* (no title page: *circa* 1892), pp. 211-72; and N. Vanamamalai Pillai, *The Setu and Rameswaram*, Madras, 1929, pp. 108-28.

[4] See, for example, "Copper-plate record of a Ramnad Setupati: Kollam 945," A.S. Ramanatha Ayyar, *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. V, Part I, Trivandrum, Government Press, 1924, pp. 7-18.

[5] Considerable interest has been displayed recently in the history of relations between eighteenth and nineteenth century overlords and local rulers (known variously as *poliyakars*, *collaries*, or *zamindars*) in Madras Presidency. See, for example, Burton Stein, "Integration of the Agrarian System of South India" in R.E. Frykenberg (ed.), *Land Contro and Social Structure in Indian History*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1969, pp. 175-216; Carol A. Breckenridge, "RamnathapuramZa mindari, 1801-1860," unpublished M.A. thesis, 1971; K. Rajayyan, *South Indian Rebellion: First War of Independence, 1800-1801*, Rao and Raghavan, Mysore, 1971; and *Rise and Fall of the Poligars of Tamilnatu*, University of Madras, Madras, 1974: and Pamela G. Price, "Nineteenth Century Ramnad and Shivaganga Zamindaries: Royalty in the Anglo-Indian Courts," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Asian Studies, Toronto, 1976.

Government undermined the kingship of such people as the Maravar Sētupati. Kings were deprived of many activities which were illustrative of their kingship. Most conspicuously, the Sētupati could not engage in warfare, nor could he arbitrate either civil or criminal disputes.[6] Denied access to military and judicial powers, the Sētupati was to become a semi-autonomous agent of the Government of Madras who was responsible for insuring a continuous flow of revenue to the Government. His or her position was to be held at the suffrance of the Company's Government. Hence, when the newly installed Rāni reported that she could not enforce her injunctions, she was reminded by the Collector that her authority should be greater than it had previously been.[7]

From the perspective of the locality, however, in what did the authority of the Sētupati consist? The answer posed in this essay lies in the relationship between the Sētupati and temple-deities. Each depended on the other: temple-deities conferred royal honors on the Sētupat; and the Sētupati granted privileges to temple-deities. This symbiotic relationship may be observed in a variety of ritual contexts reported in the late nineteenth century. But, in this historical context, the generation of ritual events in which the source of the Sētupati's authority, namely his special relationship with temple-deities, was repeatedly invoked, seemingly presents a paradox. His claim to be, and to act as, a king would seem to have been inconsistent with the interests of an expanding imperial system under the Government of India. Moreover, the legitimacy of the Sētupati's claims was derived from a source other than the *raj*. This paradox is the focus of this essay.

The essay is divided into three parts, and three widely different sources have been used in it. Part One is a detailed examination of a prominent celebration known as Navarātri Naivēttiyam in which the Sētupati was celebrated as a king. An 1892 eye-witness account provides the text for this examination. Part Two relies on the Sētupati inscriptions for a reconstruction of the Sētupati's transactions, in the pre-nineteenth century period, as both donor and pretector in the temple. And Part Three considers the systematic attempt by the Government to deprive the Sētupati of the exercise of various aspects of his kingship in the late nineteenth century. Two precedent-setting court cases are used in this discussion. Throughout, reference is made to three different temples in Ramnad Samastāṉam. They are: the all-India pilgrimage center at

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[6] The Madras Government allowed the local Ramnad battalion to continue to function between 1801 and 1810 as a tribute to Colonel Martinz, a European adventurer. Martinz had been faithful to the British in leading the Maravar corps during the "poligar wars" from 1782 to 1801. On Martinz' death in 1810, those who so desired were allowed to join the regular battalion with accumulated rights and titles W.J. Wilson, *History of the Madras Army*, 4 Vols., Madras Government Press, 1883, Vol. 3, p. 348.

[7] *Guide to the Records of Madura District, 1790-1835*, 3 Vols., Madras Government Press, 1931, Vol. 1, p. 275.

Rāmēsvaram, the Śrī Rāmanātasvāmi Temple; in the town of Rāmanātapuram, the temple abode of the tutelary deity of the Sētupati's family, Śrī Rājarājisvari Ammaṉ; and a Śaivite temple in the neighboring town of Kamuthi in which the divine couple of Śrī Mīṉākṣi and Sundarēsvarar presided.

NAVARĀTRI NAIVĒTTIYAM: LONG LIVE OUR KING

Hung over the outer gateway of the Sētupati's palace was a *bas relief* bearing a representation of Mahālakshmi. Below that was draped a banner bearing the slogan "Long Live Our King." The occasion was the celebration of Navarātri at Ramnad in the year 1892. During this fourteen-day event, the enduring relationship between the Sētupati and the royal family's tutelary deity, Śrī Rājarājisvari, was renewed. Likewise, the Sētupati's generosity was displayed. A pamphlet devoted to this celebration described the generosity of the then reigning Sētupati, known popularly as the Rājā of Ramnad, as follows:

> The religious zeal and public spirit that characterizes this ancient dynasty [was] amply testified to by the innumerable religious and charitable endowments for Devasthana Pujas [temple worships], Zenna Chatrams [choultries for the free distribution of food, both cooked and raw to poor Brahmins and religious mendicants of all castes], and for Tanni Pandals [water sheds for giving water, buttermilk, etc., to all castes and creeds], and for encouraging Vedic and Sanskrit Patasalas [schools and colleges] and Vidwat Sambhavanas [presents to eminent men of learning and piety], and for various other useful purposes tending to public good.[8]

Historically, to be a king, in South India at least, was to display symptoms of kingship. Such symptomatic behavior might have included conquest in the form of predatory plunder,[9] the subsequent redistribution of one's surplus (or booty), the arbitration or conciliation of disputes which interrupted this process, and the repeated and continual celebration of rites generated by it. In a list of royal activities, numerous rites could be performed: *rājasuya* (royal consecration), *apiṣēkam* (installation),[10] and the annual Navarātri festivities.

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[8] "Celebration of the Navaratri Festival at Ramnad in 1892," *The Miniature Hindi Excelsior Series*, Vol. IV. Adyar Theosophical Society Library, Madras. Originally serialized in various issues of the October 1892 *Madras Times*, this eye-witness account was published with the blessings of the Sētupati in pamphlet form. Unless otherwise indicated, this pamphlet serves as the text for the remainder of this section.

[9] See G.W. Spencer, "The Politics of Plunder: The Cholas in Eleventh Century Ceylon" in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXXV, 3, May 1976, pp. 405-19.

[10] See Ronald Inden, "Ritual Authority and Cyclic Time in Hindu Kingship," unpublished mss., 1976.

Under consideration here because of its prominence in Maravar country in the nineteenth century is the Navarātri celebration, a celebration of conquest. Traditionally, two conquests were celebrated: conquest by the goddess over demonic forces, and conquest by the king.

In the year 1892, the Rājā of Ramnad, H.H. Raja Bhaskarasamy Avargal, spent nearly one lakh rupees on the fourteen-day Navarātri Naivēttiyam. Under the supervision of the Marawart Department of the Samastāṉam, thousands of Brahmans and poor people were reported to have been fed daily. And we are told that during the dazzling event "many vedic scholars, pandits, musicians, artists, artisans, and other deserving persons were liberally presented with shawls, Benares clothes, jewels, money gifts and so forth." The event, which began on the morning of 22 September and was concluded thirteen days later on the evening of 5 October, is worthy of further detailed consideration. Although little was reported with respect to the numerous transactions which occurred during the festivities, many of the details pertaining to the halls, corridors, processionals, and ceremonies are available.

Halls and Processional Corridors. Basically four halls, all connected by canopied passageways, housed the elaborate festivities of Navarātri. They were the Sētupati's palace, the Rāmalinga Vilas (alias the Durbar Hall), the newly constructed Baskara Vilas, and the Navarātri Maṇṭapam. Of the four, details describing three of them follow.

Resembling the eighteenth century Banqueting Hall at Madras, the rectangular Rāmalinga Vilas contained numerous tall and largely unsculpted Grecian pillars. These were draped with heraldic art including life-size portraits of English and Maravar dignitaries. At the end of the central pillared-aisle was a slightly elevated platform on which the Sētupati, resting on a richly embroidered velvet pillow (*gaddi*), would sit in state. Facing this, suspended high above the dais, was a "painting of the ostrich feathers of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, and a life-size Portrait of Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen Empress of India." It was reported that these were designed to "indicate the deeply felt loyalty and grateful attachment of the Setupatis to the venerable British throne." Even more prominently displayed was the mythic coronation of the first Maravar Sētupati by Rāma.[11] A dazzling painting of this coronation, known as *Rāmpattāpiṣēkam*, hung just behind the state chairs. This description of the Durbar Hall is concluded with a description of the passageways which connected it with other halls:

> In front of the Durbar Hall were put up two large. . .shamianas, the decoration of which passes description. By the side. . .was a canopied

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[11] The place of Rāma and the *Ramāyana* in the mythic history of Ramnad requires further exploration. Rāma is said to have installed the first Sētupati who as guardian of the causeway assisted him in his defeat of Rāvana in the forests of Śrī Lanka.

> passage which led to the Kaliyana Mahal, where marriages in the royal family were usually celebrated. On the front of this mahal was. . .a very big, well painted, life-size portrait of Rajah Muttu Ramalinga Setupati, the father of the present Sētupati. A beautiful garland graced this portrait as a mark of the present Sētupati's filial attachment.[12]

While the decorations and architecture of the Rāmalinga Vilas linked the Sētupati to the expanding imperial system under the dominance of the British the Bhaskara Vilas was a baroque mixture of Hindu and British influences. Constructed by its namesake for the 1892 celebration, this hall was elevated and octagonal in shape. Hung on the pillar supports were a wide range of gods and goddesses. And in the center was an iron band-stand with rows of globes and glowing chandeliers suspended above it.

Guests at the Navarātri celebration moved from the Bhaskara Vilas, which seems to have stood between the Rāmalinga Vilas and the Navarātri Maṇṭapam, via a passageway festooned with Tanjore tinsel work, flags and banners. This processional corridor itself was intersected by five right angled crossways with hollow spherical ceilings. Each crossway was "tastefully decorated with arches of Tanjore workmanship, chandeliers, globes and lustres of different colours, well-shaded, and glass portraits of the various manifestations of God and of distinguished personages." And the sides of the ceilings of these hallways were adorned with various marionettes and with figures representing various Hindu professions and crafts. Of the fourth crossway, it was noted that:

> Entering [it] the eyes of the spectators [were] dazzled with the sight of excellent portraits of Somaskandamurti and Minakshi Devi, with Piryavadai, Somasundareswarar and Minakshi on both sides, all ascended on Vrishaba Vahanas. Close by on both sides, [were] found portraits, one of Minakshi in the attitude of being crowned by her father, and the other representing the marriage scene of Minakshi and Sundaresvarar with Mahavishnu pouring out consecrated water in a stream on the palm of Siva. . . .[13]

And of the fifth crossway, the entrance to the Navarātri Hall, we are told:

> There [was] put up a well-decorated cupola with a splendid lustre suspended in the centre. Passing this cupola were seen on both sides of the crossway arranged in several rows, bands of young devotees dressed in pure orthodox style, and chanting select hymns from the *Tevaram* and *Tiruvasakam* accom-

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[12] "Navaratri Celebration," n. 8.
[13] *Ibid.*

> panied with music, which could not but excite the piety and admiration of every passer-by to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. On the gate-way of the mantapam [was] seen a painting of Maha Lakshmi with the figures of Siva and Vishnu on each side. . . .This outer hall [was] most beautifully decorated with excellent tinsel work in the shape of temple towers with two turrets on each side facing the mantapam.[14]

All guests focused their attention on the Navarātri Maṇṭapam where the central events of the celebration took place. This spacious hall in which the Ammaṉ, in her processional form (*utsavar*), sat in state, was divided into elevated and terraced verandas:

> In the middle of this Mantapam, close to the wall, was placed Sri Raja Rajeswari Devi in a silver *vimana* with a beautiful canopy at the top, and with the painting of Mahishasura Mardani just behind the goddess and the Navaratri *kalassa* stapanams. . .in front. Portraits of Mahalakshmi, Maha-Saraswati, Hanuman, and Sugriva [were] also seen on the wall. . .behind the vimana. The golden image was placed on a small vehicle representing a lion, the favorite vahanam of *Mahakali*. The *Marakatapitam* was placed facing the goddess on a specially constructed and purified pedestal. . .surrounded by a canopy of flowers.

Seats. Although they were seldom occupied, two seats or *pītams* held particular ceremonial importance. They were the traditional seat of the Sētupati known as the *Sētu-pītam,* and the seat of the goddess known as *marakata-pītam.* Rivetted with silver plaques each bearing insignia of the Sētupati, the rectangular black granite seat of the Sētupati rested on the central dais at the end of a pillared corridor in the Rāmalinga Vilas. According to local tradition as reported in the *stalamakatmyas*, the *marakata-pītam* had been acquired by the Sētupati around the year 1600 when he is reported to have provided a Pandian king situated in neighboring Madurai with assistance in warfare. Triumphing over Mysorian forces, the Sētupati brought the *pītam,* as part of his booty, back to Madurai. There, he is supposed to have presented it to the Pandian king who returned it to the Sētupati "in recognition of his invaluable aid." Ordinarily housed in the Ammaṉ temple inside the palace, it was carried to the Navarātri Maṇṭapam for the duration of the festival.

Insignias and Titles. Borne by the Sētupati were numerous titles and various objects of heraldry. His titles were proclaimed by a herald who, during the Navarātri Naivēttiyam, read out a statement of them known as *virutavalli.*[15] Included among his titles were: "Establisher of the Pandya Throne," "He who conquers countries seen and never lets go countries conquered," and "Protector of the Queen's Tali." The Sētupati's royal honors included: flying flags bearing Hanuman and Garuda, riding in select palanquins, being accompanied by yellow-grey silk umbrellas, and wielding the royal staff, sceptre, and sword.

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[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Rama Rao, *Ramnad Manual,* p. 207.

Schedule of Events. Any celebration of Navarātri was both complex and cosmopolitan. Its complexity could be seen in the series of rituals performed over the nine to fourteen day event. These rituals reflected such concerns as those of kinship and virginity, kingship and authority, and honor and sacrifice. The celebration's cosmopolitan nature could be observed in the wide variety of groups who celebrated Navarātri. Since it was not the exclusive preserve of either Brahmans or kings, anyone aspiring to replicate royal stature celebrated it, in their fields, in their homes, and in their shops.

Literally, Navarātri means nine (*nava*) nights (*rātri*). On each of nine nights, the offerer of worship honored a specified Ammaṉ.[16] The Sētupati honored Goddess Rājarājisvari.[17] In Tamiḻnāṭu at least, this celebration came to be coupled with another event known as *āyuta pūjā*, or the honoring of one's arms, tools, or instruments of trade.[18] For the king, this meant honoring his weapons, and for the clerk his stationery. Hence, a tenth day was added to the calendar for this ceremony. And for the sake of additional feasting, gymnastic races and fireworks, the 1892 celebration at Ramnad was extended for an additional four days.

For most worship celebrations in which gods, men or both were honored, the events of a given festival day could be broken into two elementary processionals: one in the morning and one in the evening. If, as we are led to believe by the text used here, the first day of the 1892 Navarātri celebration provided a model for subsequent days, then there were three daily processionals: one in the morning to the Navarātri Maṇṭapam; one in the mid-afternoon to the Rāmalinga (or Durbar) Vilas; and one in the night again to the Navarātri Maṇṭapaṁ.

Commencement of the morning processional to the Navarātri Hall was preceded by elaborate preparations. In the initial preparatory rites, attention was concentrated on the Sētupati, the offerer of worship. He underwent shaving (*vapana*) and anointment (*abhayangana*). Then he himself honored the revered seat of his ancestrol line, the *Sētu-pītam* in a puja ceremony. A second set of preliminary rites began with a focus on the Sētupati and culminated with gifting activity and the honoring of the family's tutelary deity, Śrī Rājārājisvari. In an ablution rite known as *apiṣēka makōtsavam*, the Sētupati was bathed in water. While seated on the *sētu-pītam* under a silk canopy in the Rāmalinga Vilas, water was poured over his head in five stages: (1) water consecrated according to the Śaiva agamas from five vessels; (2) water consecrated in accordance with select *mantras* and poured from eleven vessels; (3) water brought from the sacred *tīrta* of nearby Dhanuṣkōṭi poured by Rāmēsvaram temple priests from one large vessel; (4) water collected from a variety of sacred springs in the districts of Tinnevelli, Madurai and Kanya Kumari; and (5) water brought from Allahabad by a Samastāṉam priest. And of course, at each stage the pouring was accompanied by "deafening cheers, various kinds of music and vedic hymns." His energy having been renewed through preparatory rites, the Sētupati then distributed general and special gifts known as *nitya* and *viśēca tāna.*

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[16] Outside Tamilnāṭu, particularly in Bengal and Bihar, Navarātri is known as Durgotsava, and may coincide with Tivāli. For a review of both Durgotsava and Vijayadasami, see P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra* (*Ancient and Medieval Religious and Civil Law in India*), Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1930-62, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 154-94.

[17] According to local tradition, Rājarājisvari, a deity bearing a Cōla name, known in the *Markandēya Purānam* as Mahishasura Mardani.

[18] "Navaratri Celebration," n. 8.

The preparation of the offerer of worship completed, attention turned to the preparation and honoring of the Ammaṉ, Śrī Rājārājisvari who was processed to the Navarātri Maṇṭapam Worship of the Ammaṉ began by placing the royal sword and sceptre of the Sētupati at her feet. Then, in a rite known as *kalaca stāpaṉam*, new vessels containing water were consecrated. Accompanied by variegated flags, festoons, vedic hymns, a flourish of trumpets, and gurukkal priests, the golden processional form of the Ammaṉ was processed from her temple abode in the palace to the Navarātri hall. Arriving on a silver processional vehicle accompanied by the *marakata-pītam* she was greeted by the Sētupati, his son, and other relatives and guests. On a temporarily constructed square pyramid of brick-work a few yards in front of the dais on which the Ammaṉ was placed, her royal seat was installed. Between this *pītam* and the Ammaṉ, the Sētupati took a seat and honored nine earthen-filled vessels which had been placed before him. Then, to invite prosperity, five married women (*cumaṅkalis*) planted two seeds of different lentils in each of the vessels with the hope that they might sprout before the nine-day festivities were concluded.[19] Luxurious textiles were then presented to the women. This consecration of vessels was brought to a close with the performance of puja to "nine big and narrow-necked metal. . .vessels filled with water and arranged in a close square [and] having tender leaves at their mouths. . . ."

Before the worship of the Ammaṉ was brought to its conclusion, a tying and binding ceremony, known as *kāppukkaṭṭu* or *kankunapantaṉam*, was performed. As a marker of his determination to complete and to protect the ensuing nine days of festivities, a saffron-smeared thread was tied around the right wrist of the Sētupati by the officiating priests. After the Sētupati and his

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[19] Interestingly, another puja historically associated with Navarātri celebrations in which a young female child was worshipped (*kumāri pūjā*) is not mentioned in the 1892 account of Navarātri at Ramnad.

purōhitaṉs completed several circumambulations of the *marakata-pītam*, the Sētupati engaged in another transaction with the priests who acted on behalf of the Ammaṉ The priests brought the royal sword and sceptre from the feet of Śrī Rājārājisvari where these had been placed in the opening ceremony, and presented them to the Sētupati. He accepted them. In conclusion, the Sētupati processed with full regal paraphernalia back to his private quarters where once again he worshipped Śrī Rājārājisvari. Puja for her continued until about 2:30 in the afternoon.

At 3:00 p.m., the second processional began. This time the Sētupati was paraded to his Durbar Hall, the Rāmalinga Vilas. Guns were fired. Trumpets sounded. The grand processional which included dancers, musicians, and military battalions was described at length:

> First came the *Deva Dasis* of the different shrines of the Samastanam, accompanied by their train of musicians; then came groups of *Nagasaram* musicians, who had come for the occasion from different parts of the Presidency; next followed the palace band, playing both English and Karnatic music. The lancers, sepoys and liveried retinue then marched gracefully under the able direction of the palace Subedar. . . . These were followed by the state officials, the special guests, and the royal relatives. . . .[20]

Then, flanked by palace body guards (*ātaipukkars*), the Sētupati appeared, robed in full regal paraphernalia and canopied by silk umbrellas. The processional continued:

> On both sides of the Rajah were. . . rows of. . . torches, and silver and golden staff-bearers proclaiming the ancient glory of the Setupathis. Pandits, Bajanai parties, singing parties, and bands of devotees chanting select Tamil prayers from *Tevaram* and *Tiruvasakam*, closed up the rear. The Rajah was greeted all the way by thousands of spectators . . . and the salutations were readily responded to by the Setupati. Just when the Rajah passed through the Bhaskara Vilas, both the Samastanam and the Devastanam elephants, which stood at the gate. . .saluted the Rajah in a dignified and picturesque manner, waving their ponderous heads and lifting their trunks so as to touch their foreheads.[21]

Upon reaching the Durbar Hall, the Sētupati paraded through the central aisle where lancers and sepoys who lined the passageway presented arms and saluted him. The crowds cheered loudly and vociferously.

Seated on his velvet pillow under an elaborate patchwork canopy supported by silver posts, the Sētupati prepared to hold levee. His son and nephew sat by his side while his other relatives sat around him. Other guests, pandits, and officials were also seated nearby. Respect and honor were paid to the Sētupati respectively by temple stanikars and officiating priests of various Samastāṉam shrines, representatives of various monasteries, pandits, jesters and poets, guests and officials. Subsequently, the heir apparent, and other kinsmen prostrated themselves at the Sētupati's feet. Thrown out in front of them was a cloth known as *tittucīlai*, which indicated their "fealty to their paramount chieftain, the Raja Setupati." In stately procession, the Sētupati then marched to the family *zenāna* to pay obeisance to his veneiable mother.

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[20] "Navaratri Celebration," n. 8.

[21] *Ibid.*

About 5:30 p.m. preparations for the third processional of the day began. Śrī Rājārājisvari was worshipped. Amidst jubilation, the Sētupati reached the Navarātri Maṇṭapam around 7:30. Under the tutelage of the officiating priests, he circumambulated the *marakata-pītam*, accompanied by his kinsmen and attendants, and chanted several devotional Sanskrit slokas. Rites of adoration (*upacāram*) were then offered to the Ammaṉ by the priests. The Sētupati, having retired to his private quarters, returned to the Maṇṭapam in dazzling royal robes and worshipped again. Subsequently, sitting on a velvet pillow near the *pitam*, he held a durbar which was attended by his kinsmen, officials, guests and Brahman reciters of the Vedas. Each was received by the Sētupati. Particularly conspicuous were temple priests and representatives of various monastic institutions (Brahman and non-Brahman) who presented the Sētupati with *prasātam*.

Entertainment, provided by vocal and instrumental musicians of the royal court, included songs in praise of the goddess which had been composed by an ancestor of the Sētupati.

In the meantime, worship of the Ammaṉ continued. A consecrated arrow was brought from the feet of the goddess to the Sētupati. He received it. He returned it. Subsequent to the presentation of gifts to the musicians and entertainers, the durbar was concluded with much ado. The hall, having been cleared of all Brahmans, became the scene of special, though unspecified in the text, sacrifices offered to propitiate the goddess. Whether or not these were blood sacrifices remains unclear. Having viewed these, the Sētupati retired to his quarters.

Some combinations of the events described above were repeated on the following six days (23-28 September).

On days eight and nine (29-30 September), weapons (*āyutam*), tools or instruments as the case might be, were honored in a ceremony now known as Sarasvati puja. The goddess was invoked by the worshipper who sought to conquer ignorance, and, hence, to acquire mastery over his or her occupation. For the Sētupati, this meant honoring various instruments of state and war:

> The Rajah in the usual procession went to the Durbar Hall, and there

> offered puja to a beautiful vehicle representing a lingam and to the ancient setupitam. He next came to ... Bhaskara vilas, and made similar pujas to the state elephants, horses, and camels which were all conducted before [him] one after another in richly embroidered kincob robes and costly caprisons set with precious stones . . . [they] were then made to race majestic[ally] with their foreheads facing the Setupati. The state palanquin which had the representation of a lion in front was next honoured. . . .Then the characteristic insignias of the Setupatis. . .were similarly respected and worshipped.[22]

Day ten (1 October), known as the victorious tenth or *Vijayadasami*, consisted of two processionals. In the forenoon, the Setupati paraded to a clearing outside the town for the arrow-shooting ceremony. Among the throngs in attendance at this ceremony were gods and goddesses from various temples in the Samastāṉam, priests, and other honored guests. The celebration was described:

> . . .the Rajah mounted on a beautiful Howdah placed on the back of the state elephant, with two side elephants bearing his characteristic umbrella and flags, [emerged from] the palace amidst constant firing of guns, flourish of trumpets, and the deafening cheers of the multitude that greeted him . . [He] forced his way through the dense crowd to the arrow shooting plain where the gods of the different local shrines had been carried in advance On reaching this plain, the Setupati made pradakshanam a number of times around the gods and goddesses, and under the guidance of the officiating priests, darted consecrated arrows in different directions amidst the loud applause of the vast crowd of spectators. The gods and goddesses were then carried back to their respective shrines and the Setupati returned to his palace in the same grand procession.[23]

In the evening, a grand durbar was celebrated in the Rāmalinga Vilas. Now seated on an English chair, the Sētupati held durbar. Prestations from various temple priests, monastic representatives, Vedic Brahmans, pandits and other learned men were received by him in the form of blessings (*anugrakams* and *akshatas*). Subsequently, members of the royal family, with their usual *tittucīlai* (cloth ceremony), prostrated before their king. Other officials and attendants followed suit.

Days eleven through thirteen (2-4 October) were designated for gymnastic competition, gymkhanas, fireworks, magical feats and jesting events.

Day fourteen (5 October), the final day of the celebration, was concluded with a dinner party for European residents of the locality, followed by a *nautch* party in the Durbar Hall to which all the leading men of the town were invited.

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[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid*,

The above description of the 1892 Navarātri Naivēttiyam held at Ramnad has been lengthy, though not exhaustive. In his concluding remarks, the author of this eye-witness account translated the traditional gifting-activities witnessed in this celebration in what were then "modern" terms. He noted, for example, that a major portion of the expenditure for the dazzling celebration had been "for the encouragement of science and learning and for various acts of piety and devotion." In an age dominated by imperial concerns with respect to moral and material progress, the interpretation of Navarātri as having been celebrated, however partially, for the "encouragement of science and learning" was particularly compelling. But, from the perspective of the imperial center in Delhi, how was the celebration of Navarātri in the year 1892 to be interpreted?

Throughout, the imperial presence was apparent. Englishmen, their practices, heraldry, music, military honors and photographs were there to be seen. But they were present as guests, however special, who transacted with the Sētupati. At no point in the ritual does it appear that the authority of the Sētupati, which was being renewed in this celebration, was derived from the imperial system itself. On the contrary, if the ritual is to be taken seriously, the source of the Sētupati's authority lay in his relationship with the deity. It was to that relationship that reference was made in the ritual.

Of all the transactions embedded in the multiple renewal ceremonies celebrated in this lavish Navarātri event at Ramnad, two were particularly revealing with respect to the relationship between the deity and the Sētupati. One occurred in the morning worship of the Ammaṉ; and the other in the evening worship of her. Together, these two periods of worship bracketed the afternoon period when the Sētupati sat-in-state, in much the same way as the Ammaṉ did, in his Durbar Hall. During the morning worship of Śrī Rājārājisvari, the Sētupati permitted himself to be tied and bound with the ceremonial *kāppu* or thread. In so doing, he committed himself to the protection of his relationship with the deity. The deity, reciprocating through the agency of her priests, presented the Sētupati with his royal sword and sceptre, markers of his kingship. Likewise, in the evening the Sētupati offered the Ammaṉ rites of adoration (*upacāram*). The deity offered the Sētupati consecrated arrows which were eventually used in the performance of the tenth day "victory" celebrations in which the Sētupati's royal prowess was displayed.

In addition to the Sētupati's display of his prowess, on this tenth, and technically final, day of the celebration, the Sētupati and the Ammaṉ each revealed the relationship which had been established between them to their respective audiences. Gathered together for the majestic arrow-shooting event on the plain outside the town were two potentially separate, if not competing, audiences: of the same generic order as the deity were gods and goddesses from other temples in Ramnad; of the same generic order as the Sētupati were various, unfortunately unnamed in the text, honored guests. These two audiences were united in the relationship of the Sētupati and the deity as this relationship had to be replicated by anyone aspiring to royal stature. It, and the reciprocal transactions which underlaid it, take on greater meaning in the context of pre-nineteenth century inscriptional data.

SĒTUPATI AS DONOR/PROTECTER, 1600 TO 1764

The historical context in which Navarātri took on particular meaning in South India was the Vijayanagara era. In the late Vijayanagara era beginning around 1600, regional royal families surfaced as primary, rather than as secondary, units in which sovereignty was exercised.[24] In the shift of focus from Vijayanagara to regional centers, the celebration of Navarātri by local royal persons was important. It had been the celebration par excellence in the Vijayanagara period, and hence, its adoption by regional sovereigns suggests their desire to replicate the rituals of their predecessors, namely, Vijayanagara sovereigns

Known then in Telugu-speaking country as Mahanavami, and in Kannada country as Dassara, Navarātri was celebrated in the pre-winter season (*vamatamsatra kāla*) of September-October (the Tamil month of Purattāci). The harvest had been undertaken, and had been redistributed. Now, just as Rāma had vanquished Rāvana, the king was entreated to augment prosperity through conquest and victory. This was to be accomplished by infusing the *pītam* and weapons with cosmic energies, by warding off danger in the form of illness in the forthcoming cold season, and by providing a forum in which exchange and prestation was exercised.

The date attributed to the establishment of the first Sētupati in Maravar country is the year 1604. In 1608, while consolidating his position as sovereign, the Sētupati journeyed to the nearby island of Rāmēsvaram for a sacred bath. There, he ordered "the following grant of lands be enjoyed by the respectable Aryan people of the five countries[25] who perform mediation (*stānikam*), worship, and service (*paricārakam*), the respectable people who have given us the sceptre (*seṅkol*). . . ."[26] The phrase "who have given us the sceptre" elegantly captures the relationship between the Sētupati and the priestly retinue of the presiding deity, Śrī Rāmanātasvāmi.

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[24] In Kannada country, the Wodēyar lineage was placed on the throne around 1610, and instituted the royal festival of Navarātri in 1647; Ikkeri, Gingee, and Madurai were consolidated under their respective Nāyakas in the early seventeenth century; Tanjore, originally under a Nāyaka, subsequently became a Maratha principality. Likewise, in Travancore and Maravar country, powerful royal lineages emerged, and in the year 1659 Navarātri was introduced in Ramnad.

[25] In the literature pertaining to temples in Tamilnāṭu, "five countries" appears to be a stylized way to indicate that newcomers have been incorporated into the local system Myths of origin, for example, usually suggest that temple priests came from "five countries."

Receiving the sceptre from the priests indebted the Sētupati to the deity on whose behalf the priests had acted. The Sētupati became indebted for honor (*mariyātai*), since the deity, through the instrumentality of the priests, conferred the critical markers of kingship.[27] Upon receipt of the sceptre, the Sētupati had entered into what might appear to have been an asymmetrical relationship with the deity. But this apparent asymmetry was not real. The power in the relationship between the Sētupati and the deity lay in their being linked in a scheme of reciprocal exchanges which in turn generated a redistributive process. This yoking rendered the retinue of the deity (*paricanaṅkal*) and that of the Sētupati complementary rather than competitive.

This reciprocal relationship between the deity and the Sētupati was further complicated by the concluding injunction upon the Sētupati. He was enjoined to protect that which he had given to the priests, an injunction placed on every donor in the temple. Having taken the sceptre, and having reciprocated with a grant to the deity's priestly retainers, the inscription was concluded with:

> The protection [*paripālan*] of a donation [*kaṭṭaḷai*], is equal to twice the meritoriousness of the endowment [*kaṭṭaḷai*] made by oneself. Of donation and protection, protection is more praiseworthy than donation. By donation, man obtains a place in Svarga; by protection, the place of Achyuta himself.[28]

His generosity to the priests had made the Sētupati a donor in the Śrī Rāmanātasvāmi Temple, at Rāmēsvaram. And in so doing he fulfilled one of the two injunctions on those aspiring to royal status, namely an injunction to be generous. But what constituted fulfillment of the second injunction, namely to protect one's own generosity?

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[26] Sētupati Inscription No. 2, James Burgess and Natesa Sastri (eds.), *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol IV, Madras, 1899, p. 65. In this volume, twenty-six Sētupati inscriptions are recorded. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations from the Tamil texts used here are my own. I remain grateful to James Lindholm who provided useful comments on my translations.

[27] For an analysis of honors in the context of the temple see Arjun Appadurai and Carol Appadurai Breckenridge, "The South Indian Hindu Temple: Authority, Honour and Redistribution," in *Contributions to Indian Sociology: New Series*, December 1976.

[28] Sētupati Inscription No. 2, Burgess and Sastri, *op. cit.*, p 65. Natesa Sastri's translation. This injunction seems to have first emerged as a result of a sixteenth century dialogue between Abhirama Pandya and learned pandits in his court as to which was preferable: donation or protection. The pandits declared protection to be superior saying, "Render thou protection which is purifying." Srivilliputur Plates, *Travancore Archaeological Series*, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 108-9.

Protection seems to have pertained to the Sētupati's constitutive capacity: that is, his capacity to constitute persons appropriate for the privileges which they exercised. Even the deity itself was potentially the subject of this capacity of the Sētupati. The clearest such instance was recorded in a 1715 Rāmēsvaram Temple inscription. The presiding deity was granted the privilege of distributing honors to various courtiers associated with the ritual activities generated by the Sētupati's donation.

> We give to the god. . .as properly his own [*svatāntiram*] the giving of the honor *parivaṭṭam* on the sacred day in the month of Āti to those earning salary [*campulam*]; meals [*cātam*], and income in the temple endowment which bears our seal [*muttirai*]; and also, the giving of parivaṭṭam honors in the festivities of our own maṇṭapam.[29]

The giving of a highly valued honor, namely the tying of a sacred vestment (*parivaṭṭam*) around the head of the recipient, was specified as the special prerogative of the deity himself in the above grant. Just as the royal sword and sceptre given by the deity were critical markers of the Sētupati's sovereignty, so also the privilege of conferring honors might be considered a critical marker of the deity's sovereignty. In their transactions with each other, however, both the deity and the Sētupati were subjected to the peculiar prerogatives of the other's sovereignty: the deity conferred honor on the Sētupati, and the Sētupati granted privileges to the deity.

Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that the Sētupati caused priestly retainers of the deity to become appropriate for their services, privileges, and honors. Their fitness was contingent on the invocation of the Sētupati who generated the ritual contexts in which they performed their services. The Tamil verbal form *ērppaṭutti*, which occurs in the inscriptions, usually as a causative, reveals the constitutive capacity of the Sētupati.[30] It powerfully suggests that the inherent fitness (*urimai*) of priests who serviced the Sētupati was achieved through an order of the Sētupati which altered their substance. More empirical evidence is necessary in order to understand the conditions under which the Sētupati exercised his constitutive sovereignty. From the data which follows one guideline does emerge. He did so whenever new entrants were incorporated into the ranks of the deity's priestly retainers, particularly with respect to priestly entrants who were specifically endowed as the celebrants of the Sētupati's royal rituals.

Three inscriptions pertaining to a Rāmēsvaram priestly family reveal the role of the Sētupati as the grantor of privileges, particularly to groups which were in the process of being incorporated as part of the Sētupati's domain.[31] All three inscriptions represent grants by the Sētupati to the family and descendants of Śrī Sankara Gurukkal, a Maratha priestly family. Originally, this family served the Maratha community which frequented Rāmēsvaram in the seventeenth century. The period spanned by the three inscriptions is 1659 to 1764. During that time, this family was incorporated into the temple priesthood with privileges which permitted them to serve as the celebrants of royal rites and ceremonies. Subsequently, they were elevated to the position of mediator (*stāṉikar*) between the king and the deity, and as priests in the Ammaṉ Temple situated in the Sētupati's palace.

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[29] Sētupati Inscription No. 10, Burgess and Sastri, *op. cit* , p. 84.

[30] The root of *ērppaṭu* is *ēl*, to be suitable for; becoming; change.

The first two of the three grants were ordered in the year 1659. Raghunāta Sētupati alias Tirumala Sētupati (c. 1645-1670) was in the process of consolidating his rule. He reunited Ramnad with neighboring Sivaganga; moved the capital to the town of Rāmanātapuram (ten miles from the former capital); added structurally to Rāmēsvaram's Śrī Rangunata Rāmasvāmi Temple; built *cāvatis* (feeding houses), introduced Telugu into his royal court;[32] defeated Mysore, protecting the dignity of Madurai; and assumed new titles, such as "Protector of the Queen's Tali." Notwithstanding his presumed relationship to the Madurai Nāyakas, the introduction of the *Hiraṇyagarbha* sacrifice, in the year 1659,[33] followed by the celebration of Navarātri Naivēttiyam, clearly established this Sētupati as a king in his own right[34] It was in this historical context that the Sētupati's concern for his expanding, yet precarious, authority must be viewed.

In the first of the two 1659 inscriptions, the Sētupati ordered that:

> Since former kings have not allocated either village or land for your share of worship (*arcanāpākam*), we command you, the assembly of Marāṭṭa gurukkals who perform worship, service and cooking for Rāmanātasvāmi and Paruvatavartti Ammaṉ, to enjoy the following:
>
> 1. you alone shall act as water-*purōhita*;
> 2. you alone shall enjoy the income [thereof];

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[31] For a rich description of ritual see J. Burgess, "Ramesvaram Temple Ritual," *Indian Antiquary*, 1883.

[32] "Copper-plate Record," *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[33] Sētupati Plate No. 5, *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in The Government Museum, Madras*, Government Press, 1918, p. 38.

[34] For quelling the invasion of Muslims from Mysore, the Sētupati is reported to have "received the title 'he who propped up the kingdom,' and was granted permission to celebrate 'the nine nights festival' in his own capital, with the same pomp and magnificence with which it was celebrated at Madura." J. Nelson, *Madura Country*, Madras Government Press, 1868, Book II, Part III, p. 138. Nelson does not provide his reader with his source for this information. To date, I have been unable to satisfy myself that the Madurai Nāyaka had anything to do with the Sētupati's celebration of Navarātri.

> 3. you alone shall perform svāmi pucai [pūjā], service and cooking for Maharāstrians and all caste members[35] who come for a glimpse of the deity. . . .[36]

Through this order, the Sētupati incorporated Maratha priests into the temple priesthood. Formerly mediators of offerings for a single donative group, namely the Maharashtrian community, these priests were to become mediators for a wider audience of worshippers. They became linked to the offering of "public" worship (*pūjā*) in addition to "private" worship (*arccanai*). Moreover, in this grant, their performance of puja linked them to the Sētupati as his *purōhitaṉs*.

The second inscription recorded in the year 1659 further refined the role of these Maratha *purōhitaṉs* who served the Sētupati. They were granted privileges, namely the privilege of wearing the "protective" sacred thread (*kāppu*), which entitled them to act as the agents of the Sētupati for the performance of royal ceremonies and vows, including the Navarātri naivēttiyam, initiated in Ramnad at this time. The inscription read:

> As we have given as a gift for your own hereditary prerogative (*kāṇiyātci*): your wearing of the *kāppu*,[37] while we wear our *kāppu* for the Rājarāsisvari Ammaṉ Navarāttirai festival, may you enjoy performing the Navarāttirai ten day festival, and the festival *pucai* for the Ammaṉ, including the income deriving therefrom. . . .[38]

The initiation of Navarātri in 1659 placed the Sētupati directly in the Vijayanagara tradition. To celebrate Navarātri on a grand scale was to summon one's equals, namely those with whom one had an alliance, to exchange gifts for *prasātam* from one's own hand, as well as one's subordinates, namely those from whom one commanded services and tribute.

One final inscription, dated 1680, dramatically captures the force of the Sētupati's constitutive capacity. The Sētupati ordered:

> We leave in your possession all. . . which previous tēvars have endowed for

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[35] The inscription is unclear at this point. It could also read "for all Maharashtrian caste citizens." I am unfamiliar with the hieroglyph at the end of the word for Maharashtra, and have, therefore, been consistent with Natesa Sastri's translation: Maharashtrian *and* all.

[36] Sētupati Inscription No. 5, Burgess and Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[37] This crucial portion of the inscription is not intelligible according to our present understanding of Tamil grammar. It could also possibly mean: your wearing of the kāppu which is the kāppu we wear for the Ammaṉ Navarātri festival. The inscription reads: *namakku kāppu tarica* (here it changes to the second side of the plate) *tāmmū kāppu tarissukkoṇṭu*. Spelling and grammar mistakes are common in these inscriptions, so it is difficult to know exactly what is meant here.

[38] Burgess and Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

> the morning and noon sacred bath, *pūcal* and meals (*naivēttiyam*) of Rāmanātasvāmi. . . .Having made you fit (*ērpattutti*) to be the first gurukkal in the Rāmanātasvāmi Temple, we allow you all the first honors: priority in the betel distribution (*akkiratāmpūlam*); double cāmaras; double torches; silk umbrella; village palanquin hung from silk chords. In light of this, we allow you this *tānacācanam* for your enjoyment: the *kaṭṭaḷai vicāraṇai mirāci*[39] and the *mirāci* of the Tēvar seal bearing our name, and the Rakṣā-panda for the marriage festivals which occur in the months of Māci, Āni, Āṭi and Āvani. . . .[40]

Careful attention to the sequence of events in this inscription reveals the causal relationship between the Sētupati's constitutive capacity and the receipt of honors from the deity. In the opening clause, all grants made by his predecessors to the priestly family were honored by the Sētupati. The stages followed in the specifications of the inscription. The first stage involved the appropriateness of the priests. The inscription read: "Having made you fit to be the first gurukkal in the Rāmanātasvāmi Temple, we allow you all the first honors: priority in the betel distribution; double flywiskes; double torches; silk umbrella; village palanquin hung from silk chords." Stage two specified what the priests were entitled to as a result of their newly acquired appropriateness. The inscription continued: "In light of [your appropriateness and the honors granted to you], we allow you this gift for your enjoyment." The gift included a series of privileged roles in relation to temple services, rituals and donors.

The role of honors in the above grant is particularly intriguing. According to this inscription, in light of the honors which the Sētupati bestowed on the priest, the priest was entitled to perform certain functions and roles. The order in which these two things occurred is also worthy of note. Entitlement to perform specified functions did not then entitle the priest to receive certain honors. Rather, the receipt of honors entitled him to perform certain sacred services both in the temple and in relation to the offerer of worship, the Sētupati. These services appear to have been of a mediational nature between the deity and the king.[41]

The Sētupati inscriptions selected for examination here reveal the Sētupati to have been both a donor in and a protector over the temple. He was a donor insofar as he generously redistributed his resources whether in the form of land, produce, or honors. He was a protector insofar as he constituted members of the deity's royal court appropriate for their tasks such that they were unambiguously incorporated into the redistributive process of the temple. Thus, it might be suggested that whenever new entrants were incorporated into the temple, the Sētupati was invoked, either to preempt or to resolve conflict.

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[39] The hereditary honor of supervising worship, greeting honored guests, and resolving disputes.

[40] Sētupati Inscription No. 8, Burgess and Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[41] For an analysis of temple *stānikars* as mediators between the court of the king and that of the deity, see Carol A. Breckenridge, "Madurai Stanikars: Mediators of Royal Culture" in A.V. Jeyachandran (ed.), *The Madurai Temple Complex*, Madurai, 1974, pp. 205-11.

It might be asked, to what extent was the Sētupati's constitutive capacity exercised with respect to other donors who were new entrants in the temple? The answer to this question would require evidence which is not presently available in these Sētupati inscriptions.[42] Nevertheless, some observations with respect to other donors in the temple may be briefly made.

The evidence presented above pertained to the transactional relationship between the deity and the Sētupati. But this is not meant to suggest that this relationship with the deity was the monopoly of the Sētupati. On the contrary, every donor who participated in temple worship was an aspirant to royal stature. As such, he sought to replicate the reciprocal relationship of the Sētupati and the deity. This was so because inevitably a donor was, or attempted to be, the head of a donative group, such as extended families, sectarian followers, monastic disciples, or fellow caste members. The source of his appropriateness as "headman" of a group was his receipt of honors from the deity. To receive sacred honors, it was necessary to place oneself in a direct transactional relationship with the deity. Such placement was achieved through donation. Put another way, the donor was the product of a constitutive process, in which he and his constituency were incorporated into the temple through their transactions with the deity. This replication of the relationship between the deity and the Sētupati by numerous other donors in the temple had the effect of rendering the temple a system in which authority was dispersed. In relation to this system, the Sētupati was the ideal-typic donor, and in the final analysis the arbitrator of disputes, the grantor of privileges.

SĒTUPATI AS DONOR, 1800 TO 1912

In the course of the nineteenth century, the Sētupati's protective role with respect to deities, other donors and temple servants, was eroded by decisions of the Government. The revenue bureaucracy of the Madras Government, and subsequently courts of law assumed elements of his "protective" function. As a result, the Sētupati was rendered a mere donor in the temple, and the honors therein distributed were rendered, in the eyes of the law, trifling trinkets.

Decisions in two celebrated court cases in which the Sētupati was a litigant may be adduced as evidence for pursuing this argument. The first decision was rendered in 1874, in a case popularly known as the "Ramesvaram Temple Case." The second decision came in the "Kamuthi Temple Case of 1908." These decisions had significant ramifications. They applied not only to the relationship between the Sētupati and the particular temple involved in each case, but also to numerous other temples in Ramnad Samastāṉam. Before discussing the pertinence of the two cases cited above, a brief overview of the religious and "charitable" institutions with which the Sētupati maintained various transactions is in order.

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[42] For an analysis of donors and their Incorporation into the temple, see Carol Appadurai Breckenridge, "The Śrī Mīnākṣi Sundarēsvarar Temple: Worship and Endowments in South India, 1833 to 1925," Ph d. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1976.

In 1892 at least, Samastāṉam revenue was administered through four funds, three of which were either religious or charitable in nature. They were: Ayan (referred to as the Samastāṉam) Funds, Dēvastāṉam (or temple) Funds, Chattram (or choultry) Funds, and Dharma Makamai Funds. Of the 2,167 villages which comprised the Samastāṉam in 1803, more than half or 1,340 villages were administered as *ayan* lands.[43] Another 827 villages (or about per cent of the total) had been "alienated" for "charitable and religious" purposes. Of these, 366 villages were attached to temples, 67 to chattrams, 345 to private persons, and 46 to other. Between 1803 and 1892 another 330 grants were made, bringing the total number of villages "alienated" for religious and charitable purposes to 1,157 villages or nearly half of the villages in the Samastāṉam.

Of the 379 temples associated with the Dēvastānam Fund of the Samastāṉam, seventy important temples as well as numerous smaller ones were under the direct management of the Sētupati.[44] Of these, eleven were designated as Vaiṣṇavite, forty-nine as Śaivite, seven as goddess, and three as other. Various Sētupatis were cited as having been the founders or original donors of nine of these seventy temples. Other pre-nineteenth century founders of the seventy temples under Sētupati management in 1892 included: 3 royal officers, 18 Pandian kings, 9 sages, 4 Chakravartis, 1 Ceṭṭiyar, 2 Mahajanams, 1 Piḷḷai, 3 paṇṭārams, and 17 other. Other than the seventy temples referred to above, there were numerous temples under what came to be known as "private" management. Between 1873 and 1887, when Ramnad was under the administrative control of the Court of Wards, the annual income collected from Samastāṉam temples ranged from Rs 76,021 to 151,279.[45] And in the year 1887-88, a surplus of Rs 267,141 remained in the Dēvastānam Fund of the Samastāṉam.

Throughout Madras Presidency in the nineteenth century, temple management came to be a hotly disputed issue. In the course of repeated litigation, for example, a paṇṭāram[46] rather than the Sētupati, came to be the "manager"

[43] Rama Rao, *Ramnad Manual*, p. 10.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[45] *Ibid.*, p 80.

[46] A non-Brahman priest. In the case of the Rāmēsvaram Temple, it is likely that the pantarams performed the services of *stānikars*.

of the renowned, all-India pilgrimage center at Rāmēsvaram, the Śrī Rāmanātasvāmi Temple, and its fifty-seven villages which yielded an estimated 40,000 rupees annually. Tension between the Sētupāti and the pantaram resulted in the famous and precedent-setting, Ramesvaram Temple Case, the first of the two cases under consideration here.

In 1864, simultaneous with the reorganization of the Madras court system which resulted in the formation of the Madras High Court of Judicature, the Sētupati took the case known as *Rajah Muttu Ramalinga Setupati v. Periana-yagum-Pillai*, to court.[47] Ten years and three court decisions later, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council rendered their decision in the appeal case. The Sētupāti was deprived of any role in the "appointment" or the "confirmation" of the *dharmakarta* who managed the Rāmēsvaram Temple. This decision confirmed in the courts what had, since 1801, been established in the revenue bureaucracy: kings possessed no sovereign "rights." These rights, albeit usually unspecified, were in turn claimed by the Governments of Madras, Bengal and Bombay, and subsequent to 1858, by the Government of India. The decision read:

> The powers they enjoyed as sovereigns, whatever they may have been, have now passed to the British government, and the present zemindar [Sētupati] can have *no* rights with respect to the pagoda [temple] other than those of a private and proprietary nature, which they can establish by evidence to belong to them.[48]

Effectively, in the eyes of the law, the Sētupati ceased being the "protector" of temple donations, and was rendered one among many donors.

Encroachments on the Sētupati's relationship to Hindu temples was not new. In general, the revenue bureaucracy had long before assumed the right of supervision over temple lands. Authority with respect to temples in Madras Presidency had been formalized in the preamble of Regulation VII of 1817. It declared that "the duty of the Government [was] to provide that all. . . .endowments be applied to the real intent and will of the grantor." This supervisory role of the Government was designed to prevent or to punish misappropriation of temple lands, produce, and income, while providing for the continuation of those ceremonies necessary to insure the contentment of the people. Up until 1874, misappropriation of funds or mismanagement of land was, therefore, the general reason for interference by the government, usually through the Board of Revenue, in temple affairs. The Privy Council decision in the Ramesvaram Temple Case, however, altered the legal authority of the revenue bureaucracy. Now, revenue authorities could exercise control over temple servants and personnel as well as temple lands and villages. Unwittingly perhaps, revenue and judicial authorities, therefore, came to determine who qualified for what in the temple, the historical function of the Sētupati. Emphasis had shifted from the Sētupati's constitutive role to his donative one.

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[47] Reported in (1874) Moore's *Indian Appeals* 209 (233); and in *The Revenue Register*, 15 June 1874, 6, Vol. 8, pp. 171-78.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

The protracted litigation which preceded this case is sobering. It suggests the inability of local institutions under the Madras Government to bring disputing parties to a position of conciliation. Moreover, attempted resolutions to the dispute reveal that each time a problem was posed, the Collector created, and then enforced, new rules with respect to temple management, as well as with respect to the Sētupati's relationship to the temple. Between 1815 and 1864, when the case finally went to court, both the Sētupati and the temple pantaram (Venkatachellam), a non-Brahman Śaivite "priest," claimed to be the *dharmakarta* of the temple.[49] Similarly, the Sētupati claimed a role in the installation of any new pantaram in the temple. In an 1815 pantaram-Sētupati succession dispute, the Rāni requested the Collector to "prevent. . .Venkatachellum being invested with the parivattam cloth and other emblems of the pandaram office."[50] A recital of petitions followed, with the result that the Rāni claimed the role of temple *dharmakarta*, thereby denying the claim of the pantaram. A Collector's decision in 1816 disregarded the Rāni's claim by ordering the Tahsildar to permit Venkatachellam to be installed in the office "with the appropriate honors and offerings." In supporting the claims of the pantaram, however, the Collector introduced one major innovation: the supervision of temple endowments was to be shared between the pantaram *and* a servant from the Collector's office. Here, misappropriation was an excuse for gaining a share of control over temple finances, which had not been considered in the original settlement of the Samastāṉam in 1803.

Again in 1832 the dispute surfaced. Arguing that custom ought to be followed so as to avoid disturbances, the Acting Collector of Madura ordered the government appointed guardian of the Ramnad Sētupati, then a minor, to restore to the pantaram's management the villages of the temple, and to do so without delay. A compromise reached in 1837 determined how the Sētupati and the pantaram would address one another. The petition from Setu Ramanada Pandaram, *vicaraṇal-karta* of the Rāmanātasvami Dēvastāṉam, to the Collector of Madura, read:

> I shall abide by the directions of said zemindar in regard to the aforesaid devastanam pagoda villages, sibbundies and other affairs, dispose of all the receipts and disbursements in conjunction with the *samprathi* appointed by

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[49] A rough translation of the term *dharmakarta* is temple manager.

[50] *The Revenue Register, op. cit.*, p. 174.

> the said zemindar, and send to the zemindar accounts of receipts and disbursements, with my signature therein. That in addressing arzis [petitions] to the zemindar, I shall state "addressed by Setu Ramanada, Pandaram of Ramesvaram Devastanam, to the presence of Setupati Rajah Avergal," and that the zemindar will, in his communications to my address, state, "addressed to Setu Ramanada, Pandaram of Ramesvaram Devastanam." As the zemindar has forwarded an arzi to your presence, praying for making over to me the said devastanam etc., from attachment, I beg you will be pleased to make over the said devastanam etc. to me as per mamool.[51]

The pantaram was reinstated in the temple where he remained as manager until 1854 when he died. Again, the succession dispute arose, and resulted in a case before the newly formed Madras High Court in 1864.

After protracted litigation in the lower courts, it was decided that the proper framing of the issues in the case was:

> Is the zemindar the real trustee [*dharmakarta*] of the pagoda, and the defendent pandaram, the wrongdoer, or is the zemindar seeking, without legal title, to possess himself of a valuable property to which, as the defendents allege, he has not title?[52]

The Court found that "during the whole period of the existence of British rule, these opposing parties have been in litigation upon the matter, and that the titles now claimed have been constantly disallowed by tribunals having power to pass a provisional decision." With that, the case was dismissed on the grounds that the Sētupati could not prove he had historically played a role in the pantaram's installation.

On appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, agents of the Sētupati argued that when a new pantaram succeeded to the *dharmakarta* position, a ritual transaction with the Sētupati was necessary:

> The evidence of usage through a long series of years proves that the pandaram ought to be nominated by the zemindar, but if not. . .he ought at least, to be presented to him for confirmation, and the lack of confirmation makes his appointment void The zemindar is the *dharmakarta* of this pagoda, and it is to be inferred from the very title that this confirmation of the pandaram is necessary.[53]

Considering the disputed title of *dharmakarta* inconsequential, the Judge ordered "Their Lordships. . . to abstain from using this appellation. . . ." Thereupon, he argued that he would "proceed to consider the substantial issue" of the case, namely "whether the zemindar [had] established the right, under whatever name, to make or confirm the appointment of pandarams." He astutely concluded that probably:

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[51] Moore's *Indian Appeals, op. cit.*
[52] *Ibid.*
[53] *Ibid.*

> pandarams, on their elections, were presented to the Sētupati, not for the confirmation of their title, but to obtain from him, as the great chieftain of the district, a recognition of it, and to secure his protection and support.[54]

But he dismissed the case on the grounds that the Sētupati had nowhere proved his role in the "appointment" of pantarams.

A second protracted, yet highly charged, court case in which the Sētupati was a litigant was popularly known as the "Kamuthi Temple Case."[55] Subsequently touted as the first temple-entry case, it represented an unsuccessful attempt by a mobile group of former toddy-tappers then known as Nadars, to enter and to receive honor in a Maravar controlled temple. As the "hereditary trustee" of the Śrī Mīṉākṣi Sundarēsvarar Temple in the town of Kamuthi, the Sētupati charged that Nadars had violated custom and usage by forcibly entering the temple. In their 1908 decision, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council supported the Sētupati's charges. According to the decision, Nadars had been, and therefore, should continue to be, excluded from worship in the temple.

As in the Ramesvaram Temple Case, this decision of the courts undermined the constitutive capacity of the Sētupati as king and as protector of transactions in his domain. In demanding fixity with respect to their interpretation of custom and usage, the court deprived the Sētupati of his role as grantor of privileges, a role which permitted innovation and alteration in the distribution of temple honors. The Sētupati sought recognition of his role from the Nadars. There is every suggestion that had he received it, Nadars could have "come forward" (*munta vā*) through established procedures, namely by recognizing the Maravar Sētupati as higher in rank than they were. Nadars, however, argued that the Brahmanical character of some of their customs made them superior to Maravars whose customs constituted a departure from the practises of most caste-Hindus.

Before discussing the relevant details in this case, the context in which it occurred is noteworthy. In Ramand, the late nineteenth century was a period in which the cultural markers of kingship, namely donation and protection of temple ritual and endowments, received renewed attention. Symptoms of kingship were to be seen everywhere. Navarātri was celebrated with pomp and ceremony; non-Brahman monastic institutions and feeding houses were being endowed; and attempts were being made to protect temples from the inroads being made on them by mobile groups.

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[54] *The Revenue Register, op. cit.*, p. 178.

[55] *M. Bhaskara Setupati Avergal vs. Irulappan Nadan*, Original Suit 33 of 1898, Court of the Sub-judge, Madura (East); Appeal Suit 11 and 77 of 1900, High Court of Judicature, Madras. Judgement, 14 February 1901. Also see Robert Hardgrave, Jr., *The Nadars of Tamilnad: The Political Culture of a Community in Change*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1969.

That the Sētupati chose to engage in kingly activities at this time may appear to be surprising, if not paradoxical. At this time the Samastāṉam was experiencing great difficulties. It was heavily indebted; famines and cyclones occasionally caused water shortages in the already parched land; prices rose considerably; and finally, "rioting and looting" invited the punitive measures of the Madras Special Police. Other changes disturbed the economic and social order. Migration of labor to plantations in Ceylon and Mauritius under Kāṇkani recruitment was on the increase; resident mobile groups argued for honors equal to, if not higher than, that of the Sētupati; and conversion movements of Hindus to Christianity, and more curiously, of Hindus to radical Islam, disturbed the peace.

The apparent paradox of the Sētupati's active engagement in kingly activities, during a period of immense stress, can be dissolved. It was precisely in such potentially explosive periods that the Sētupati appears to have historically affirmed his kingship through massive gifting activities to temples and choultries and through ritual celebrations in which he was invoked as a royal personage.

It was in this context of renewed king-like activity that the Sētupati, designated in Anglo-Indian law as hereditary trustee, took the Kamuthi Temple Case to court. Although not framed in terms of temple honors, honor and its misuse was of central concern to both the plaintiff and the defendants. A violent incident provoked the case on 14 May 1898. A group of fifty to sixty Nadars, accompanied by drummers and torches, forcibly entered the Kamuthi Temple in order to honor the presiding deities of Śrī Mīṉakṣi and Sundarēsvarar with their offerings of coconuts, camphor and garlands. The priest, on behalf of the divine couple, refused to accept these offerings. Bypassing the priests, the Nadars themselves entered into the inner *sanctum*, and themselves honored the deity. The Nadars were not content with a mere act of physical entry into the temple. Rather, they were intent on engaging in a transaction with the presiding deities, ultimately the source of the highest honors.

Arguing that disgrace had been brought to both the temple and to its community of devotees, the Sētupati claimed substantial material damages. The case was valued at about Rs 3,000. Of that, he claimed half of the total valuation of the case, for "loss of honor and reputation to the temple caused by unlawful acts."

Moreover, in the depositions given by over one hundred witnesses, honors exchanges and transactions as constitutive of rank, authority and resource control, were a recurring concern. A Vaiṣṇavite Brahman astrologer and *purōhita* in the temple recalled the manipulation of symbolic paraphernalia and actions by Nadars.[56] He observed that the carriage by Nadars of both *kāvatis* and marriage palanquins around the agraharam and the temple had been on the increase. But, he made a distinction between these two activities. The carriage of a *kāvati* was "considered a religious duty or vow," with the implication being that it was an acceptable activity for Nadars. The perambulation of a palanquin, however, when the community celebrated a marriage, he charged, was "an assertion of equal social status."

Another witness recited an incident in which Nadars withheld honors from a Maravar cultivator. In return, Maravars sought to have honors withheld from Nadars. The recital of events read:

> Vellachami Tevan of Pasumbone, a well-to-do ryot, led a combination about 1885 against the Nadars. He used to come to Ramnad often where he was honored by all classes. They used to take off their upper cloths and give him betel-leaf. Nadars refused him this. Vellachami Tevan got together the other classes to combine and boycott the Nadars. They denied them fire and water. The idol was not taken in the direction of their streets at Mahanavami. The other classes were told not to associate with Nadars.[57]

Nadar refusal to honor Vellachami Tēvan might be interpreted as a claim to a position of honor at least equal to his. This pretention invited a counter-response. Śri Mīṉākṣi and Sundarēsvarar were not processed through those neighborhoods where Nadars resided. Rerouting this critical processional of the deities and the Sētupati on *vijayadasami*, the tenth day of Navarātri when the arrow-shooting contest was celebrated, so as to avoid Nadar streets, insured that Nadar householders would be boycotted in the deity's distribution of honors. Normally, Nadar householders would present offerings to the processional deities from temporarily constructed thatched sheds in front of their homes. These offerings would be received by the deity and a portion of them returned to the worshipper in a ceremony known as *tirukkan*. For Nadars, this was critical since, at this time, they could not enter into the *sanctum* of the temple for the receipt of other honors.

Up until 1898, Nadars had been considered a service, and hence unprivileged, community, dependent on the commands of privileged groups like the Ceṭṭiyārs and Vellalas. In various ways, they vicariously and symbiotically partook of the honor afforded them by the temple. They did so through proxies who themselves received honors distributed by the deity in ritual contexts which had been generated by Nadar gifting activity. Proxies then redistributed these honors to Nadars. In the Tirupparankundrum Temple (Madurai District), for example, "flower canopies were placed in the arthamandapam by Vellalas, while Nadars [paid] the cost." Similarly, in the Śrī Mīṇākṣi Sundarēsvarar Temple at Madurai, the stanikar claimed that temple honors were indirectly distributed to Nadars:

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[56] Original Suit 33 of 1898, Judgement, 20 July 1899, plaintiff witness no. 20, p. 18.
[57] *Ibid*, plaintiff witness no. 4, p. 30.

> Even castes who are denied entry, perform thirukkans or mantagapadi[58] which is conducted by their mahamai kannakan [accountant] while they worship from a distance. . . the holy cloth is not tied and vibhuti or prasadam are not given directly to Shanars at this mantagapadi.[59]

The Judge in the original suit of 1898 was astute and methodical in elucidating most aspects of transactions in South India. But, although he was puzzled that witnesses did not refer to the Nadars as polluting, he nowhere seems to have understood the place of temple-honors and the relationship of the Sētupati to them in determining relations between communities. After amassing an impressive body of information, he determined that it was the custom in the Kamuthi temple to exclude Nadars from worship. The case then went to the High Court, and subsequently to the Privy Council.

Of particular interest in light of the Judge's determination that Nadars had customarily been excluded from the temple was an attempted compromise in the year 1901. The Nadars and the Sētupati announced their proposed agreement. The Sētupati agreed to allow Nadars to worship in the temple, with one qualification. They were to worship "in the same manner and to the same extent as the Vellala, Chetty and other sudra sects of the Hindu community. . ." Nadars were to have "no rights of access and worship other than those enjoyed and exercised by the aforementioned."

A clue to why this agreement may have been reached lies in a marginal note written by the Judge. In the column of his own printed copy of the compromise proposal, the Judge wrote: ". . . no mention in the compromise of the benefit to the temple of presents by Shanars." He intimated that he considered the prospective "presents" offered by the Nadars (then called Shanars) to be bribes. But, another construction can be placed on the giving of "gifts" by Nadars. Such gifting activity would have placed Nadars in a direct transactional relationship with the presiding divine couple, Śrī Mīṇākṣi and Sundarēsvarar, from whom they would have received temple-honors. The privilege of so doing required the intervention of the Sētupati who, presumably, caused them to be appropriate to engage in temple transactions. In this particular case, his intervention may have been necessary both from the perspective of the Sētupati and from that of other, potentially competitive, communities. Hence, limits were to be placed on the appropriateness of the Nadars. They were to be bound by those rules of exchange and prestation which operated for other specified communities.

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[58] A ritual celebration embedded in a ten to twelve day festival in which the donor invites the deity to come, sit-in-state and be entertained in a hall (*maṇṭapam*) constructed for this purpose.

[59] Original Suit 33 of 1898, Judgement, plaintiff witness no. 32, p. 42.

Having considered the joint proposal of the Nadars and the Sētupati, the Judge concluded that it was unacceptable. The lower court judge had found that the prevailing custom in the Kamuthi temple had been to exclude Nadars from worship therein. In light of this custom, therefore, the Sētupati, according to the High Court Judge, did not have the power to enter into a compromise which would "alter the fundamental character and uses of the temple as ascertained by judicial authority." Seven years after this proposed compromise, the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council sustained the decision of both lower courts. The Sētupati's original charge that Nadars had been, and ought to continue to be, excluded from worship in the Kamuthi temple was supported.

But, it might be argued, what the Sētupati had hoped to achieve in the original case could have been accomplished in the compromise agreement had it been enacted. His concern with Nadars' access to worship in the temple was a concern with respect to their aspirations to be superior to Maravars, the community from which the Setupati came. More specifically, he was preoccupied with his constitutive role with respect to worshippers and priests. That would have been honored in the enactment of the compromise solution.

In his decision, the Judge not only overlooked the place of temple honors in this dispute, but he also misjudged the place of "custom and usage" in determining human behavior. Custom had not had the fixity which courts of law preferred to believe it had. By refusing to give effect to the proposed 1901 compromise, the Judge was creating, and not sustaining, custom and usage. Custom would have permitted the Sētupati to find Nadars appropriate to enter the temple. Instead, the Judge made the courts the arbitrators of custom, if not the innovators of it. This position of the courts is not surprising since they had been self-consciously assuming this role. In Sivakasi, a town neighboring Kamuthi, another Śaivite temple had been closed due to Nadar (there called Shanar) and Maravar disputes. The government investigator reported, in a personal letter to his superior, that:

> So long as the position of the Shanars is what it is viz. that of a caste claiming higher privileges than that their neighbors will allow them, so long must the administration of this district be extremely difficult. . . . No arbitration, and no order will put an end to the present state of tension. Gradually, the civil courts will, by their decisions, determine the actual

> status of these Shanars, and gradually they will accept the position assigned them.[60]

In conclusion, he continued: "We are dealing with thousands of rascals all longing to go at each others throats, who respect nothing but the strict enforcement of the law."

In the post-1864 period, court decisions systematically reinterpreted both the Sētupati's role with respect to Hindu temples, and the role of the Hindu temple with respect to the kingship of the Sētupati. The Sētupati was considered a donor to the temple who had ceased to possess sovereign rights This reinterpretation was in part rooted in the notion that the Maravars were a "low caste." Even the distinguished lawyer, J.B. Norton, allowed the perceived status of the Maravars in relation to temple pantarams to influence the way in which he framed legal issues:

> The zemindars of Ramnad are of a low caste—the Maravar caste—and the eaters of animal food—the pandarams are of the pure Shiva caste. Therefore, it is contrary to all precedent and religious usage and propriety that the zemindar should personally invest the pandaram with the *cashayem* or red cloth, the beads and the ear-rings, the symbols of the sacred office. Vencatachellum must have been regarded by the zemindar Ramasvami Setupati as duly appointed, otherwise, the latter would not have allowed him to perform the ceremony of tying the parivattam, or cloth of honor, round his head on the day of his installation.[61]

But the logic of caste relations could not fully explicate the relationship of the Sētupati to presiding deities in Hindu temples, temple priests and other donative groups. Kings are kings by virtue of what they do, and not necessarily through fulfillment of ascriptive criteria.

CONCLUSION

Ritual changes were among the many innovations initiated in late nineteenth century India. Ritual was reformulated and the past reinterpreted in keeping with ideas which motivated a rapidly expanding imperial system.[62] But even in this changing imperial context in which an English queen was entitled "Queen Empress of India," the Rājā of Ramnad continued to generate rituals in which he was celebrated as a king. How is this performance of rituals, which appear to have been inconsonant with an imperial system in which authority was increasingly centralized in an imperial capital, to be interpreted?

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[60] Loose letter included in *Disturbances in Madura and Tinnevelli*, Madras Government Press, 1899.

[61] Moore's *Indian Appeals, op. cit.*

[62] In this respect, we are indebted to the work in progress of Bernard S. Cohn.

The celebration of the royal ritual of Navarātri in 1892 might be interpreted to have been an effort by the recently installed Sētupati to revitalize Hindu kingship as it had flourished in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Symptomatic of his kingship was his sponsorship of ritual events which placed him in a direct transactional relationship with temple-deities. It was this relationship which had been the source of royal authority. In this symbiosis, the deity was the source of the king's royal honors; and the Sētupati was the source of the deity's royal privileges, privileges which included the distribution of honors.

Such revitalization, however, in 1892 occurred in a hostile, if not antagonistic, context. Having been deprived of such kingly activities as conquest and conflict-resolution, he was also deprived by court decisions of contexts in which his constitutive authority could be invoked. In 1874, the pantaram was unambiguously, and without engaging in ritual transactions with the Sētupati, made the manager of the prominent pilgrimage center at Rāmēsvaram. The Sētupati was recognized only as a donor in, and not a protector of, the temple. Similarly, eight years after his majestic celebration of Navarātri in 1892, he was deprived of another context in which to invoke his authority. The issue of the incorporation of Nadars as donors in the temple was decided by the courts and not by the Sētupati, the temple's hereditary trustee. In this context, the key fact is not that the court ultimately decided against the Shanars, but rather that this decision was made solely through legal fiat, instead of being decided by the royal authority of the Sētupati.

How is the effort of the Sētupati to revitalize Hindu kingship in the late nineteenth century to be assessed? In relation to the pre-British royal behavioral model of the Sētupati, this effort must be deemed to have failed. As the Sētupati had come to be deprived both of his capacity to wage war and his capacity to allocate temple-related privileges, both crucial aspects of his previous royal role, in effect, the Sētupati was reduced to a mere donor in the temple. The grand celebration of the Navarātri festival in 1892 was an effort to claim his full royal status. But given the erosion of this royal status by other forces in the late nineteenth century, this was an unrealizable claim.

This is not to imply, however, that the 1892 Navarātri celebration was the last royal gesture of the Maravar royal family. In the twentieth century, such royal rituals were perpetuated, participation in colonial ritual contexts eagerly pursued, and temple management and donation vigorously continued. But in the changing bureaucratic and political contexts of the twentieth century, no such strategies could fully revive the kingship of the Sētupatis.

What can be said of the role of temples in relation to this major and perhaps irrevocable shift in the royal status of the Sētupati lineage? It has been the argument of this essay that, throughout the period under consideration, temples were primary contexts for the definition of the royal role of Sētupatis, as well as a sensitive index of changes in this role. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Sētupati had been a generous donor, a kingly protector and an authoritative source of temple privileges. By the end of the nineteenth century, while the Sētupati continued to be a central donor, his authoritative and constitutive role in relation to temples had given way to a competitive situation in which the Sētupati became one among many aspirants to temple control.

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Śiva, Mīnākṣi, Viṣṇu—Reflections on a Popular Myth in Madurai[1]

DENNIS HUDSON

Every year in the month of Citrā (April-May) two Hindu festivals take place in the South Indian city of Madurai, timed with reference to the same full moon. One is the wedding of the gods Śiva and Devī conducted at the major Śaiva temple in the center of the old city, which concludes with a procession of the bride and bridegroom in their image forms around the outskirts of that city. The other is the journey of the god Viṣṇu to the Vaigai River bordering on the old city, which concludes with his return to his Vaiṣṇava temple twelve miles to the north of Madurai. The wedding of Śiva, known locally as Sundareśvarar (The Beautiful Lord), with an *avatār* of Devī, known locally as Mīnākṣi (The Fish Eyed), is, according to their temple tradition, the result of Śiva's conquest of this queen of Madurai after her own conquest of the universe. The wedding establishes their joint rulership over the city. The journey of Viṣṇu, known locally as Aḻagar (The Beautiful Lord), to the river is said by his temple tradition to be for the benefit of his devotees and for the sake of fulfilling a promise he once made to the *ṛṣi* Maṇḍūka to bestow *darśana* upon him and grant him eventual release from *samsāra*. The journey also establishes his rulership over the region between his temple and the river.

Aḻagar sets out for the river in time to enter it on the morning of the Citrā full moon day, usually leaving his own temple after the wedding ceremonies for Śiva and Mīnākṣi have been completed and shortly after they have begun their procession around the old borders of the city. Both the wedding and the journey are ordinary festivals prescribed by the *āgamas* of their respective traditions and at the high point of each a crowd estimated to number about

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[1] The following reflections represent a further working out on my part of the conclusion to my paper, "Two Citrā Festivals in Madurai," forthcoming in *Interludes: Religious Festivals in South India and Ceylon*, ed. by G.R. Welbon and Glenn E. Yocum, New Delhi, Manohar. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the All-India Oriental Conference, Kurukshetra University, 26-28 December 1974. This version has been shaped in part by discussions with R N. Sampath, Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, and with Professor Alan Babb, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Amherst College. I am grateful for their criticism and suggestions.

500,000 people gathers to participate in the auspicious presence of divinity in its midst.[2] It is quite clear from the myths and rituals of the two temples that from their respective official perspectives, these two festivals have nothing to do with each other, sharing only geographical proximity, timing with reference to the same full moon and thousands of the same devotees.[3]

What is intriguing, however, is that in the minds of these many devotees these two festivals are not separate and distinct, but form a single festival, the "Cittirai Festival" (*Cittirai peruviḻā*), in which the wedding of Śiva and Mīnākṣi and the journey of Aḻagar are fused into a unified drama consisting of two scenes enacted by the priests and servants of the two temples. This fusion is expressed in a pervasive oral myth, the main outline of which is the following.[4]

Aḻagar, through his identity as Kṛṣṇa, is Mīnākṣi's brother and is naturally expected to attend her wedding with Śiva.[5] In fact, though the popular myth does not say this, the essential part of the marriage is the *dhāra vār* ritual in which he gives her away to Śiva to be his property. For some reason, however, the exact time of the wedding is not made clear to Aḻagar so that while crossing the Vaigai River to enter the old city for the wedding he learns from another form of Viṣṇu (Kūḍalaḻagar) whom he meets in the riverbed that the wedding has already taken place. This performance of the wedding without him, the brother of the bride, he regards as an extreme insult and therefore refuses to enter the city, though he sends his wedding present on to his sister through Kūḍalaḻagar. From this it appears that his anger is directed towards Śiva, the king of the city and his new brother-in-law, rather than towards his sister, Mīnākṣi. Angrily Aḻagar turns around and proceeds along the north bank of the river to the nearby hamlet of Vaṇḍiyūr where he spends the night with Tulukka Nācciyār, his Muslim consort who was once the daughter of a Sultan in Delhi.[6] The next morning he processes to a *maṇḍapa* on the riverbed where he bestows *darśana* on the *ṛṣi* Maṇḍūka. Then he spends the night on the northern bank of the river, opposite the old city, portraying his ten *avatār* forms to his assembled devotees, after which he makes the twelve-mile journey back to his own temple, still angry about the wedding.

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[2] Census of India, 1961. *Madras: Fairs and Festivals*, ed. by P.K. Nambiar and K.C. Narayana Kurup, Madras, Government Press, 1968, pp. 32-33.

[3] Each of these festivals has been described at length by me in the aforecited study, "Two Citrā Festivals in Madurai."

[4] This popular oral myth was the only explanation ever given to me when I resided in Madurai between 1960 and 1962, and my awareness of the fact that there were two distinct festivals only arose after I began to study the 'Cittirai Festival" in 1970. Despite the fact that W. Francis in *Madura: Madras District Gazetters* (I, Madras, 1914, pp. 285-86) describes this popular myth and notes that it has no canonical authority, few have been aware of this. See, for example, J.P Jones, "Madurai," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by James Hastings, Vol. VII, pp. 239-40; Lowell Thomas, *India: Land of the Black Pagoda*, New York, Collier and Son, 1930, pp. 160-61; and N Padmanabhan, "Chithra Festival," *Sunday Standard Magazine, Section*, Madras 12 May 1968.

[5] According to K.A. Nīlakanta Sastri, Durgā is identified in one part of the *Mahābhārata* as the virgin sister of Kṛṣṇa, while in another part as Umā, the wife of Śiva. He also notes that in the Smārta Pañcāyatana Pūjā, two Śaiva and two Vaiṣṇava male images are used, and the fifth, the Goddess, is common to both, "as mythology makes her the wife of Śiva and the sister of Viṣṇu." See *Development of Religion in South India*, Bombay, Orient Longmans, 1963, pp. 61 and 65. This iconographic fact is suggestive of the role Mīnākṣi plays as mediator between Śiva and Viṣṇu as will be discussed below.

This popular oral myth fits the two festivals together so that the transition from the wedding to the journey in the five or six days around the Citrā full moon is perceived as a change of scene in a single divine drama—a drama in which the actors in the form of images tended by the priests behave like royal human beings. The myth blurs the distinctions which are quite clearly articulated in the actual performance of the two festivals by changing the motivation for Aḷagar's journey and by explaining the crucial ritual events of that journey in terms different from those expressed in the story told by his own temple. The popular myth presupposes the wedding myth of the Śaiva temple, but for it the important facts are that Aḷagar never even enters into the city, much less participates in the wedding, and that he is angry.

Why has such a popular myth developed and why has it remained the dominant means by which most of the half-million participants understand this conjunction of two distinct festivals? This question intrigues me and I would like to make some contributions here towards an answer in the form of suggestions for further research and reflection. It will seem to some, I suspect, that I read too much out of what can be understood simply as an etiological myth arising out of "mythic consciousness" to answer the logical question of why these gods behave as they do at this time every year. But I think it is worth probing this popular myth a bit to see whether the reasons for its perception of the gods as belonging to one another, for its concern to unify the two festivals into one, and the form this unification takes has been created by "mythic consciousness" for more profound reasons. These reasons may partially account for the vitality with which Hindus in the region have been participating in the "Cittirai Festival" for centuries. Such a probing may also shed some light on the general question of the origins and meanings of myths in Hindu culture.

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[6] This aspect of the popular myth is probably derived from the Tulukka Nācciyār tradition of the Śrī Rangam Temple about eighty miles to the north on the Kāverī River. See two studies by V.N. Hari Rao, *Koil Olugu: The Chronicle of the Srirangam Temple with Historical Notes*, Madras, Rochouse and Sons, 1961, pp. 24-31, 33; and *The Śrīrangam Temple: Art and Architecture*, Tirupati, The Sri Venkateswara University, 1967, p. 104. The Śrī Vīrarāghava Perumāḷ Temple in Vaṇḍiyūr provides no physical evidence, however, that the Nācciyār with whom he spends the night is Muslim, though I was assured that she was by devotees at that temple in 1969.

It is impossible to determine who originated this popular myth, of course, and therefore I will call the creator "mythic consciousness" or the "popular mind" for want of more accurate terms. The origin of the myth, however, could not have been before the juxtaposition of the two festivals around the same full moon and, as we will observe, this appears to have occurred in the early seventeenth century under the rule of the Hindu ruler of Madurai, Tirumala Nāyak.

The form of the myth—antagonisms between brothers-in-law at the time of a wedding—probably derives from at least two intentions "mythic consciousness" had in creating the myth. The first intention was to express a unity between Śiva and Aḻagar by bringing them together into one family through the marriage of one to the sister of the other. This is easily done since it is logical that if one festival is a wedding and the other is a journey, the journey is to the wedding, especially since the traveller, Aḻagar, is already assumed by the wedding myth to be the brother of the bride, Mīnākṣi. In fact, according to the ritual of the Śaiva temple, Viṣṇu is actually present at the wedding in the form of an image processed from Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam, a Śaiva temple about five miles southwest of Madurai. The effect of this marriage theme in the popular myth is to bring the temple of Aḻagar, twelve miles to the north, into relation with the Mīnākṣi-Sundareśvara Temple of Madurai as the palaces of two kings who are brothers-in-law and thus members of the same family or sub-caste (*kulam*). The nature of this *kulam* will be discussed shortly.

The second intention, however, is to express a tension and antagonism within this family (*kulam*) which makes the unity of the relatives aligned through this marriage precarious. The timing of the two festivals means that that if the wedding is chosen as the explanation for his journey, Aḻagar will inevitably arrive at the river after the ceremony has been completed. This fact indicates, I suggest, that in choosing this motivation for the journey, "mythic consciousness" intended to point up an antagonism between Śiva and Aḻagar and between their respective palaces and retinues. The popular myth intends, I suggest, to symbolize a tension-ridden unity by portraying two divine kings who are rivals and yet are members of the same family or sub-caste (*kulam*) through marriage. The motivations for and meanings of this dual symbolism may be partly understood by investigating aspects of Madurai history and Tamil Hindu social organization.

HISTORY

When looking at the history of the city of Madurai and the region around it, four aspects seem relevant for an understanding of this myth. First, Madurai was the traditional capital of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom which, like the other Tamil kingdoms, experienced a long history of rivalry between the traditions of Śiva and of Viṣṇu. This rivalry extends at least from the Hindu *bhakti* movements of the eighth and ninth centuries and Madurai has been associated with the Śaiva tradition although the Pāṇḍyan kingdom also contains important ancient Vaiṣṇava temples and pilgrimage centers, one of which is the temple of Aḻagar. The Vaiṣṇava tradition in the Pāṇḍyan region may be characterized as a vigorous and defensive minority in a predominantly Śaiva, or at least non-Vaiṣṇava, Hindu society.[7]

Second, Tirumala Nāyak (1623-1659) was probably the ruler who brought the wedding and journey festivals together and expanded both to their present forms.[8] He was the last of a series of rulers representing the Vijayanagara Empire whose emperors had been active in expanding the temples of the region, both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava. Tirumala Nāyak expanded the Mīnākṣi-Sundareśvara Temple and in the process constructed two large cars (*tēr*, *ratha*) in which the images of the bride and bridegroom would be pulled around the borders of the city. At that time, however, the wedding festival was timed to take place two months earlier, with reference to the full moon of Māci (February-March) and not to the full moon of Citrā (April-May). Moreover, the month of Māci was harvest time and therefore there was not enough manpower available to pull the huge newly constructed cars.

The month of Citrā, on the other hand, fell during the hot season when agricultural work was dormant and people were plentiful at the time of Aḻagar's journey from the Aḻagar Temple to the Vaigai River at the Citrā full moon. Tirumala Nāyak therefore switched the time of the wedding from Māci to Citrā and moved the then existing Citrā festival to Māci. In addition, he expanded the wedding festival to include the *līlā* of Mīnākṣi's coronation as queen of Madurai and expanded the journey festival by bringing the goal of Aḻagar's journey closer to the border of Madurai at its present site in the riverbed. Large numbers of people were now able to come to both festivals to pull the enormous new cars for the wedding, to conduct profitable cattle markets, to mingle with one another and to provide the splendid celebrations the Nāyak desired. Incidentally, Tirumala Nāyak also demonstrated in these changes his power to shift festivals around even when doing so went against the explicit prescriptions of their ritual texts.[9]

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[7] For documentation of this history of rivalry and of the minority position of the Vaiṣṇavas in Tamil Nad, see the study by Burton Stein included in this volume.

[8] The following account is based on A.Ki. Parantāmaṉār, "Tirumalai Nāyakkar Tiruppaṇikaḷ 1623-1659," P.T. Rajan, ed., *Madurai Sri Meenakshi Sundareswarar Mahakumbabhishekam Souvenir*, Madurai, The Thiruppani Committee, Sri Meenakshi Devasthanam, 1963, pp. 91-95.

[9] In discussion Prof R.N. Sampath observed that the *āgamas* make clear that the Vaiṣṇava festival of the Lord processing to a river (*ūṛal*) is to take place in the month of Citrā (April-May) or Vaikāci (May-June), while the Śaiva wedding festival (*tirukkalyāṇam*) is to occur in Māci (February-March) or Paṅkuṉi (March-April). Carol Breckenridge's study of the role of the *sthānikar* in the temple as the mediator between the patron and the god

Third, the journey of Aḷagar over the twelve miles from his temple to the river is closely connected with Ambalakkārar division of the Kaḷḷar, a caste politically dominant in the region traversed, and this connection probably goes back at least to the reign of Tirumala Nāyak, if not before. The documentation of the history of this connection, however, is difficult.[10] The Kaḷḷar are a caste noted for their warrior traditions and connected historically with both guardianship and thieving in the region north of Madurai and around the hills in which the Aḷagar Temple stands. Any ruler of Madurai would have secure communication with the cities north of Madurai only if he had control over the Kaḷḷar.

Today the caste-deity (*kuladevam*) of the Kaḷḷar, Kaṛuppaṉṉacāmi, is regarded as the guardian of the Aḷagar Temple, where his main shrine is the door of the main gate.[11] How far back this connection goes is not at all clear, but it is old: there is a ritual at the beginning of the journey in which Aḷagar "conquers" the Kaḷḷar as he enters their territory and they then become his guardians all along the way to the river and back. Aḷagar in turn disguises himself as a Kaḷḷar and carries their traditional weapon. The festival image which is processed in this journey is therefore known as Kaḷḷaḷagar, "The Beautiful Lord of the Kaḷḷar." It would be important to find out when this relationship between the Kaḷḷar and Aḷagar developed: if it developed prior to the reign of Tirumala Nāyak or during it, the relationship may provide another explanation of why the Nāyak expanded this festival and juxtaposed it to the wedding festival, i.e. he wanted to symbolize his political unity with the Kaḷḷar by linking a festival symbolizing their identity (a caste ruled by Aḷagar) with a festival symbolizing the identity of Madurai (a city ruled by Śiva and Mīnākṣi).[12]

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provides insight as to how such changes in these festivals were implemented by Tirumala Nāyak who was patron of both temples.

[10] The following discussion of Kaḷḷar history and social organization is based on Louis Dumont, *Une sous-caste de l'Inde du Sud: Organisation sociale et religion des Pramalai Kallar*, Paris, Mouton, 1957; B.S. Baliga, *Madurai: Madras District Gazetteers*, Madras, 1960, pp 329-30; Francis, *Madura*, I, pp. 86-96; J.H. Nelson, *The Madura Country: A Manual*, Part II, Madras, 1868, pp. 44-56; Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III, Madras, 1909, pp. 53-91; and the letters of French Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries translated in Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, Madras, University of Madras, 1924, pp. 252-53, 289, 305.

[11] The most complete discussion of the Alagar Temple to date is given by K.N. Radha Krishna, *Thirumalirunjolaimalai* (*Sri Alagar Kovil*) *Stala Purana*, Madura, Sri Kallalagar Devastanam, 1942. Kaṛuppaṉṉacāmi and his shrine are described on pp. 210-15.

[12] Assuming that the Ambalakkārar Kaḷḷar have "always" regarded Kaṛuppaṉṉacāmi as their *kuladevam*, Tirumala Nāyak, or another nāyak, may have elevated him to the position of guardian of the Alagar Temple and in turn solidified the relation by having Alagar dress as a Kaḷḷar. Theologically such an identification would express the Lord's graciousness (*saulabhyam*).

Such a desire would be consonant with his own religious tradition, for he was a Vaiṣṇava personally devoted to his Lord and would not eat his main meal, it is said, until Kṛṣṇa residing in the temple at Śrīvilliputtūr some forty miles to the southwest, had eaten his. Furthermore, the ritual "conquest" of the Kaḷḷar by Aḻagar may have been intended to symbolize his own political conquest of, and unity with, the Kaḷḷar—a possibility strengthened by the fact that as devotees to Aḻagar, he and the Kaḷḷar would be servants of the same Lord, though he would serve as temporal ruler and they as his servants. Information about the history of this ritual is necessary, however, before this speculation can be confirmed.

Fourth, Tirumala Nāyak may have desired to strengthen *dharma* in his kingdom through the stimulation of these festivals. Fulfilling his royal duty to patronize festivals for the spiritual and material well-being of his kingdom would, in his Hindu perspective, win him personal merit and strengthen *dharma* for all, giving his rule a metaphysically solid foundation which would be expressed devotionally in the increase of *bhakti* among both Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas and politically in their strengthened allegiance to him as ruler. Such a concern for *dharma* in the kingdom would be particularly relevant to Tirumala Nāyak since he was the first nāyak of Madurai to break away from the Vijayanagara Empire and to re-establish the ancient political independence of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. It would also be a way for him, a ruler of Telugu origin and thus to some degree a foreigner to Madurai, to legitimize himself as the king of an ancient Tamil kingdom.

Whatever the factors were that led to it, the yearly celebration of two such massive festivals meeting on the borders of the same full moon and of the same city would, it seems, inevitably produce a cultural drama articulating some relation between the gods and the people who met at these borders, particularly since, though they were ruled respectively by Aḻagar and by Śiva and Mīnākṣi on the divine level, the people were ruled on the socio-political level by the same temporal ruler. The popular myth expresses this relation between the gods and between the people as one of unity, but a unity that is defective. Moreover, it uses the symbol of a marriage alliance to do so. Why?

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The unity of the gods and of the people expressed by the popular myth derives in part, I suggest, from the political facts discussed above and from the popular Hindu interest in all the gods as relevant to one's life rather than in an exclusive allegiance to one god at the expense of others. To see them as parts of a single family or sub-caste (*kulam*) is a way of expressing the unity of the *devas* over against the rival family or sub-caste (*kulam*) of the *asuras* or *rākṣasas* who are their perpetual enemies. It is also a way of saying that the people who belong to these two male gods—ruled respectively by Aḻagar and by Śiva—and who attend their "palaces" or temples twelve miles apart are related to each other as parts of a whole. The whole is the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, or at least a northern portion of it, the socio-political realm this *kulam* composed of the "lineages" of Śiva and Aḻagar occupies.

The myth says, however, that the unity is defective: every year Aḻagar is insulted by Śiva, refuses to enter his kingdom, and goes away angry. This antagonism between brothers-in-law is a realistic fact in ordinary Tamil families and it does express certain social tensions within this region of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. First, there has been a long-standing rivalry between the "lineages" of Śiva and Viṣṇu in the area. Second, as has already been noted, the Kaḷḷar were an important threat to the city and relations with them was long a source of anxiety on the part of the people in the region. Third, the retinue which accompanies Aḻagar to the river is dominated by the low-caste villagers who are in the majority in the villages north of Madurai, especially by the Kaḷḷar and the Gōṉār, or herdsmen. These people assemble in the riverbed where they camp for several days, dress in costumes which apparently identify them with Kṛṣṇa, and observe rituals and vows which are typical of local and family customs (*deśācāra, kuladharma*) followed by Tamil non-brahmans. These include the first tonsure of children, god-possession and animal sacrifices, among others. The retinue of Śiva and Mīnākṣi, on the other hand, is dominated by the people of the city itself who have a larger high-caste component and who, during the wedding festival, follow the classical Sanskrit rituals (*śruti, smṛiti, āgama*) conducted by the vegetarian ritualists of the Mīnākṣi-Sundareśvara Temple.[13] The contrast between the retinues is not absolute, however, because many Hindus participate in aspects of both festivals and the tone of the "Cittirai Festival" today is one of cooperation on the part of all. But this has not always been the case and the antagonism between the two retinues has been explicit in the past. For example, earlier in the century many of those who came with Aḻagar to the river were not allowed into the inner shrines of the Mīnākṣi-Sundareśvara Temple either because they belonged to an "unclean" caste or because their local and family rituals were deemed "unclean."[14]

In sum, the antagonism expressed by the myth seems to symbolize a real social antagonism in this geographical region: politically between the Kaḷḷar and the ruler of Madurai, sociologically between the local low-caste village people and cults and the more classical high-caste city people and cults, and historically between two "lineages," the Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas. In light of this, it is interesting to note that the anger is on the part of Aḻagar. Does this mean that the members of his retinue are angry about their relatively powerless position as low-caste villagers aligned with Aḻagar over against the members of Śiva's retinue who belong to the city?

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[13] In making this distinction between *deśācāra-kuladharma* and *śruti-smṛiti-āgama,* I am following the lead of Milton Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes,* New York, Praeger, 1971, pp. 187ff.

[14] See C.G. Diehl, *Instrument and Purpose: Studies on Rites and Rituals in South India,* Lund, 1956, p. 177, n.4

All members of both retinues, however, do relate positively to Mīnākṣi. As the queen of the city she can be viewed either as the wife of one's lord, Śiva, or as the sister of one's lord, Aḻagar. In fact, for the people of the city and for those who come to it throughout the year, she is the main focus of devotional attention. When they visit the "palace" of Śiva and Mīnākṣi most people give her rather than Śiva the primary attention, and the temple is commonly known simply as the "Mīnākṣi Temple." As a bride, Mīnākṣi is the means by which Śiva and Aḻagar are linked together as members of a single *kulam*, and those who "descend" from either "patrilineage" belong to her—and to each other, even though that belonging may be expressed as tension-ridden unity.

The reason "mythic consciousness" has chosen the alliance of brothers-in-law as a symbol of unity and antagonism is, I suggest, because of the nature of the family or sub-caste (*kulam*) in Tamil Hindu society.[15] The Tamil Hindu family is patrilineal and usually patrilocal, but employs cross-cousin marriage as a means of aligning successive generations of its patrilineages into a large *kulam* which serves as an endogamous sub-caste. This *kulam* is composed of various individual households (*kuṭumbam*) made up of husband, wife and children, but this is not the basic social unit in the society—the basic unit is the *kulam* within which individual *kuṭumbams* tend to intermarry generation after generation. The *kulam* is thus an apt symbol for a unity of contending parts.

Within this social context, a woman at her marriage is the means by which unity is sustained: she aligns two patrilineages through her roles of wife and of sister, and as a mother will produce children, one of whom, as representative of her husband's lineage, will ideally marry a representative of her own lineage, e.g. her brother or his child. Thus as a wife, sister and mother the married woman can be said to stand at the center of the *kulam*, the composite patrilineages she unites symbolized by her husband on one side and her brother on the other. As Louis Dumont has pointed out, this trio is a common iconographic motif in the Brahmanical temples of South India: Viṣṇu is shown giving his sister in marriage to Śiva and "a pair of brothers-in-law is there made to sum up Hinduism as a whole (in Madura and elsewhere)."[16]

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[15] A description of the structural tensions implicit in kinship systems which employ cross-cousin marriage is given by David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough, eds. *Matrilineal Kinship*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1967, pp. 1-29. The details of the Hindu systems given here are based on Iravati Karve's description of the differences in kinship organization between the "Northern Zone" and "Southern Zone" of India in her *Kinship Organisation in India*, Poona, Deccan College, 1953. Brenda E.F. Beck gives a very useful detailed analysis of one regional version of the Tamil Hindu family structure in *Peasant Society in Konku: A Study of Right and Left Subcastes in South India*, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1972, Chapter 5.

It is interesting to observe by way of contrast that what is here a living symbol for unity in South India would be lifeless in North India. The cross-cousin marriage custom of South Indian society is expressly forbidden as incest by the dominant kinship system of the North. If a family were to be used by northern Hindu "mythic consciousness" as a symbol of unity among the gods, it would probably be a version of the joint-family composed of the male members of a single patrilineage and their wives and children, i.e. in Tamil terms a *kuṭumbam* rather than a *kulam*. Any representative of the wife's patrilineage would hold only a peripheral position in the symbol for in the ritual of marriage she has been given to her husband's family and her own family has relinquished all claims on her. Her husband's family is not expected to return a bride in the next generation and the two families tend to maintain a formal distance from one another. The power of the icon and myth of Śiva, Mīnākṣi and Viṣṇu to express antagonism within unity thus derives from a particular mode of Hindu social organization and is not a universally Hindu phenomenon.[17]

Given these differences in kinship systems there is, as Iravati Karve has pointed out, a difference in experience on the part of the woman who becomes a wife in the two systems.[18] This difference in experience as a woman may indicate that there are significant differences between the North and the South in the meaning of symbols used for Devī. In the North the bride enters a house of strangers where she experiences herself as powerless before the authority of her husband and his family and where she is expected to conform entirely to that family's needs and patterns. The tensions she experiences will be between her own self and all other members of the family who have authority over her, or, in cases where her husband is in conflict with his father or brothers, between her loyalty to him and the authority of his antagonists. In the South the experience can be qualitatively different. Ideally the bride enters a house not of strangers, but of relatives—her mother-in-law may also be her aunt—and she is not totally subject to her husband's family, for they are indebted to her patrilineage, owing them a bride. Her contacts with her own patrilineage will be frequent and ritualized. The wedding festival thus articulates the continuing unity of the family or sub-caste (*kulam*) for which she acts as a crucial link. Her experience as a bride will consequently be one of greater importance and independence in the life of her husband's patrilineage than that of a comparable bride in the North, for as wife and mother she is a means by which her husband's patrilineage is aligned with another patrilineage, ideally her own through her children, to form the larger and more important unit of the *kulam*.

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[16] *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, Vol. VIII, October 1965, p.93. This comment, illustrating the stress on renewed affinity in the South Indian kinship system, is the origin of my attempt to understand this popular myth from the point of view of family structure.

[17] One example which brings out the difference is the account of Śiva's marriage to Pārvatī in the Sanskrit *Śiva Purāṇa: Rudrasamhitā*. There Pārvatī's patrilineage is represented by her father Himavat who gives her to Śiva by placing her hand in Śiva's hand and reciting mantras. He and his wife, Menā, then recede into the background and are of little importance in subsequent Śaiva myths. Viṣṇu in this event is present as "the officer-in-charge of the marriage-party of Śiva and a great favourite of Śiva," but he and Brahmā are both portrayed as Śiva's creatures. The unity of all the gods is here portrayed as a king, his bride and his friends and servants—not as two kings and a sister-bride. See Chapters 42-49 of *Śiva Purāṇa: Rudra Samhitā*, Vol. II of Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1969, pp. 648-84, especially 43: 37-39; 44: 90-93; and 48: 37-43. The Tamil *sthala purāna* of the Mīnākṣi-Sundareśvara Temple, by contrast, presents a similar scene when describing the marriage of Śiva and Mīnākṣi except that Viṣṇu is the one who places the bride's hand into Siva's hand and this suggests that Viṣṇu's relation to Śiva is more than "the officer-in-charge of the marriage party of Śiva and a great favourite of Śiva," but in fact his brother in-law, which in the Tamil context suggests a relationship of interdependence and possible rivalry between the two.

[18] Karve, *Kinship Organisation*, pp. 228-29.

What implications does this difference in experience have for the meanings of various Devī symbols used in the North and the South? This question requires further investigation, but I suggest that in the case of the popular myth of the "Cittirai Festival," Mīnākṣī, the Goddess, is portrayed as the one who holds things together in both the divine and human realms. As "Mother of the Universe," she is crucial to the unity of all things. Without her mediating link, the two lineages of Śiva and Viṣṇu, which compose the divine *kulam*, would divide the gods into disunited and antagonistic camps which would thereby be rendered vulnerable to the onslaught of the ever watchful *rākṣasas*. The well-being of the entire universe, therefore, depends upon her linking role as the wife-sister who annually becomes the bride. As "Queen of Madurai," her annual marriage repeatedly pulls together the two human "lineages" descending from Śiva and Aḻagar into a single social *kulam* which comprises the society of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The northern portion of this social "family," however, experiences antagonism within its unity, greater perhaps than experienced in other portions of the "family," and the "Cittirai Festival" re-enacts this fact year after year. But its repeated enactment does affirm the ideal and hope of unity while recognizing at the same time its flawed nature.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Given the Hindu framework within which this popular myth exists, there are certain metaphysical implications embedded within it, I think, which remain latent in popular thought. The manifest realm, *samsāra*, is compounded of parts, is in dynamic flux, and is flawed by ignorance and desire, but the myth

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Ideology and Cultural Contexts of the Śrīvaiṣṇava Temple[1]

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INTRODUCTION

> In vain are Hindu idols decked with rich ornaments; they are not rendered thereby less disagreeable in appearance. Their physiognomy is generally of frightful ugliness, which is carefully enhanced by daubing the images from time to time with a coating of dark paint. . . . The attitudes in which they are represented are either ridiculous, grotesque, or obscene. In short, everything is done to make them objects of disgust to any one not familiar with the sight of these strange monsters.[2]

What is of interest in this devastating judgement, which in about 1800 the French missionary Abbé Dubois made, is the standard of reference to which he resorted. In reality, the good Abbé was undoubtedly upset by the fact that these Hindus worshipped gods other than his own, and thus were "idolaters,"[3] and yet, he evaded a direct theological (and thereby axiomatic) condemnation by appealing to aesthetic standards.[4] After all, even "obscene" is as much an aesthetic as a moral category. Perhaps unknown to himself, he did actually follow in this the way in which Hindus themselves interpreted the significance of the temple, viz. through aesthetic categories (which obviously in their case were positive). There exists a cultural and artistic forecourt which surrounds the abstract theological concept and represents the concrete expression of what the temple signifies to the devotee. As the quotation shows, it is precisely here that cultural and artistic prejudices—long before any *religious* bias has the opportunity to enter—prevent a genuine understanding and appreciation of the underlying meaning. Because the aesthetic side did not appeal to Dubois, he considered it unnecessary to investigate any possible religious significance, and in fact judged the latter in terms of the former.

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[1] The present paper represents an initial assessment of the research which I have been carrying out on Vaiṣṇava temple culture. My visits to many of the temples during an extensive journey through Tamil Nadu in the summer of 1975 was made possible through a grant from the Central Research Fund, University of London. I wish to express my thanks also to Pandit Gopālacakravartī Aiyaṅkār of Triplicane/Madras who has been of invaluable assistance to me, particularly during my travels, and to all those *pūjāris*, trustees and officials who showed a positive attitude towards my interest in their temples.

[2] *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, by the Abbé J.A. Dubois, translated by H.K. Beauchamp, 3rd edition, Oxford, 1906, p. 581.

[3] It is an amazing accident in the history of words that in spite of the Abbé's (and his kind) blatant impotence to grasp the significance of the temple cult for the *bhakta* himself, even pious Hindus nowadays speak of the "idol" when referring to the *vigraha* in the temple.

[4] In another passage, the Abbé resorts to a different standard of judgement, viz. to hygiene. "The low elevation; the difficulty with which the air finds a way through a single

I believe that any attempt to explore what the temple meant to the worshipper ought to concern itself as much with the dogma, as with these areas of cultural and artistic expression which illustrate in material terms the motivational force of the dogma. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that the development of this dogma was itself partly influenced by these same areas. Thus I shall delineate in this paper how a basic theological concept, which was linked to a particular institution (the temple), was treated, interpreted, and given concrete expression in various ideological and cultural contexts. The feedback of the cultural treatment on the ideological developments will incidentally be touched upon. My observations restrict themselves to one area of Indian temple culture, viz. the Śrīvaiṣṇava temples in the Tamil South,[5] mainly during the period of the Āḻvārs and Ācāryas (c. sixth to sixteenth century A.D.); later material will, however, also be included.

Applying the theoretical observations made so far to this area, I propose to investigate, firstly, the conceptual understanding of the temple in the Āḻvārs and its systematic formulation in the later Ācāryas Secondly, I explore the pattern of response to it which evolved in Tamil society and which falls into three well-defined themes. Under the first heading we shall be analyzing the original concept and the rational, intellectual reaction to it in terms of an ideological structure in which it became embodied, while under the

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narrow and habitually closed passage; the unhealthy odours rising from the mass of fresh and decaying flowers; the burning lamps; the oil and butter spilt in libations; the excrements of the bats that take up their abode in these dark places; finally, and above all, the fetid perspiration of a multitude of unclean and malodorous people;—all contribute to render these sacred shrines excessively unhealthy. Only a Hindu could remain for any length of time in their heated and pestilential precincts without suffocation."(*Ibid*, p. 581). But unlike aesthetic values, hygiene is open for objective assessment; already the translator had to remark: "The Abbé nowhere remarks on the burning of camphor, which plays so conspicuous a part in all Hindu worship, and which acts at the same time as a disinfectant" (note, p. 581)—I may take this opportunity to express my extreme gratitude to those bats mentioned by the Abbé, for thanks to them there were no mosquitoes to torture me in the temples.

[5] For a precise definition of the *divyadēśankaḷ* see below under "the many temples."

second heading patterns of behavior and emotional attitudes are explored. I shall then, thirdly, turn to a different structure of meaning by which, from the point of view of the devotee, an individual temple complex is explained and justified by reference to (mythical) history. The material relevant to this is contained in the various *sthala-purāṇas*.

I. The Institution and the Concept of Viṣṇu's Presence in the Temple

(1) *The situation in* caṅkam *literature.* The earliest sources about Southern religion, the so-called *caṅkam* literature, express a simple conception of the local presence of a god. Phrases like "Neṭuvēḷ who lives in the *kaṭampu* tree"[6] or "where [Viṣṇū] reclines on the serpent couch"[7] are typical of it. There is no indication of whether or not it was felt to be a problem that there exists only one Murukaṉ or Viṣṇu, but many *kaṭampu* trees and temples. Again, it is impossible to determine the extent to which in this early period the institutions surrounding these divine presences had been developed While we hear frequently of simple offerings like flowers made at the trees,[8] rare mention is also made of a more complex institution, viz. the "public hall" (*potiyil*) in which worship took place before a pillar (*kantu*):

> . . . the public hall with the "pillar" where travellers would rest; where captive girls, after bathing in the fresh-water tank, would light the "perpetual" lamp at twilight, and where many people would cross over the ground prepared with cowdung, and, beautified with flowers, would worship.[9]

The *Paripāṭal*, presumably composed and compiled during the earlier first millennium A D. in Madurai, represents the next stage in the development. Song XV, dedicated to Tirumāliruñcōlai, is of interest in the present discussion. There is a clear awareness that Viṣṇu is the transcendental god beyond space and time, but the phraseology about his local presence in the temple remains simple. He is called the "owner of Iruṅkuṉram" (which refers to the temple at the foot of the hill),[10] and is said to "hold on to it in affection,"[11] to have "united, and to remain in close union"[12] with it. Once we also hear that he "manifested himself"[13] there. As motive for this manifestation is given: to be visible to man, whose sins are destroyed when he sees the god.[14]

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[6] *Perumpāṇārruppaṭai*, line 76.

[7] *Ibid.*, 373.

[8] See F.E. Hardy, *Emotional Kṛṣna bhakti*, D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1976, pp. 190-93 (manuscript).

[9] *Paṭṭiṉappālai*, lines 246-49; see Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 189f for a more detailed discussion of the passage.

[10] *Paripāṭal* XV, line 53: *Iruṅkuṉrattāṉ*

[11] *Ibid.*, line 14: *tāṅku.*

[12] *Ibid.*, line 28: *puṇarnt' amar*

But on the whole the Viṣṇu temples are of marginal importance in the *caṅkam* corpus. This changes radically when we turn to the Āḻvārs (c. sixth to nineth century A.D.), the great Viṣṇu *bhaktas* and Tamil poets, who sang about a large number of Viṣṇu temples in the South and in whom temple religion appears already in a complex form. However, in their phraseology the archaic and simple conception of divine presence remains unchanged.

(2) *The phraseology about Viṣṇu's presence employed by the Āḻvārs.*[15] The formula "Viṣṇu is in the temple" may conveniently be used to illustrate the phraseology of the Āḻvārs, it provides three slots which will be discussed separately.

"Is in." In its simplest form, this appears as "in,"[16] and also as "he who is inside."[17] But more frequently this is specified through verbs denotative of human action: "lives, dwells, abides in, stays, remains, holds on to, is resident, is united with, etc."[18] Often a more specific reference is made to the particular posture of the *vigraha* in the individual temple: "who reclines on the serpent couch in. . . ,"[19] "who sleeps in. . . ,"[20] "whose form is that of a dwarf brahmin in. . . ."[21] Particular mention must be made of the verb "resides, is enthroned, sits in state or majestically."[22] It implies a symbolism which will be discussed below, viz. Viṣṇu as king. Viṣṇu's presence in the temple is by no means accidental, for he is the owner of it, and of the whole village or town that surrounds it. This is expressed by the simple genitive: "he of Araṅkam,"[23] or by the possessive noun derived from the temple name: "Araṅkaṉ, Vēṅkaṭattāṉ, TirukKuṭantaiy ūrāṉ,"[24] or by words denoting "lord, owner, master."[25] The act of "abiding" is often connected with a "going there, arriving there, entering"[26]; compare also: "he turned into his abode. . . ."[27] On the other hand, this residence is not understood as merely temporary, as is illustrated by phrases like: "abiding for a long time, permanently, for many days"[28]—phrases which in Tamil approximate the idea "for all eternity" and are rendered thus by the commentators.[29]

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[13] *Ibid.*, line 51: *tōṉri:* this verb refers frequently in the Āḻvārs to the classical *avatāras.*

[14] *Ibid.*, line 37.

[15] For a detailed study of the Āḻvārs and their religion see Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-553.

[16] *Perumāḷ-Tirumoḻi* I, 1; X, 1 Here and in the following notes only some selective references to the works in the *Divya-Prabandham* are given.

[17] *2nd Antâti*, stanza 28.

[18] Urai (*Tiruvāymoḻi* V, 9, 1); nil (*ibid.* 2); iru (*ibid.* 7, 3); vāl (*ibid.* 8); payiru (*2nd Antâti*, 46); mēyāṉ (*1st Antâti* 6); parriyāṉ (*ibid.* 27).

[19] *Perumāḷ-Tirumoḻi* I, 3. 7.

[20] *Tiruvāymoḻi* V, 8, 2.

[21] *Ibid* V, 9, 1.

[22] *Ibid.* V, 7, 1: *Virr'iru.*

[23] *4th Antâti*, stanza 30: *Araṅkatt' avaṉ.*

[24] *PerumāḷTM* II, 1-4; *2nd Antâti* 28; *TiruvāyM* V, 8, 10.

[25] Kōṉ (*TiruvāyM* V, 9, 1), nātaṉ (*ibid.* 7); nampi (*ibid* 5, 1); ūraṉ (*ibid.* 8, 10).

"The temple." The terms used to denote the actual abode of Viṣṇu are *i.a.*: *iṭam* "house, residence, place,"[30] *ūr* "village, town,"[31] *nakar* "temple town,"[32] *tāḻvu* "resting place,"[33] *kōᵛil* (from which the much more common *kōyil*) "palace, temple,"[34] and *iraipāṭi* "palace."[35] In the last two words we notice once again the royal symbolism which will be discussed below. For certain temples which are situated on or by a mountain or hill, we find in the same position as these words "hill, mountain."[36]

I have not been able to trace in the *Prabandham* any of the terms which in later literature denote the actual image of the god, viz. *arcā*, *vigraha*, *mūrti*, *bera* One might well conclude from this that the Āḻvārs regarded the figure in the temple simply as (a manifestation of) Viṣṇu, thereby betraying an archaic realism similar to their not drawing a conceptual distinction between the absolute Viṣṇu and his *avatāras*. When Nammāḻvār uses the word *kōlam*,[37] he is referring to the "appearance" or "posture" of Viṣṇu's body, and does not use the word in the sense of *vigraha*.

"Viṣṇu." One might think that the iconographic peculiarities of the *vigraha* would impose specific limitations on the Āḻvārs' description of the individual temple god. But this is the case only to a limited extent, usually with reference to the posture of the *vigraha*, e.g. "Viṣṇu who reclines in Kuṭantai on the serpent couch."[38] On the whole, the Āḻvārs felt unrestricted by such formal considerations. For instance, Kulaśekhara composed a poem about Cittirakūṭam in which he gives a summary of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, while Kalikaṉri, in a poem about the same temple, provides an account of the various Vṛndāvana episodes of Kṛṣṇa.[39] The *mūla-vigraha* in that temple actually shows Nārāyaṇa reclining on the serpent Ananta. In fact, many of the Āḻvār songs about temples are motivated by the desire to establish or stress that the local god is no other than the universal, transcendental Viṣṇu. The poet could therefore use the full repertoire of Viṣṇu mythology when speaking about a specific *vigraha*. But this must not be understood as an attempt to dissolve the individuality of the local god altogether. Not only did the Āḻvārs take great care in describing the local setting of the individual temple, but they also began a trend which then in the course of Śrīvaiṣṇava history became standardized: to address the local god by his own, specific name. For example, Nammāḻvār addressed the god in Tiruviṇṇakar as *Oppar-il appaṉ* "master who knows no equals," and today the temple is known by the name Uppiliyappaṉ-temple.[40]

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[26] Eri (*TiruvāyM* V, 7, 4); muṉṉi vantu (*ibid.* VII, 3, 5); ceṉru cēr (*ibid.* VIII, 9, 6); maruvi (*PeriyatiruM* VII, 5, 1).

[27] *3rd Antâti*, 32: *itam āka koṇṭāṉ*.

[28] Nīṭu urai (*TiruvāyM* V̄, 9, 3); maṉṉu (*ibid* VI, 3, 10); pal nāḷ payiṉratu (*2nd Antâti*, 46).

[29] *3rd Antâti*, 61: *pantu ellām*.—For *pal nāḷ* (see previous note) Aṇṇaṅkarâcāriyar says: *an-ādi-kālam* "since beginningless times."

[30] *1st Antâti* 38.

[31] *TiruvāyM* VI, 3, 2.

[32] *PerumāḷTM* I, 1.

[33] *3rd Antâti*, 62

[34] *PerumāḷTM* II, 3.

[35] *3rd Antâti*, 30.—The word is not mentioned as a compound in the Madras Tamil Lexicon; literally it means "town/village of the king/chieftain." Aṇṇaṅkarâcāriyar renders it *rājatāṉikaḷ* "a king's residence; capital; palace."

[36] *1st Antâti*, 40; *3rd Antâti*, 68. 71; *4th Antāti*, 48.

[37] *TiruvāyM* V, 9, 1: *māṇ kuraḷ kōla*.

[38] *4th Antâti*, 36.

The Āḻvārs do not display any amazement about the fact that Viṣṇu on the one hand is the transcendental lord of Vaikuṇṭha, and on the other abides on earth. Thus they simply say: "Kaṭikai is indeed the palace (*kōyil*) of him who abides in Vaikuṇṭha."[41] Similarly they are not aware of the *avatāra* notion of Sanskritic theology.[42] We shall presently see how this situation was specified through the *arcâvatāra* concept of the later Ācāryas. The Āḻvārs do, on the other hand, reflect on the related problem of the *many* temples, and some observations on this may be added here.

(3) *The many temples*. The Āḻvārs were clearly aware of the fact that Viṣṇu was present on earth in a number of different temples. In the early strata of the *Prabandham*, the emphasis is on relating a particular temple to the universal Vaiṣṇava material; the following stanza may illustrate this:

> In the past he lifted the mountain [Govardhana] and defeated Kaṃsa.
> Vēṅkaṭam is where he stands.[43]

The god in the local temple (Vēṅkaṭam) is identified with Viṣṇu who in his *Kṛṣṇâvatāra* lifted the mountain Govardhana and killed Kaṃsa. However, the *plurality* of these local temples could not be ignored, and thus we hear: "He stands, sits, reclines, and walks in Vēṅkaṭam, Viṇṇakar, Vehkā, and

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[39] *PerumāḷTM* X and *PeriyaTM* III, 3.

[40] *TiruvāyM* VI, 3; Nammālvār calls the temple simply Tiruviṇṇakar, but in stanza 9 he refers to the god as *oppilar appaṉ*. Tamil folklore has given its own interpretation of this somewhat abstract title. It changed it into *upp' ili*, lit. "without salt," and explained it by a charming story. Viṣṇu wanted to marry Bhūmi; when in the form of an old man, he asked permission from her guardian Markaṇḍeya, the sage tried to evade the issue by pointing out the very young age of the girl. He said that she did not even know anything about cooking and thus might forget to put salt into his food. But Viṣṇu replied that he did not want any salt in his food, and thus came to be known as "lord without salt." As a consequence, the food prepared nowadays in the temple does not contain any salt.

[41] *3rd Antâti*, 61.

[42] See Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 289f; 529-31.

[43] *1st Antâti*, 39.

Kōvalūr."[44] Here it is still possible to attempt a functional differentiation (through the four different postures) for a small number of temples (here: four), but it becomes impossible when a larger number is considered.[45] The variety of the temples has then to be regarded as the inexplicable expression of Viṣṇu's *līlā* and his eagerness to be in the vicinity of as many people as possible. But at least externally this variety can be contained in a wider structure; Kalikaṉri (8th century A.D.) offers the most extensive lists of temples, viz. c. 85, among the Āḻvārs, and his *Periyatirumoḻi* follows the pattern of a pilgrimage,[46] which as a *pradakṣiṇa* through South India imitates the stereotyped *digvijaya* of a king. At a later stage, certainly from the time of Rāmānuja onwards,[47] another pattern is added to this in the form of the sacred number 108. A somewhat forced count of all the different temples mentioned in the whole *Prabandham* yielded the figure 108. For the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, these 108 temples surpass in sanctity all other places of pilgrimage, and are known as the *tiruppatikaḷ* or, in Sanskrit, *divya-deśams*, other temples are called for instance *abhimāna-sthala*. Not only do these 108 temples constantly appear, as a fixed group, in literature,[48] but many individual temples also draw attention to the group in various ways. For instance, in Naṟaiyūr a show-case displays miniature copies in bronze of all the 108 *utsava-vigrahas*, and the temple in Śrīvaikuṇṭham has in the inner *prakāram* a series of very beautiful and relatively old frescoes which depict the 108 Viṣṇus individually. Among these temples, 97 belong to South India, and 82 to Tamil Nadu. The present paper is based on material which has been selected from among that concerning these 82 Tamil temples.

In the course of Śrīvaiṣṇava history, a certain hierarchical structure evolved which allowed certain temples among the 108 to figure in a more important position than others, because of alleged special sanctity, popularity, imposing size, etc. While with the earlier Āḻvārs Veṅkaṭam figured as the most important temple,[49] from the time of the later Āḻvārs onwards Śrīraṅgam began to tower over all others. Thus already the *Tirumālai* indicates almost an apotheosis of this shrine: "If people called out but 'Araṅkam!', hell would perish. . . ."[50] In medieval literature lists of the three or four most important and sacred temples are found, in which the Varadarājapperumāḷ temple in Kāñcīpuram takes the third place, behind the two mentioned above.[51]

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[44] *Ibid.*, 77.

[45] In the *Antâtis*, up to eight temples are listed in one and the same stanza: *3rd Antâti*, 62. In *Periyatirumaṭal* 53-68, a series of thirty-six temples is given.

[46] Probably *2nd Antâti* 14 refers already to the custom of pilgrimage: *pēr ōti tirintu tīrttakarar āmiṉ* "praise his names, walk (through the country—comm:=visit the shrines), and become *tīrthaṅkaras!*" The last word appears to play with the two meanings of *tīrtha:* place of pilgrimage, and (with *-kara*) saint.

[47] See Periya Nampi's *Tiruppatikkōvai*, Vaṅkippuratt' Āccī's (Nālāyira-ppāsura-ppaṭi) *Nūrr' eṭṭu ttiruppati-kkōvai*, etc.

[48] In verse 18, canto XII, of the *Divyasūricarita* (ed. in Telugu characters by Śrīnivāsâcārya, Kāñcīpuram, 1953), Periyâlvār explains to Āṇṭāḷ, for whom he has arranged a *svayaṃvara*, where the 108 Viṣṇus who have arrived live. Vs. 34-79 mention and describe many of these temples.

[49] I have counted 37 references in the four *Antâtis*, and 51 to all other temples mentioned. For the whole *Prabandham* the figures are: 104 to Veṅkaṭam, 56 to Śrīraṅgam (first and

A few remarks on the importance of these temples for Śrīvaiṣṇava theology may be added here. The majority of the songs in the *Prabandham* are addressed to, or deal with, Viṣṇu in a specific temple. This custom is continued by many of the Ācaryas. A considerable *stotra* literature, among whose authors figure some of the most distinguished Śrīvaiṣṇava theologians,[52] gathers abstract theological thought and poetic imagination around the individual *vigraha*, and derives its inspiration from that concrete temple situation. One of the concepts which thus developed with these Ācaryas, viz the *arcâvatāra*, will now have to be discussed in detail.

4) *The* arcâvatāra *concept*. From a critical, philosophical or theological, point of view, the phraseology which we found in the Āḷvārs, and its underlying conception, had to appear simplistic to the Śrīvaiṣṇava theologians. It was only natural that attempts were made to specify in philosophically satisfactory terms the manner in which the same being could be transcendent and yet, at the same time, be present in many different temples. A similar problem had already presented itself in an earlier period concerning Viṣṇu's mythical manifestations, and the concept of the "*avatāra*" had been developed to cope with this.[53] According to this model, presumably in Pāñcarātra circles, another concept evolved concerning Viṣṇu's presence in the temples. This was the *arcâvatāra* notion, which means: Viṣṇu "incarnates" himself in the temple image (*arcā*) in the mode of a mythical *avatāra*. Thus in that sense, each temple image contains a full *avatāra*, with the difference that unlike the mythical ones, which were distributed over different periods in the past, these *avatāras* are spatially distributed and in the present time. Although already

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second position in a table of frequency). Many of the later references are, however, of a stereotyped and conventional nature and thus do not suggest the superior position of Veṅkaṭam in the later Āḷvārs.

[50] Stanza 13. Āṇṭāḷ (see note 48 above) chose Raṅganātha as her husband, and most Ācāryas were associated with Śrīraṅgam.

[51] It is needless to add that from the point of view of other temples, *they* were the most important one in the list. E g.: "There are 108 *kṣetras* of Viṣṇu on earth. Among these the great Nandināthapuram is the foremost." (*Nāthaṉ-kōvil-sthalamāhātmyam*, chapter IV, verses 2f; Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library, Descriptive Catalogue No 10029, manuscript.)

[52] Thus we have the *Devarājāṣṭakam* by Tirukkacci Nampi, the *Sundarabāhustava* by Kūratt' Āḻvān, the *Śrīraṅgarājastuti* by Parāśara Paṭṭar, a whole group of *stotras* and Tamil *prabandhams* by Veṅkaṭanātha and the *Devarājamaṅgalam* by Maṇavāḷa mā muṇi.

[53] On the formation and history of the notion "avatāra" see P. Hacker, "Zur Entwicklung der Avatāralehre" in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, vol. 4, 1960, pp.47-70.

Yāmunâcārya had integrated the Pāñcarātra into Tamil Vaiṣṇavism,[54] even in Rāmānuja this concept does not yet appear to be operative.[55] However, with the post-Rāmānuja thinkers it appears fully accepted and plays the central role in their theology of the temple. Piḷḷai Lokâcārya gives the following definition :

> [The concept] "*arcâvatāra*" denotes [Viṣṇu's] state of permanently abiding in the temples and in the houses, of coming close [to man] in objects which are attractive to people, without restrictions of space, time, or privileged persons [being in these points] unlike the special (=mythical) manifestations.[56]

Similarly Veṅkaṭanātha:

> [The concept] "*arcâvatāra*" denotes [Viṣṇu's] abiding, according to the desires of those who resort to him and for their sake, in the manner that has been described in this verse[57] : "Taking on the form of the image, he enters into and abides with his *ātman* in the image".[58]
>
> . . .Emperumāṉ (=Viṣṇu) who came in delight and turned himself into the *arcâvatāra*, being totally dedicated to one purpose and instituting his (temple) presence for the sake of a particular devotee . . . .[59]

Thus the *arcâvatāra* is Viṣṇu himself, in so far as his "*ātman*"[60] abides in the image, which is an object initially created or chosen by man according to his own liking, but accepted by Viṣṇu for the sake of man, in order to be close to him everywhere and always. But although man creates the abode and the image for Viṣṇu, it is the latter's free will which decides on his taking residence there; neither *karma* nor any (magical) act of man has the power to force him into it.[61]

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[54] See J. van Buitenen, "On the archaism 'of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*" in *Kṛṣṇa: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes*, ed. M. Singer, Chicago, 1966 (reprinted 1968), pp. 26-33

[55] See J. Carman, *The Theology of Rāmānuja*, New Haven and London (Yale University Press), 1974, pp. 180f; 298f.

[56] *Tattvatraya* (ed. with Manavāḷa mā muṉi's commentary by Aṇṇaṅkarâcāriyar, Kāñcīpuram, 1966), *sūtra* 200.

[57] The editor identifies the quotation as: *Sātvata-saṃhitā* VI, 22.

[58] *Rahasyatrayasāram* (ed. with a Tamil commentary by Narasimmācārya-svāmi, Madras, 1920; Tamil and Grantha characters), chapter V, p. 254.

[59] *Ibid* , chapter XV, p. 510.

[60] *Ibid.*, chapter V, p 260. Veṅkaṭanātha says that the *pēraṇi* (comm: =*mūla-kāraṇam*) "material cause," of the *arcâvatāra* is Viṣṇu in his most transcendental form of existence, viz. as *para*.

[61] *Tattvatraya sūtra* 194: Free will is the cause of the *avatāras*; 196f: One could object that *karma* must be assumed as the cause of the *avatāras*, because it has been stated in many

Unlike gnostic or idealistic theologies, medieval Śrīvaiṣṇava thought does not regard the *arcā* manifestations as the "lowest" form of divine emanation but, on the contrary, as a complete representation of Viṣṇu's essential nature.

> That he gives rise to bliss, that he is a splendid refuge, that the whole world must resort to him, and that he can be experienced [by the whole world]—all this *finds its fulfilment* in the *arcâvatāra.*[62]

Here in the *arcā* Viṣṇu proves in the most obvious manner that he is concerned with man and that he wants to be near him. This attitude of Viṣṇu was formulated by the Ācāryas in the term *saulabhya,* "easy accessibility."[63] When discussing the phrase "Lord of Vēṅkaṭam" in a song by Nammāḻvār, a commentator paraphrases "who possesses perfect *saulabhya* by being present on the Sacred Mountain (viz. Tirumalai,=Vēṅkaṭam)."[64] The *Īṭu* is more elaborate on the same phrase :

> *Saulabhyam* is indicated by the phrase "you who are Lord of Vēṅkaṭam which is liked by gods and sages. . . ." They like [the temple] because they can find here something that is not found there [in heaven], since [the auspicious qualities] *śīla* etc. are present here, assuming visible form even for the lowest persons, more so than even in the highest heaven, like a lamp[65] in a dark place.[66]

That Viṣṇu opens himself up to man and is eager to be close to him, mani-

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scriptural authorities that he was born in consequence of the curse of Bhṛgu etc. [The answer to this is that] in those [places] the curse is merely a pretext (*vyājam*), and it is therefore confirmed that the *avatāra* originates by an act of free will.

[62] *Ibid* , *sūtra* 201.

[63] On the connotations of this term see Carman, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-87; also pp. 11f; 173ff; 223ff

[64] The 12000 (ed. in *Pakavatviṣayam* by Kopālakiruṣṇamācāriyar etc., Triplicane 1923-30), p 474. on *Tiruvāymoli* VI, 10, 10.

[65] The simile of the lamp is explained by Piḷḷai Lokâcārya in his *Śrīvacanabhūṣaṇam* (ed. by Aṇṇaṅkarâcāriyar with the commentary of Maṇavāḷa mā muṇi Kāñcīpuram, 1966, *sūtra* 37: "The [qualities] easy accessibility etc., which are relevant to devotion (*prapatti*) are fully brought out here (in the *arcā*), like a lamp in a dark room." Maṇavāḷa's comment: "Although all these qualities are found also in the *paratva,* they do not light up—similar to a lamp during the day—, because they are found in something which is directed to those endowed with supreme perfection (literally, "likeness to Viṣṇu)." But in the material of the *arcavatāra,* they shine brightly—like a lamp during the night—because they are directed towards the people in *saṃsāra* who are infinitely base-and-low (*taṇmai*)." In other words, the *arcâvatāra* does not in itself possess qualities which are different from those found in the transcendental Viṣṇu; but owing to the darkness of contingent human existence, they shine forth in an accentuated manner.

[66] The 36000 (ed. in *Pakavatviṣayam,* see note 64), p. 494.

fests itself most strongly in an aspect of the *arcā* which particularly amazed the Ācāryas.

> Taking off his perfection and relinquishing his total freedom, he abides in it (=the *arcā*) by showing great love even to those who do not love him.[67] Hiding his own lordship, he pretends to be ignorant, powerless, without independent will; becoming enslaved to boundless compassion, he grants all that is desired [by man].[68]
>
> *Saulabhya* means to be dependent on the *arcaka* who is easily accessible to all without distinction of high and low people.[69]
>
> . . .total dependence on the devotee—something that evades mental understanding and verbal definition.[70]

The post-Rāmānuja theologians grouped together Viṣṇu's attributes under two headings: *paratva* and *saulabhya*, "transcendence" and "easy accessibility."[71] By stating that the *arcā* illustrates the group of *saulabhya* qualities, they do not mean to say that the transcendent Viṣṇu is qualitatively different. This is important particularly with reference to his form or body. Even the transcendent Viṣṇu in his *svarūpa* "possesses a wonderful form (*vigraha*)"[72]; "that *vigraha* is infinitely more pleasurable than the qualities of his *svarūpa* [which are knowledge and bliss]. . . . It consists of unlimited splendour, is a storehouse of a series of auspicious qualities like youthfulness etc.; it infatuates all people and causes disgust with all other pleasures; it is the substratum of the many *avatāras*. . . ."[73] Since Viṣṇu in his essential nature possesses a form, and since he is fully present in the *arcā*, the latter thus displays—in its limited man-made shape—the qualities of the divine body. The *Iṭu*, when commenting on the phrase "at your feet" (which refers to the lord of Vēṅkaṭam), says:

> This phrase indicates that [the lord of Vēṅkaṭam] possesses a *vigraha*. . . . Because it is a *vigraha*, it can be a substratum for splendour (or: beauty), can give rise to love towards himself along with a dislike of other sense-objects.[74]

Veṅkaṭanātha speaks of "the alluring power"[75] of the *arcâvatāra*. Thus divine

[67] *Śrīvacanabhūṣaṇa*, *sūtra* 38.
[68] *Tattvatraya*, *sūtra* 202.
[69] The 36000, vol. VI, p. 494.
[70] *Rahasyatrayasāram*, chapter XV, p. 512.
[71] See Carman, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-87.
[72] *Tattvatraya*, *sūtra* 141.
[73] *Ibid.* 181.
[74] The 36000, p. 495, on: *uṉ aṭi kīl* (*TiruvāyM* VI, 10, 10).
[75] *Ākarṣakatva*, *Rahasyatrayasāram*, chapter XV, p. 512.

beauty pervades both the transcendent and the *arcā vigrahas* of Viṣṇu; it is that element which links the different forms of his existence. Made available to man (who tries to increase its impact by beautifying the *vigraha* further through flower-garlands, clothes, and ornaments), this beauty has the most immediate and spontaneous appeal. As Piḷḷai Lokâcārya says:

> This [arcâvatāra] redirects the attention of man who, engrossed in sensual pleasures, had turned away from him; he is capable of increasing his love—something the *śāstras* (the scriptural injunctions) are not able to achieve.[76]

Who is this "man" spoken about here? That the Ācārya is by no means thinking only of the humble, ignorant but pious worshipper is made clear in the following *sūtras:*

> Three types of persons are privileged to surrender themselves to it (=*arcâvatāra*): the ignorant, the wise, and those absorbed in *bhakti*. Those who do this out of ignorance are people like ourselves; who do it in supreme wisdom, the former Ācāryas; who surrendered in complete *bhakti* were the Āḻvārs.[77]

To worship the *arcā* is thus a religious act equally relevant to all members of the Śrīvaiṣṇava community—from the saints and scholars down to the simple man.

The doctrine of the *arcâvatāra* represents the sophisticated expression, now in a systematic and theological manner, of the conception that Viṣṇu is present in the temple. But whether formulated as part of a theological system, or, as in the Āḻvārs, implied in simple poetic expression, this conception by itself is an abstract idea. How the *bhakta* reacted to it, in which manner he tried to achieve this surrender, how it influenced his religious attitudes, and, in turn, how the theologian interpreted all this and tried to influence it in a normative manner—these points remain to be discussed. It will be here that we can see how an idea worked in society and how a whole culture grew out of it.

It is, however, essential to keep in mind that the abstract line of doctrinal developments which has been depicted so far covers a span of about a millennium. The religious response developed along with it. Thus when we ask now what impact the dogma had on society, it would be a mistake to ignore the influences which the religious response and the cultural patterns surrounding the temple cult had upon precisely the doctrinal developments. And it would equally be a mistake to assume a homomorphous character for both lines of development.

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[76] *Śrīvacanabhūṣaṇam*, *sūtra* 40.

[77] *Ibid.*, *sūtras* 41-43.

II. PATTERNS OF RELIGIOUS RESPONSE TO VIṢṆU'S PRESENCE

Despite the modifications which Śrīvaiṣṇava doctrinal history shows with regard to the conception of Viṣṇu's presence in the *vigraha*, the idea remains fundamentally the same throughout the millennium under consideration. Viṣṇu wants to be close and available to man, to manifest the beauty of his form and arouse his love towards him. Thereby man is challenged to react; the manner in which the Tamils did this, the models their reaction adopted and the patterns it developed, and the cultural complexes that grew out of them, will have to be considered now.

We may begin by looking at some of the *normative* injunctions in which the theologian envisaged how man *ought to* react. Veṅkaṭanātha says:

> The *prapanna* (lit. "he who has surrendered himself") should adopt a behaviour [towards the *arcâvatāra*] in accordance with the type of relationship he may want to choose and with [Viṣṇu's] *paratva* and *saulabhya*, as is illustrated by the [following stanzas]: "Like a faithful wife towards her dear husband, like a mother towards her child, like a disciple towards his teacher, or like a friend towards his friend, one should show one's affection to Hari; he should always be considered as lord, friend, teacher, father, or mother."—"One should treat Bhagavān with awe, like a young king, an elephant in rut, or a dear guest who has arrived."—"One should respect Hari as if he were one's dear son."[78] [79]

This means that the devotee can orient himself in his response to the *arcā* according to various models of ordinary human interaction. Vedântadeśika lists a number of such models and divides them into two groups; those appropriate for Viṣṇu's *paratva* (e.g. the fear with which one approaches an elephant in rut) and those for *saulabhya* (e.g. like a mother treats her child). He does, however, not provide an empirically gained system which Tamil society might have developed; he simply wants to do justice to rather esoteric (Pāñcarātra) scriptural passages. In fact, he adds one further explanation in his own words to the passage just quoted, in which he says no more than "he should adopt a behaviour like that of a servant to his king."[80]

In the following three sections I shall turn to those responses which *de facto* were cultivated in Tamil society. The distinction drawn between *paratva* and *saulabhya* serves also here useful purposes; but while the first category can be illustrated by the theme "Viṣṇu as lord and king," the second category had to be broken up into two separate themes, viz. "Viṣṇu as lover" and "Viṣṇu as child."

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[78] According to the editor: *Śāṇḍilya-smṛti* IV, 37f; 31; the third quotation has not been identified.

[79] *Rahasyatrayasāram*, chapter XV, pp. 512f.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 514.

(1) *Viṣṇu as chieftain and king.* Already on the previous pages indications were found of a symbolism by which Viṣṇu in the temple is treated like a chieftain or king. Viṣṇu "resides" as the "lord" in his "palace," he "owns" as the "master" his "village" or "town." It follows naturally from this that the *bhakta* places himself into the role of a servant and loyal subject. Historically, we are dealing here with the original connotations of the term "bhakti," viz. "loyalty, faithful service," like that of a feudal subject to his master. The new concept "prapatti" which became typical of Śrīvaiṣṇavism expands this older connotation by stressing both the protective aspect of Viṣṇu (who offers refuge) and the total surrender of the devotee. Earlier Tamil cultural history provides further aspects of this symbolism. Thus it appears to be possible to detect in the classical strata of *caṅkam* literature a specific link between the Pāṇṭiya kings and Viṣṇu[81]; this association of Viṣṇu with kingship is also well-known from other areas of Indian history. Possibly as a consequence of the collapse of traditional power structures in the South during the third century, Viṣṇu emancipated from that association, and in a now independent position enjoys the praise previously rendered to the king or chieftains. This shift manifests itself in various forms. The most obvious example is the change in meaning of the word *kōyil* (palace→temple). Moreover, the ancient bardic poetry knew of a particular slot in the structure of the poem into which a reference to the king or chieftain could be inserted. In some later *caṅkam* poems, Viṣṇu and his temple figured in this slot[82] and with the Āḻvārs it became a stereotyped pattern. Also the following feature may be used as evidence, if it is legitimate to identify the "brahmins" mentioned there as *pūjāris*: attributes of praise which had previously been used for a king or chieftain, are now applied to the Vedas and the brahmins This results in rather incongruous expressions, e.g. "the Vedas of fame, abounding in glory,"[83] "morality protected by the brahmins of mighty strength and rich in fame."[84] A somewhat ambiguous poem in the *Cilappatikāram*[85] seems to say that in reality it is Viṣṇu who is king of the Pāṇṭiya etc. countries.

These external indications help us to understand the internal religious developments. "Service" is the logical link between Viṣṇu the king and the devotee as his servant. This service materializes itself in the acts of worship (*pūjā* in a general sense) which themselves are modelled according to the service rendered to a king or chieftain.

The phraseology employed is interesting. The most common root used is

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[81] See Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-10; 664-66.

[82] Examples are *Paripāṭal* XV, *Akanāṉūru* 59, *Kalittokai* 102-6.

[83] *Paripāṭal* II, 63.

[84] *Ibid.* I, 37f.

[85] *Āycciyarkuravai*, poem 12

āḷ, which as verb means "to rule, own" and is constantly said about Viṣṇu with reference to the devotee. As a noun, denoting that which is owned—viz. "servant, labourer"—it refers to the devotee. Another word is *aṭimai* which derives from *aṭi* "foot, base, bottom" and denotes either "slavery, servitude" or "slave, servant." A third word is *toṇṭu* "slavery, devoted service" or "slave, devoted servant (in that meaning also *toṇṭar*)." This relationship is symbolically and ritually enacted by prostrating oneself before the "lord" and worshipping his feet "with one's head."[86]

We may assume that while the cult surrounding the person of honour (viz. from chieftain to king) increased in complexity, so also did the symbolism imposed on the temple god, but details illustrating this development are difficult to find. The testimony of the later Āḻvārs (c. 800 to 900 A.D.) shows however that the temple service is already differentiated and complex. Two of these later Āḻvārs were temple brahmins or *pūjāris*, Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi and Periyāḻvār. The former tells us that it was his "service (*toṇṭu*)" to prepare the *tulsī* garlands for worship. His *Tiruppaḷḷiyeḻucci* is an elaborate hymn, addressed to Viṣṇu in Śrīraṅgam and to be sung in the morning to wake up the god. It is clearly modelled on Sanskrit songs of the same purpose but addressed to a king. This developed as a poetic genre both in Tamil and in Sanskrit (called *suprabhātam*), and most Śrīvaiṣṇava temples possess now their own *paḷḷiyeḻucci* or *suprabhātam*. Other features which were adopted from the royal cult and integrated into the *pūjā* are for instance the dressing of the *vigraha*, placing ornaments on it, then holding a mirror in front of it, fanning it with a *cāmara* (a yak tail whisk) and holding a parasol over its head (both the chowrie and the parasol are royal insignia), etc. In the past, the temple god was also entertained with music, song, and dance (for details see below).

Given the complexity of the ritual, professional "servants" were essential. The distinction between these and the ordinary worshippers is marked today (I cannot comment on the earlier period) by the fact that only the *pūjāri* is allowed to enter the *garbhagṛha* of a temple where the *vigraha* is placed.

Periyāḻvār, like Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi, was such a *pūjāri*, and he provides us with some interesting information about his daily life. Thus he tells us that he is

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[86] Already in *Paripāṭal* II, 72; Fragment I, 5f. Burrow/Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford, 1966; No. 2903, connects the word *toṇṭu* with *toḻil* "work"; this would suggest a common element *tol* (+tu/il) which might also be implied in √*toḻu* "to worship" (Burrow/Emeneau 2904), also "to bow." However, this possible etymological connection of "work, service" with "worship" is highly speculative. To worship with one's head the feet of the *arcāvatāra* has been given an ingenious ritual expression; whether it was because of the abrasion of the *vigraha* through the constant contact with the devotees' forehead, or whether as a direct consequence of closing the *garbhagṛha* to the public, a device called *caṭakōpam* was developed. This is a bell-shaped metal object which has a pair of feet sculptured on its top. During *sevā* it is placed by the *pūjāri* for a moment on the head of the devotee, like a crown.

"a Vaiṣṇava who lives in your (=Viṣṇu's) temple"[87]; in Viṣṇu's service he finds the fulfilment of his life: "I do not desire clothes or food—I obtain them through that 'royal splendour' called 'to be your servant'. Do not doubt that I want to be taken as your slave into your service."[88] While his servitude is demonstrated by "being brand-marked, myself and everything I own, with the property sign of your discus,"[89] Viṣṇu's generosity and care as the master shows itself in this manner: he is "capable of rendering my soul pure by granting me boiled rice with ghee, the office of a royal servant, betel nuts, ornaments, rings for my ears, and sandal-paste to put on my body." The Āḻvār states: "we are servants in such manner that we wear the yellow garment which you wore and discarded, eat out of your vessels, and adorn ourselves with the *tulsī* that adorned you and which you then discarded."[90] This means in more abstract words that the *bhakta* surrenders himself and everything that belongs to him entirely to Viṣṇu, and receives in turn everything he requires, from bodily ornaments to food, as objects that purify his heart. In the context of temple ritual it means that all those objects mentioned are offered to the *arcā*, and when purified by the physical contact with Viṣṇu and thus endowed with their own purifying power, are received back as *prasādam*. If any of the objects are brought as offerings by a devotee, they will be shared by him and the *pūjāri* after the ritual.

This conception of Viṣṇu as the king in the temple had an enormous impact on Śrīvaiṣṇava thought and life. Rāmānuja took the truly revolutionary step of redefining the essence of man (his *svarūpa*) as being Viṣṇu's *śeṣa* "totally subject and dependent subject," instead of using the definition, hallowed since the time of the Upaniṣads, of man as the (potential) *jñānī*, "endowed with perfect knowledge." *Kaiṅkarya*, acts of (ritualized) service, remain essential even for the *jīvanmukta*, that means for the person who has already realized his essential nature while still living in his mortal frame, as both Piḷḷai Lokâcārya and Vedântadeśika state.[91] Moreover, even in the final state of *mukti* (defined as the full enjoyment of Viṣṇu in heaven), *kaiṅkarya* remains the basic mode of communication between the liberated soul and Viṣṇu. When the *mukta* has reached heaven, Veṅkaṭanātha says, "he will accept for as long as his soul lasts all the services which he wishes for in agreement with Viṣṇu's own desires."[92] In another place, "service is the outflow of the special love which arises from his complete enjoyment [of Viṣṇu] in heaven."[93] Thus the service performed by the *bhakta* in the temple is a symbolic enactment of what he will continue to do in heaven.

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[87] *Periyâlvar-Tirumoli* V, 1, 3.

[88] *Ibid.* 4; *aṭimai^{y} eṉṉum akkōyiṉmaiyālē*, according to the Madras Tamil Lexicon "royal dignity; pride, as of a king." One commentator:=*puruṣârtha*.

[89] *Ibid.* V, 4, 1. Compare V, 2, 8 and I, 1, 7 where this "seal" or "brand-mark" (*ilañcaṉai, pori*) is also mentioned.

[90] *Ibid* I, 1, 7f.—*Attāṉi cēvakam*, probably from Sanskrit *āsthāna* ("hall of audience") + *sevaka* ("servant").

[91] *Mumukṣuppaṭi* (ed. Annaṅkarâcāriyar, Kāñcīpuram, 1966), *sūtras* 165-87; *Śrīvacana-bhūṣaṇam*, *sūtras* 274f; 288; etc.—*Rahasyatrayasāram*, chapter XV, pp. 509-15.

[92] *Rahasyatrayasāram*, chapter 21, p. 670.

If service to Viṣṇu is common to *bhakta* and *mukta*, to heaven and earth, one of the most fundamental premises of Hindu belief, the value-judgement made with reference to the dischotomy *saṁsāra* : *mokṣa*, was no longer totally taken for granted. Thus we hear indeed in Nammāḻvār:

> A birth on earth as Viṣṇu's slave, regardless of who one were or how lowly stationed,—is that not the splendour of heaven! [Why] should we fear our ancient deeds? Should we crave for heaven as the only thing [worth wishing for]?[94]

The theme "Viṣṇu the king" has had many other corollaries. For instance, according to present Indian law, Viṣṇu figures as a person legally entitled to own property etc. The temples and all their revenues are his property, and they are administered on his behalf by the trustees (*adhikārins*). A whole segment of society, from the *pūjāri* down to the sugar-candy supplier, finds employment and maintenance in the temples. At least in the past, this included also artists which made the temples one of the most important centers for the arts. It would be an interesting point to investigate in which manner the actual king related himself to "Viṣṇu the king" in the temple, but a systematic study of the *sthalapurāṇas* which may well contain material relevant for this point, is still a *desideratum*.[95]

(2) *Viṣṇu as lover.* The projection of all the paraphernalia of a palace culture onto the temple cult, and the *bhakta*'s treatment of Viṣṇu as chieftain or king, do not exhaust the range of what can be called the Tamil exploitation of the theme "Viṣṇu is in the temple." A second, and at least during certain periods very important, theme can be discerned which, interestingly enough, is not even mentioned by Veṅkaṭanātha:[96] Viṣṇu the lover. This theme clearly originated in the Āḻvārs in whom we can trace the developments leading up to his full exploitation. Since I have, however, dealt with this topic in great detail elsewhere,[97] a brief summary will be sufficient here.

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[93] *Ibid.*, chapter 22, p. 685; compare p. 686: "exclusive service which is the outflow of experiencing (Viṣṇu in heaven)."

[94] *Periyatiruvantāti*, stanza 79. Such reflections are, however, very rare in the *Prabandham*, and I do not know of any example in the Ācāryas.

[95] On one related example see below, under III (Kāladūṣaka and the king).

[96] He does, after all, quote only three *Sanskrit* passages. In a number of instances, he himself contributed to the present theme, but his source of inspiration are the Āḻvārs. See his *Navamaṇi-mālai*, *Acyutaśatakam*, and *Devanāyakapañcāśat*. Piḷḷai Lokācārya deals, I presume, in a theoretical manner with it in his *Navavidhasambandham;* but this work has not been available to me.

[97] See Hardy, *op. cit.*

Already in the earliest strata of Tamil literature, the conception of a "hero" implies a twofold characteristic: strength, shown in defeating his enemies, in raiding their cattle, etc., and beauty with reference to women; in other words, heroic and sexual prowess. This twofold aspect becomes formalized by the poeticians in the distinction of *puram* "external" and *akam* "internal" poetry, and is borne out by two distinct poetic genres. Some centuries later, when the first Āḻvārs express their sentiments before the images of Viṣṇu, they stress not only Viṣṇu's awe-inspiring lordship which enslaves them, but also his beauty which is manifest in the *arcā*. More important: they establish a direct parallel between his descent into the temple image and into the heart of the *bhakta*. Entranced by the manifest beauty and filled with love, these Āḻvārs express a strong desire to "unite" with Viṣṇu. Nammāḻvār, who is the key-figure in the history of Southern Vaiṣṇavism, does not only extend this desire for union into mysticism, but also imposes the conventions and sentiments of the old *love* poetry onto this temple-mysticism. I believe that this combination was one of the most important achievements in Vaiṣṇava history, and proved inspiring even beyond the boundaries of Tamil Nadu. But given the particular conventions of *akam* lyrics, the initial drive displayed by the early Āḻvārs to "unite" with Viṣṇu had to be modified by Nammāḻvār to a mysticism of "separation," in which the inability of the human frame, fully to grasp Viṣṇu, is stressed. All this is expressed through poetic symbolism, the central symbol being that of the "girl" who is depicted as being in love with Viṣṇu, the lord of the local temple. A similar symbolism is found in the later Āḻvārs, in Kalikaṉri and, most intensely, in Āṇṭāḷ. In order to illustrate this type of poetry, I quote one stanza from Nammāḻvār:

> My mother says: "She is an absolute shame to our family" and does not let me look out for him.
> When I saw the lord of TirukKuruṅkuṭi,
> he filled my soul, and since then
> has remained hidden in it
> with his gold-like body that is surrounded
> by a flood of splendour. . . .[98]

Particularly in Kalikaṉri, Viṣṇu of the local temple is envisaged as active, at least on the plane of poetry. For instance:

> Was he a thief ?
> He came like a big black bull and said to my daughter:
> "Come ! Come !"
> He took her by the hand which white bracelets adorned,

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[98] *Tiruvāymoli* V, 5, 7.

> and they abandoned the mother who gave birth to her.
> Gone away, they must now have entered Tiruvāli
> beautiful with its fields and marshy tracts.[99]

This is an altogether new type of *bhakti*; it is not the passionless *bhakti-yoga* of the Gītā, but an impassioned, often ecstatic abandon to Viṣṇu's beauty and modelled according to the love of a girl towards her lover. The further history of this new form of *bhakti* which had a very strong impact on religion in the North, falls outside the scope of the present paper; I have dealt with it elsewhere.[100] Within the Śrīvaisṇava tradition, the theme of "Viṣṇu the lover" continues in a rather peculiar manner. The sober Ācaryas, in spite of all their appreciation of the Āḷvārs, somehow felt embarrassed by the frank sensuality of their mysticism of separation, and in their own religious attitude concentrated on Viṣṇu the *śeṣī* who demanded complete surrender (*prapatti*) from the devotee, his *śeṣa*. When the theme of Viṣṇu the lover makes its fleeting appearance in Veṅkaṭanātha. it is perhaps no more than an academic poetic experiment with older genres.[101] These normative pressures of the Ācāryas[102] reduced the importance of the theme in the area of theology; but in more popular areas it remained operative and established a definite link of *eros* with the temple cult. The following examples will illustrate this.

One way in which the theme of Viṣṇu the lover developed in the post-Āḷvār period was by replacing the "girl" by Lakṣmī. Since the temple contains an *arcā* of her, besides that of Viṣṇu, all the love games he is supposed to play with her in heaven can be brought down to earth and ritually enacted. Particularly the *vasantôtsava*, the spring festival, is loaded with erotic sentiments.

> Hari observed the season of spring—the breeze filled with streams of fragrance, the swarms of bees and the cuckoos with sweet voices, the abundant splendour of Kāma who subdues the world. Bhagavān who resides in Śrīraṅgam had his heart captivated by all this beauty of the season of flowers, and along with his queens he went out into the park, desirous of honouring the new flowers. In the park, the whole world was informed about the arrival of Kāma by the noise from the throats of the mellifluous cuckoos.[103]

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[99] *Periyatirumoli* III, 7, 1.

[100] See Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 554-620.

[101] See note 96 above. I am preparing a detailed study of Veṅkatanātha's poetry where a discussion of these themes will be found.

[102] In cases where a discussion of the theme is necessary, viz. in the commentaries on the erotic poems of the Ālvārs, an *allegorical* explanation is given to the "love symbolism"; see Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 342 with note 91; pp. 344f with note 103. On the other hand, the Ācāryas were certainly tolerant enough not to exclude this form of religious attitude in their lists of *possible* relationships.

[103] *Divyasūricarita*, canto XV, verses 2. 4-6.

This passage represents a poetic and imaginative rendering of a ritual event: the *arcās* of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, etc. are taken out in procession into the temple garden, where the spring festival is celebrated with them.

Many of the Tamil poetic genres which are included under the label "*prabandham*"[104] had their origin in such ritual events. When Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī are placed on the swing, songs to accompany the swinging were designed, the *ūcal*[105] Many other such poems or songs, of an erotic character, were written for such festivals in the individual temples. There are those describing the infatuating beauty of Viṣṇu seen by a girl, when he is carried in procession through the town (*ulā* or *maṭal*), and there are messenger poems addressed by the girl to the temple god (*tūtu*).[106] Larger poetic forms, like the *kalampakam*, *paḷḷu*, or *noṇṭi-nāṭakam*,[107] integrate a number of these smaller genres. It is particularly in these Tamil *prabandhams* that the erotic poetry of the Āḷvārs is developed further.

But when discussing the theme of *eros* as pervading the Śrīvaiṣṇava temple culture, one further topic cannot be avoided: the music and dance professionally cultivated by the *devadāsīs*. Whatever the historical and sociological developments may have been which led to this institution, the Śrīvaiṣṇava sources known to me are silent about it. Missionaries like the Abbé Dubois and some Westernized Indians, encountering a presumably declining stage in the development of the *devadāsī* institution, attacked it with a puritanical fanaticism which was equalled only by their complete ignorance of (or unwillingness to understand) its history and the motivation behind it. They succeeded only too well in their task: the abolition by law of the *devadāsīs* was regarded as a necessary reform of South Indian temple culture, but it also resulted in the total destruction of one major segment of that culture through which for one and a half millennia deep-rooted Southern religious sentiments ments had expressed themselves. The whole range of art that had surrounded the temple was eliminated, and even the whole issue of temple eroticism was prejudiced. This means that it would require considerable courage to explore the possibility that the stanza from the *Periyatirumoḷi* quoted above had a *realistic* basis: that the mother expresses her feelings of loss because her daughter had decided to become a servant-girl in the temple of Tiruvāli—a service which at the time of the Āḷvars may have implied none of the features which were so shocking to the modern observer. But it may be of interest to discuss a unique document which illustrates how *within* Śrīvaiṣṇavism the *devadāsī* institution was regarded. This is a one-act play (*bhāṇa*) in Sanskrit[108] which was written c. 1850 A.D. by Veṅkaṭâcārya and is entitled *Kandarpa-darpaṇa.*[109] It is set in Triplicane/Madras during the *vijayadaśamī* festival of the Pārthasārathi temple.

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[104] On the various genres and their themes in general Tamil literature, see K.V. Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature*,=vol. X, fasc. 1, of *A History of Indian Literature*, ed. J. Gonda, Wiesbaden, 1974, pp. 193-230

[105] See e.g. PiḷḷaipPerumāḷ Aiyaṅkār's *Cīraṅkanāyaka-ūcal* or Veṅkaṭanātha's (lost) *Devanāyaka-ūcal*

[106] Examples are: *Tiruccirupuliyūr-ulā*; *Alakar-kiḷḷai-viṭu-tūtu; Alakar-Kuravañci.*

[107] For instance the *Teṉ-tirupPērai-Kalampakam*, *Kurukūr-paḷḷu*, *TirupPullāṇi-noṇṭi-nāṭakam.*

Kalahaṃsaka, the *viṭa* ("playboy") typical of this genre of drama, is in love with Kandarpasenā's daughter Kamalamañjarī. A message from her mother arrives: "Today will take place the great festival of my daughter Kamala-mañjarī's first appearance on the stage, before Śrī Pārthasārathi who is an ocean of all auspicious qualities and whose feet-lotuses are served by all gods and demons. Therefore you must make your appearance there!"[110] This means: the girl, trained as a dancer and a *devadāsī,* will give her first public display before the *vigraha* of Viṣṇu. Why Kalahaṃsaka must be there will become clear presenty. Although it is still morning, he sets out, and wandering leisurely through the streets of Triplicane, he describes various scenes and people. Seeing a group of temple prostitutes walking before the *arcā* of Pārthasārathi which is carried through the streets in procession, he says: "I will cast a look at Bhagavān with devotion!" Beholding him, he says with admiration: "That deity, consisting of Love's bliss,[111] honours with affection the young prostitutes who are to be his beloved ones and who skilfully perform their dance inside the courtyard which his own ornaments make radiant."[112] This sight gives him the opportunity to attack those puritanical (and since this was about 1850, Westernized?) brahmins who express their dislike for these *devadāsīs* "always delightful to watch for the Puruṣottama (pun: the greatest of males) who is the great deity of the erotic sentiment (*śṛṅgāra-rasa*)." With a charming piece of fanciful allegory he actually "proves" this statement about Viṣṇu. "Bhagavān puts behind his back the crowd of brahmins who recite the Vedas; he separates himself from those who recite the Tamil-Veda (=Nammāḻvār's poems) by placing the prostitutes between himself and them."[113] This refers to the arrangement in the procession. When evening begins, he arrives at the house of Kandarpasenā. While he remains outside and watches, he sees her "carrying in her hand many different and lovely offerings for the god"[114] and leading her daughter to the stage, where Pārthasārathi has already been placed on a high seat. Kalahaṃsaka prostrates himself before the *vigraha*, and after some prayers he says: "Nectar is poured into the ears of Arjuna's charioteer (=Pārthasārathi) by the jingling noise of the dancing bracelets; he watches with excitement these women approaching, and time and again radiates forth with a gentle smile."[115] The dance performance begins, and the *viṭa* describes in detail the entrancing dance of Kamalamañjarī, while "Bhagavān is seated high up, as if eager to enjoy the abundant pleasure of her dance."[116] At Kandarpasenā's house, after the ceremony, he signs a contract called *kalatrapatrikā*[117] which gives him the privilege "to dally with her [Kamalamañjarī] until a child is conceived," while he guarantees to support her and provide her with clothes and ornaments.

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[108] For a general discussion of recent *bhāṇas,* including those which are connected with Śrīvaiṣnava temples (*i a.* Varadâcārya's *Vasantatilakam* or Raṅgâcārya's *Pañcabāṇavijaya*), see S.S. Janaki, "Le piu recenti composizioni teatrali di tipo bhāṇa" in *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino,* II—Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, vol. 107(1972-73), pp. 459-90.

[109] The full name of the author is Tirumalai Caturveda-śatakratu Nāvalpākkam Ayyā Veṅkaṭâcārya; the *bhāṇa* has been published serially in the *Journal of the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library,* vols. XIX 1/2 (1966) to XX 1 (1966), from manuscript No. 168 of that library.

[110] Lines 3-5 of prose after verse 9; p. 6.

[111] *Śṛṅgārasya rasasya daivatam*; in other words, a personification of Kāma. This may well be a play on the definition of Viṣṇu as (knowledge and) bliss.

[112] Prose after verse 41; verse 43

[113] Verse 45.

The humorous character of the play should not distract our attention from the genuine religious spirit which pervades it. The author makes it clear that in his opinion Viṣṇu, present in the *arcā*, derives enjoyment from the art of the girls who are dedicated to him, just as he would enjoy the *tulsī*, *kuṅkuma*, camphor, etc. which are offered to him in the *pūjā*. And just as he returns these objects after the worship to the devotee, these girls are returned. Thus it seems possible to interpret Kalahaṃsaka's quasi-marital union with Kamalamañjarī, which is founded on a legally binding contract, as a special type of *prasādam*. This is perfectly legitimate and logical within the structure of Śrīvaiṣṇava temple culture, in which eros and the arts have played an important role throughout its history. Seen from the point of view of the girl, it represents the harmonious synthesis of the two themes discussed so far: she dedicates herself in surrender and service to Viṣṇu the lord, and her art, her love and passions to Viṣṇu the lover.

A similar synthesis of the two themes, in a more general manner, can be detected in Śrīvaiṣṇava parlance The Sanskrit words *sevā* and *sev*, "service" and "to serve," have acquired here, as *cēvai* and *cēvittal*, the additional meanings of "relishing the beauty of the *vigraha* with one's eyes"—in other words what in modern Indian parlance is meant by "darśan." This synthesis has also a ritual side. When the devotee visits a temple, he offers *i.a.* some camphor (thus the element of service) which is placed on a tray, lit, and used by the *pūjārī* as a lamp to illuminate the full *vigraha*. It has frequently happened during my own visits to those temples that the *pūjārī* would actually ask the devotees present whether they could see the figure properly, or whether they wanted to see more of the statue.

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[114] Verse 204.

[115] Verse 211.

[116] Prose before verse 212.

[117] For details on this type of document (also called *nibandhanapattrikā* or *maitrīpattrikā*) see Janaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 481-83.

(3) *Viṣṇu as child.* The two themes discussed so far both imply an element of awe, lordship, and remoteness. Also the girl in Āḻvār poetry remains subject to Viṣṇu's—often unpredictable—will, and this in turn explains their mysticism of separation. But Śrīvaiṣṇavism developed a further theme in which the *saulabhya* aspect of Viṣṇu plays the dominant rōle: that of Viṣṇu the child. This theme originally derives from the purāṇic treatment of Kṛṣṇa's infancy and his childhood adventures. Parakālaṉ, Kulaśekhara, and particularly Periyāḻvār adopted it in their Tamil·poetry and lay the foundation for a whole new genre of Tamil literature, the *piḷḷaittamiḻ*. Today many of the *divyadeśams* have their own *prabandham* of that genre.[118] What was important in the treatment of those Āḻvārs was not so much the expansion of the purāṇic incidents, but that they related those childhood events to the local temple and that they addressed themselves to women and children. Adopting various types of folk-songs, they created a whole repertoire which mothers and children could sing as accompaniment to various games. Examples are the *cappāṇi* "clapping with the hands," *ceṅkīrai* "nodding with the head," *ammāṉai* "swing songs," or *tālēlō* "lullaby." Through these songs both the mythical events of Vṛndāvana and Viṣṇu in the local temple are infused, as it were, into the everyday life of children and mothers. Playing with her child, the mother could transform her care and love into an act of *bhakti*; she could dedicate them as a quasi-service to the local *arcāvatāra*; and she could expand her village-horizon as far as the mythical realm of Vṛndāvana. Indirectly a whole pattern of child education was thereby created by means of which a child was given not only a great deal of love and care, but was also stimulated in the use of its bodily and imaginative faculties; the earlier items in the conventional *piḷḷaittamiḻ* deal with the use of various limbs of the baby, and the latter ones concern various toys (small drums, little carts), while in the *cirril* "small houses" the child builds its own sand castles. Through the example of Yaśodā, the young mother is reminded of her duty to discipline the child and also, not to lose patience when this proves difficult. Thus the intention underlying these songs is not simply to spoil the child.

In the ritual context, this theme appears for instance in a special *vigraha*, called *santāna-Gopāla*, which represents the infant Kṛṣṇa lying in his cradle and which is found in some temples; sometimes (as in Tiruppullāṇi) it is placed in a special shrine. Worshippers may handle this *vigraha*, and men desirous of children place it on their laps.

Periyāḻvār may illustrate how this theme is integrated with the other two that have been discussed previously: after the description of Kṛṣṇa's childhood pranks he turns to the well-known *gopī* episodes with all their erotic content;

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[118] For instance the *Tiruvaikuṇṭanātaṉ-piḷḷaittamil*, *Tiruvallikkēṇippiḷḷaimaiyiṉmai.*

the theme of Viṣṇu the lord is woven into the description of the pranks, for time and again Yaśodā is awed and even frightened by the miraculous powers Kṛṣṇa appears to possess.

These three patterns of response to Viṣṇu's *arcâvatāra* contain a twofold movement. In a "centripetal" suction, the *bhakta* and everything which constitutes his life, from food, clothing, ornaments to physical love, is drawn into the service of the *arcâvatāra* who thereby exerts his right as the *śeṣī*. But a "centrifugal" drive complements this. Viṣṇu himself, in his *līlā*, radiates his own nature into the world of phenomena. Making himself available to man and enticing him with his beauty, he allows him to participate in his *līlā* by returning to him everything that had been surrendered, to be used for his own enjoyment and pleasure. Thus the three basic models of behaving towards the *arcâvatāra* are transformed into stimuli for a culture which, seen as gift for the devotee, allowed for a full enjoyment of man's faculties which was based on a fundamentally positive attitude towards the world, the senses, and the matters of ordinary life. However, we can also see that this conception, which has been described as it manifests itself empirically in Tamil society, does not agree fully with the normative pattern. Veṅkaṭanātha tones down the theme of Viṣṇu the lover by mentioning only the model of the "faithful wife towards her husband," stressing thereby primarily the aspect of her subjugation under an all-demanding master. When Kalahaṃsaka attacks some puritanical brahmins, this may well reflect a real struggle in contemporary society.

III. THE MYTHICAL STRUCTURE OF MEANING

Viṣṇu's presence in the *arcā* is responded to in models of interpersonal relationships with a human being. Many of the mythical *avatāras* are also human beings. But there is one major difference between these two types of *avatāras*: while the mythical ones possess a human body and are therefore capable of action, which takes place in the past and on the whole in regions of India other than Tamil Nadu,[119] the *arcâvatāra* cannot move or act physically and is therefore "dependent on the officiating priest."[120] Approached as king, lover, or child, action is indeed attributed to him, but this rests entirely on poetic conceit and convention. It thus lacks the element of "reality," being a highly sophisticated construction depending on a particular poetic tradition. On a more popular level, during the later medieval period when the poetic tradition had lost some of its vitality, a new structure of meaning evolved which attempted to explain the significance of the temple in mythical terms, overcoming thereby the difference in the two types of *avatāras*. Moreover, with many centuries of history behind them, these temples gave rise to a number of questions in the minds of the devotees, for which neither the doctrine formulated by the Ācāryas nor the religious attitudes created by the Āḷvārs had the answers. All this is dealt with in a new genre of literature, viz. the *sthalapurāṇas* (also called *māhātmyas, vaibhava,* and in Tamil *talavaralāru* "history of the temple locality"). The adjective "new" simply refers to the chronologically late appearance in Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition of an otherwise and elsewhere much older genre.

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[119] This applies particularly to the *Kṛṣṇâvatāra; Akanāṉūṟu* 59, 3f actually says: "on the bank of the Yamunā in the North." When *Śrīrangam* claims to be the place where Rāma rested on his way to Laṅkā, the actual *vigraha* there must nevertheless be considered to be *commemorative*, and not a perpetuation, of that event.

[120] See note 56 above.

These *māhātmyams* conceive of Viṣṇu as manifesting himself in that locality some time in the past, displaying all his supernatural splendour and power, acting for the benefit of a particular devotee, and then deciding to abide permanently, as the *arcā*, in that place. Thus the *arcâvatāra* is the perpetuation of the real, acting Viṣṇu in a particular temple.

I shall begin the discussion with some observations on the development of this literary genre in Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition. Probably the earliest trace of the kind of question that then stimulated the formation of Śrīvaiṣṇava *sthalapurāṇa* literature is found in this stanza: "You and the Sacred Lady (= Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī) remain from now onwards in the *iṭaikaḻi* of Kōvalūr, neither proceeding towards the entrance gate nor entering inside [the shrine]."[121] *Iṭaikaḻi* in a traditional South Indian house denotes the open verandah, covered by a roof, in front of a house, which is used as a sleeping place.[122] The stanza is difficult to interpret, but it seems to comment on the peculiar position in which the Āḻvār found the *vigrahas*. But when in the eleventh century Āḻvār hagiography begins to develop, this mysterious allusion to the "antechamber" and to the equally mysterious "from now onwards"[123] gave rise to a piece of *sthalapurāṇa* mythology. Thus we read in the *Divyasūricarita*:[124]

> On one occasion, Bhagavān brought the [three first Āḻvārs who till then had not met each other] together in the *Vāmana-kṣetra* (=Tirukkōvalūr). All of a sudden he created a "cloudless" (=artificial) rain in the night and thereby forced them to take shelter in a narrow *dehalī* (= *iṭaikaḻi*). Poykai-Āḻvār and the other two were squeezing each other in that confined space, but then they realised that apart from them another person was present,

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[121] *1st Antâti*, stanza 86.

[122] Vedântadeśika translates the word as *dehalī* "threshold, antechamber"; in the temple context it probably refers to the *ardhamaṇḍapam*.

[123] Since there is a reference to Kṛṣṇa's lifting the mountain Govardhana, it might be said that the "from now onwards" stresses the permanent availability of Viṣṇu in the temple by contrasting it with "the greatness you displayed by checking the pouring rain through lifting the mountain" which was of help only to the people in Vraja.

[124] Canto II, verses 18-20. Later works have greatly expanded the story.

and separately they made lamps which revealed the manifestation of the Highest Being.

The three Āḻvārs express their experience of Viṣṇu in three poems, and then walk away on their separate ways. While the primary intention of this legend is to tell us about the circumstances which led to the composition of the three *Antâtis* of the *Prabandham, in nucleo* it also contains a *sthalapurāṇa*-like explanation of how Viṣṇu came to be present in the Kōvalūr temple, in that particular position.

Another early example may be mentioned here. The Tiruvehkā temple in Kāñcīpuram is probably the first temple referred to in *caṅkam* literature.[125] Viṣṇu there is known as Yathôktakārī (in Tamil: Coṉṉa vaṇṇañ ceyta Perumāḷ) "who acts according to the request (of the *bhakta*)." This name is "explained," that means exemplified, through a legend about Tirumaḻicai Āḻvār. The Āḻvār's disciple Kaṇikṛṣṇa was an excellent poet, but refused to employ his talents for secular purposes by composing a poem of flattery for the king of Kāñcīpuram. The king expelled him from his town; the Āḻvār decided to accompany his disciple, and requested Viṣṇu in Tiruvehkā to leave along with them When the three had left, all the splendour abandoned the town, and in remorse the king hasted after them and persuaded them to return. Back in the town, "the son of Bhṛgu (= Tirumaḻicai Āḻvār) requested Viṣṇu"—I quote again from the *Divyasūricarita*—" 'Please spread out the serpent as your couch here, and sleep in this place!' Madhava agreed, and in order to indicate his having left [the temple] and then returned to it, he rested his head on his *left* arm."[126] This legend explains two points: how Viṣṇu became known as Yathôktakārī (he accepted the Āḻvār's request to come with him), and why his head rests on his left, instead of his right hand, which conventional iconography would demand. As in the previous example, a particular iconographic feature, which struck the observant pilgrim as being out of the ordinary, is explained by reference to a local legend. Moreover, in both cases the legend is part of the Āḻvār cycle; it seems in fact quite natural that at the beginning of Śrīvaiṣṇava *māhātmya* literature Āḻvārs provided the focus of attention, who after all accounted for the sanctity of the temples by having sung about them. But soon local mythology turned to other, and we may add, by then more prestigious, areas of inspiration. This can be illustrated from that portion of the legend which precedes the "*yathôktakārī* events." The latter could not answer one important question in the mind of the worshipper, which was how Viṣṇu came to be there in the temple in the first place, before the Āḻvār asked him to leave. The answer is given in the following story which does not use Āḻvār legends but elements associated with brahmin religion: Vedic sacrifice, Brahmā, Sarasvatī, etc. Tiruvehkā lies on the bank of the river Vegavatī; Viṣṇu inside the temple reclines on the serpent Ananta, and the massive stone couch must have reminded someone of a causeway across the river. Thus in the early *Divyasūricarita* we hear simply: "Mādhava who was reclining there *like* a dam blocking the river Sarasvatī (or: which was the goddess Sarasvatī)."[127] Another name of Viṣṇu in the same temple resulted from this flight of fancy: Vegasetu "the dam across the river Vegavatī." This is the legend which explains this highly imaginative nomenclature. Brahmā, deluded by pride about his privileged status (as creator etc.), thought that he would be able, through his own effort, to obtain a vision in *samādhi* of Viṣṇu. All his attempts, however, failed; finally, he was advised to perform an *aśvamedha* sacrifice in the holy town Kāñcīpuram. Although invited to participate in this sacrifice, his wife Sarasvatī (herself busy with performing *tapas* in the river Sarasvatī) refused, because at the time she was quarrelling with Brahmā. But when she came to know that Brahmā's other wives were taking part in the sacrifice, she became jealous and rushed in the form of a river *vegavatī* "with great vehemence" towards the place where the *aśvamedha* was being performed, in order to sweep away its altar. "But he who is his father[128] and has the serpent as his couch had compassion with the primordial Unborn (=Brahmā) and turned himself into a dam,"[129] and thereby blocked the flow of the river.

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[125] See note 7.

[126] Canto III, verses 37f.

Veṅkaṭanātha's rendering of this myth is interesting for various reasons. It is a fairly unique example of a *sthalapurāṇa* presented in the literary form of a dance-play, and at the same time pervaded through and through with theological reflections worthy of the learned Ācārya. Moreover, the play as a whole deals not only with the one temple Tiruvehkā in Kāñcī, but also with a second, and probably by the author's time already much more important, temple, that of Varadarājapperumāḷ. While Vehkā is the place where Viṣṇu became the dam, Varadarāja is where he revealed himself to Brahmā in the sacrificial fire on the altar. This is the theology which Veṅkaṭanātha derives from this:

> One and the same splendour has revealed itself, through its own free will; it is visible in the middle of the Vegavatī and on the Elephant Hill (on which the Varadarāja temple is situated), as the means (*upāya*) and the final reward (*phala*,~*upeya*).[130]

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[127] Canto III, verse 18.

[128] Since Brahmā is born in the lotus growing in Viṣṇu's navel, Viṣṇu can thus be called his "father."

[129] *Meyviratamāṉmiyam*, a dance-play by Veṅkaṭanātha (ed. in Tamil and Grantha characters by A. Śrīnivāsarākavaṉ, Kumbakonam, 1937,=pp. 373-92 in vol. II of *Patiṉoru-cillarai-rahasyaṅkaḷ*), from Tamil verse 13, p. 382.—An earlier version of the legend, apparently an apocryphe portion of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*, is referred to by Vedāntadeśika.

[130] *Ibid.*, Sanskrit verse X, p. 389 —The terms *upāya* and *upeya* denote in Śrīvaiṣṇava

This is not just a theological game; it is a rational explanation of a particular situation: that there are two Viṣṇu temples in close proximity,[131] both famous, but one of them, Varadarāja (which is hardly mentioned in the *Prabandham*[132]), has become so much more imposing and grandiose than the older Vehkā.

This consideration leads over to a discussion of the *Tañjāpurīmāhātmyam*, the Sanskrit *sthalapurāṇa* of (Vaiṣṇava) Tanjore. Apart from the Bṛhadīśvara (Śiva) temple built by Rājarāja Cōḻa, (completed 1009 A.D.), and numerous lesser shrines, there are three Viṣṇu and one Devī temple in the town; the three Viṣṇu shrines count as *one divyadeśam*.[133] Since the date of this *sthalapurāṇa* is unknown, it cannot be stated with certainty that it is later than the imposing Bṛhadīśvara temple, although it seems very likely. This is the story which interests us here. The sage Parāśara—famous as the author of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, the most authoritative *purāṇa* among Śrīvaiṣṇavas—has taken down with him to earth his share of the nectar which Viṣṇu obtained by churning the milk-ocean, and has poured it into the pond of his *āśrama*. During a severe drought, three demons, Tañjaka etc., arrive there along with their hordes and devastate the whole area, naturally also disturbing the *tapas* of the sages living in the *āśrama*. Paraśara turns for help to Brahmā, but he declines. Śiva is more willing to give assistance, but when he hears that this would involve dealing with Tañjaka etc., he prefers to hand over the task to Caṇḍikā. She fights indeed with the demons and seems to succeed in killing them. But because of the nectar in the pond, they come to life again. She tries hard for many days, but without success, and the sage dismisses her. Now he prays to Viṣṇu who "by the name of Nīlamegha ('black cloud') appeared before him. Displaying his black cloud-like form in the sky, he was illuminated by the lightning in the form of the lovely Śrī."[134] He can kill the bulk of the demons immediately. When he is about to fight with the three leading demons, Kalī appears and insists on having her share in the battle; Viṣṇu leaves the youngest one, Tāraka, to her. When Tañjaka cannot defeat Viṣṇu, he becomes an elephant; but Viṣṇu turns into a lion and subdues him. A Viṣṇu holds him on his lap and is about to tear him apart with his claws, he is requested by Tañjaka:

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theology the means by which *mokṣa* can be obtained and the goal of all human religious endeavour. Just as Viṣṇu himself is the goal, he is also the agent underlying all human religious exercises, and thus is the means.

[131] In the catalogues of *divyadeśams*, in fact fourteen are mentioned for Kāñcīpuram. But Vedāntadeśika restricts himself (here in the dance-play and also in his *Vegasetustotra*) to the two most important ones.

[132] There are only six, partly doubtful references.

[133] This is called Tiruttañcai; since the references in the Āḻvārs do not allow us to identify three clearly distinct temples, we can only say that at least one of the Viṣṇu shrines in Tanjore goes back to the time of the Āḻvārs.

[134] *Tañjāpurī-māhātmyam*, manuscript (Descriptive Catalogue No. 10480) of the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library; Chapter V, verses 11f.

"That form of a man-lion (Nṛ-siṃha) which you have taken on for my sake—may you dress yourself permanently in it. Moreover, let this temple-town be called by my name, viz. Tañjapurī."[135] When the second demon sees his companion killed, he disappears into the ground and tries to escape by burrowing his way through it. Viṣṇu turns into a boar and runs above the ground ahead of the demon, so that he can kill him as soon as he surfaces again. "Before killing him he granted the demon a boon: that he would stay, in the form of a boar, on the spot where he is to kill him."[136] Also the Devī succeeds in killing Taraka, and stays there "for the protection of the town."[137]

It is not difficult to detect the rationale underlying this legend. It provides a meaningful explanation for the three Viṣṇu temples in Tañcai. Firstly, the Nīlameghapperumāḷ temple with the nectar-*tīrtha,* in which Viṣṇu is seated, facing the *ṛṣi* Parāśara and placing his foot on Tañjaka's head. Secondly, the Tañcaiyāḷinakar temple with Viṣṇu in the form of Nṛsiṃha. Thirdly, the Maṇikuṉṟapperumāḷ temple with Viṣṇu as Varāha (?).[138] Then there is the reference to the Ānandavalli Ammaṉ temple of Devī; that the legend gives her a certain credit for the killing of the demons can be connected with Śrīvaiṣṇava practice in certain places, of acknowledging Devī as a servant of Viṣṇu and considering her the guardian of his temples. Thus in Tirukkōvalūr a statue of Durga is even inside the *ardhamaṇḍapam* and is in worship. Śiva is, however, altogether discarded by the legend, probably in defense against the so much more grandiose Bṛhadīśvara temple.

We must turn now to one further feature which is typical of this genre of literature. Viṣṇu in Śrīvaikuṇṭham is locally known as Kaḷḷapirāṉ (Skt. Coranātha), "leader of the robbers." One is tempted to regard this as an allusion to Kṛṣṇa's stealing the *gopīs'* butter, but the temple *purāṇa* provides an entirely different explanation by referring to local events and not to Vraja. Once upon a time, it tells us, a thief lived in the town, Kāladūṣaka by name. He squandered away part of his stolen wealth gambling and enjoying himself with prostitutes, but half of it he would give to Vaikuṇṭhanātha in the temple. When the king of the area finally succeeded in tracking him down, he took refuge in the temple, and Viṣṇu Vaikuṇṭhanātha offered him shelter, having taken on the form of a brahmin. Viṣṇu then changed his appearance into that of the robber and went to meet the king—to be identified by the royal soldiers as the "coranātha." He gave the king a severe admonition, revealed himself to him as Viṣṇu, and praised the great *bhakti* of Kāladūṣaka. A reconciliation between the king and the robber was achieved, and the king requested Viṣṇu to become known by the name of Çoranātha and to live permanently in the

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[135] *Ibid.*, chapter VI, verses 21f.

[136] *Ibid.*, verse 28.

[137] *Ibid.*, verse 48.

[138] I can only infer this from the *Purāṇa;* the various guidebooks keep silent about this point, and I was unable to enter the temple during my visit to Tanjore.

Śrīvaikuṇṭha temple. "In the lovely season of spring, in the month of *caitra*, the king had a festival celebrated. Along with the leader of the robbers, he decorated the town and distributed many presents, particularly to the brahmins. They gave food to all the people. This pleased Viṣṇu, the Lord of the Universe and Leader of Robbers, and he granted *mukti* to both the king and the robber. Every year those two, king and robber, performed that festival."[139]

When we take into account that a particular caste, known as Kaḷḷar, "thieves, robbers (thus Sanskrit: *cora*)" lives in the environment of the Śrīvaikuṇṭham temple and that the chief trustee of the temple belongs to that community, it is not difficult to unravel a particular sociological situation behind this legend and interpret it as the legitimization of a particular power-structure. In the centre of attention we find the *coras*, thus Kaḷḷar, who have the Kaḷḷapirāṉ (Coranātha) as their "own" *arcā*. The brahmins appear in a secondary role, but displaying a benevolent attitude towards the Kaḷḷar who give them generous gifts. The actual struggle for authority takes place between the Kaḷḷar and the king; through divine intervention, the Kaḷḷar are instituted in their own rights and a balance of power is struck: both the king and the leader of the Kaḷḷar community together celebrated the spring festival.

Thus this piece of local purāṇic legend explains, motivates, and legitimizes the following points: the particular name of Viṣṇu, Kaḷḷapirāṉ; the responsibility for organizing and celebrating the spring festival; the exceptionally favoured socio-religious position of an otherwise "low" caste, and its relationship to the king's authority.[140] It is also remarkable that the whole argument is carried out through the medium of Sanskrit, a fact that would appear to bear out the "benevolent" attitude of the brahmins towards the Kaḷḷar.

By now we have gathered together sufficient material for a discussion of the essential features of this literary genre. We can say, firstly, that it creates a meaningful whole out of a set of elements which to us appear to be accidental, arbitrary, and disconnected, and have been brought about simply by historical circumstances. Such typical elements are: the reason for Viṣṇu's initial arrival at the *sthala*; his local name(s); the name of the temple, tank, town or *vimānam*; iconographic peculiarities (e.g. Viṣṇu facing West instead of the normal East, reclining with his head on the left hand instead of the right); that there are more than one temple in one locality; exceptional features in the temple ritual (e g. Kaḷḷapirāṉ is bathed every day in milk), administration, celebration of festivals, etc. The *sthalapurāṇa*, by utilizing the genre of the pan-Indian *purāṇa*, integrates all these disconnected elements into a coherent and therefore meaningful structure of a narrative about past events. Thus it "answers" all the questions which the observant pilgrim might ask, and establishes also for the resident devotees a definite frame of reference which they can resort to in cases of dispute over ritual, social, administrative, legal, or political matters connected with their temple. This frame of reference is definite because it is founded on past—mythical—events, and not on a set of positive-legal injunctions or on a purely "historical" explanation.

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[139] *Vaikuṇṭhanātha-māhātmyam* (= pp. 1-20 in *Navatiruppati-māhātmyam*, ed. Śrīnivāsācārya in Grantha characters, Śuṇḍa-ppāḷayam, 1909), chapter V, verses 48-52.

[140] On the Kaḷḷar see Thurston/Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. III, Madras, 1909, pp. 53-91. On pp.83-85 mention is made of another "Kaḷḷar temple," the Kaḷḷ-Alakar (=Tirumāliruñcōlai). See also L. Dumont, *Un Sous-Caste de l' Inde du Sud* (Kaḷḷar), Mouton, 1957.—Attention may also be drawn to H. Kulkė's excellent study of a Śaivite *sthalapurāṇa: Cidambaramāhātmya—Eine Untersuchung der religonsgeschichtlichen und historischen Hintergründe für die Entstehung der Tradition einer südindischen Tempelstadt*, Wiesbaden, 1970 (=Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie, Band 3).

Secondly, besides providing an explanation or justification of a particular situation found in a local temple, these works turn their attention to the existence of the other *divyadeśams*. They attempt to place the sanctity and religious "effectiveness" of and the intensity of Viṣṇu's presence in their own temple over and above those of the other temples. Thus Brahmā is told that a single *aśvamedha* performed in Varadarāja carries the reward of a thousand performed in any other place. These *purāṇas* usually begin with *ṛṣis* asking which of all the *tīrthas* is the best, and a prestigious religious figure then explains why the particular temple is the best.

Thirdly, these texts are anxious to connect the local temple both with universal Vaiṣṇavism and normative Hinduism. This is illustrated by features like: a famous *ṛṣi*, or Brahmā himself, performed *tapas* in that place; Vedic sacrifices were performed; a particular tank contained part of the nectar obtained from churning the milk-ocean, etc. This could be described as a trend to align oneself with the Great Tradition (which, however, is a rather unfortunate term[141]). When a local version of the Nṛsiṃha myth is told about Nṛsiṃhapperumāḷ in Tañcai, this shows as much a desire to localize the latter as the attempt to link the local temple image with universal Vaiṣṇavism.

Altogether we can say that these *sthalapurāṇas* are very complex edifices (though usually not in terms of purely literary merit), structures of meaning and of values, which turn the village or town with its temple into a miniature cosmos.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I have attempted to delineate the significance of the Śrīvaiṣṇava temple by discussing three distinct and intrinsically different areas of indigenous interpretation; due to historical constellations and a particular intermingling of two cultures, these areas, however, were fused in Tamil society. Firstly, the basic idea that Viṣṇu is present in the temple was developed by theology in the concept of the *arcâvatāra* by defining Viṣṇu's local manifestation in relation to his universal presence, transcendence, and mythical manifestations. This was achieved through a recourse to Sanskrit philosophical thought and terminology. Secondly, an emotionally loaded poetic environment was created which allowed the devotee to relate himself personally to Viṣṇu by adopting various models of human interaction and thus approaching Viṣṇu as king, lover, or child. This environment was thoroughly Tamil and was developed by the Āḻvārs on the basis of *caṅkam* culture and sentiments. Thirdly, the *sthala-purāṇas* surrounded the temple with a mythical framework, thereby partly replacing the emotional approach of the poetic environment. Through their narrative (and in a way much more "rational") account, they explain and legitimize a particular temple complex in relation *i.a.* to social matters. Their aim is also to stimulate awe, amazement, and wonder in the devotee (but not a spontaneous emotional reaction) and turn his attention from the here and now to the mythical past. We are here, in fact, on the surface of a far-reaching cultural difference between the Tamil South and normative Hinduism, between two different approaches to life: one poetic-emotional, the other mythical.

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[141] I have argued (Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp 8f) that it is essential for a proper understanding of Indian *Geistesgeschichte* to assume a whole range of *milieux* and traditions, "normative Hinduism" (explained *ibid.*, pp. 10-15) is only one of the various facets of the "Great Tradition."

These three areas of interpretation did obviously not maintain the same relative importance in relation to each other during different historical periods and in different segments of Tamil society. But it would require a study much more extensive than the present one to explore which area was most important for whom and during which period. It seems clear, however, that the emotional-poetic approach shows considerable fluctuation during its history, its flourishing period is with the Āḻvārs, but while pushed by the Ācāryas into the background, it survives in certain strata of society (note the many *prabandhams* that exemplify it) and even in c. 1850 A.D. it maintains its position. But it would be a mistake to reduce the struggle underlying these developments to a simplistic brahmin *versus* non-brahmin opposition. That it is a struggle cutting across all segments of society is borne out for instance by Kalahaṃsaka (and naturally, by the author of the *bhāṇa* who was himself an "ācārya," viz. a Śrīvaiṣṇava brahmin), by DMK puritanism, and by the fact that brahmins are playing a considerable role nowadays in preserving whatever little is left of the once flourishing temple music and dance.

Nobody will deny the importance of the temple even in modern Tamil religion, and yet it seems to me that the dynamism which I find expressing itself in the various areas of interpretation that have been discussed above is dwindling. The reasons for this are numerous and can be found both within and outside Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition. The Devdāsī Act destroyed the function of the temple as a centre of the arts; anti-brahmin DMK propaganda severed the links between the Śrīvaiṣṇavas and the populace in general; and over the centuries an ever-increasing gulf between the Śrīvaiṣṇava scholar and the temple *pūjāri* became manifest. The arrival of a new age which is not really favourable to the idea of Viṣṇu's presence in the temple can perhaps be illustrated best by those loudspeakers which I found installed in the inner *prakāram* of the Kūṭal-Aḷakar temple in Madurai and which incessantly blared out the film music of All India Radio, Madras.

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The Working of the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* System in the Mughal Provinces of the Deccan (1707-1803 A.D.)*

M.A. NAYEEM
Research Officer for Mughal Catalogues,
State Archives, Hyderabad

In this paper an attempt is made to analyze the working of the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* system within the Mughal provinces of the Deccan which resulted in the parallel functioning of the dual Mughal-Maratha land revenue administration in the Mughal territory. The grant of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* by the Mughal Emperor to the Marathas not only had political implications but its working had far-reaching economic consequences in the provinces of the Mughal Deccan. The collection of the levies by the agency of the Marathas right from the interior of the Mughal territory involved serious economic and administrative problems. This virtually created an *imperium in imperio* as rightly remarked by Professor Satish Chandra.[1] The working of this system can be analyzed under the following heads:

I. Quantum of maratha levies and the basis of assessment.
II. Modes of collection and payment
  (*a*) Collection through the agency of the Maratha collectors stationed in the Mughal provinces.
  (*b*) Exactions by the Maratha troops.
  (*c*) Collection through the agency of the Mughal officials and the problems that confronted them.
  (*d*) Mode of payment to the Marathas.
III. Division of the right of collection of *chauth* between the two houses of Maratha rulers.

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*Summary of Sections IV-VI of this paper was read at the Seminar on "Socio-Economic Problems of the Deccan History," organized by the Indian Council of Historical Research and Dept. of History, University of Poona, in March 1976, at Poona. Published by the kind permission of A.R. Kulkarni, Professor and Head, Dept. of History, University of Poona.

I am grateful to S. Venkataramaiah, I.A. S., Director, State Archives, Hyderabad, for kindly permitting me to use Archival documents.

[1] Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, 1707-40, Aligarh, 1959, p. 132.

IV. Dual Mughal-Maratha land revenue administration within the Mughal provinces.
V. Sub-divisions of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi.*
VI. Impact on the Mughal econony.

INTRODUCTION

Before analyzing the working of the system, it is essential to describe the historical background and terms and conditions of the Agreement of 1718 between the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan, Hussain Ali Khan and the Maratha ruler Sahu, which was the prelude to the issuance of Mughal *sanads*[2] in 1719 granting *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi.*

In 1707 Prince Azam Shah,[3] at the suggestion of the *subedar* or Viceroy of the Deccan, Zulfiqar Khan, granted to Raja Sahu the right of realizing *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* for the first time from the six Mughal provinces of the Deccan. However, no formal *sanad* or *firman* seems to have been issued regarding the Maratha levies.[4] But the Marathas did make collection of the levies for some time till 1712.[5]

With the assumption of the viceroyalty of the Deccan by Syed Hussain Ali Khan in May 1715, circumstances so developed that he was compelled to appease the Maratha ruler Sahu. On the one hand the Emperor Farrukh-Siyar sought Hussain Ali's destruction; on the other the Marathas grew more troublesome. Hussain Ali thought it prudent to win over the Marathas to his side to strengthen his position in the Deccan to oppose the Emperor. Through the diplomatic manoeuvres of his adviser Shankerji Malhar, Hussain Ali opened negotiations with Sahu by deputing him to Satara early in 1718. The Maratha ruler grasped this mission to establish peace and to get official recognition of his claims to *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*, as the negotiations were carried out in the name of the Emperor.[6]

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[2] For historical background regarding the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* and the text of the *sanads* issued by the Mughal Emperor, see A C Pawar, "Some Documents bearing on Imperial Mughal Grants to Raja Sahu (1717-24)," *Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings*, XVII, December 1941, p. 204 ff. Also see N.F. Hingorani, "Origin and Character of Chauth as Maratha Institution," *Proc of the Indian History Congress*, 1961, 175; R.V. Oturkur, "Dynamic Contents of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi," *Proc. I.H.C.* 1959, 288; M.G. Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, Bombay, 1900, p. 219 ff; S.N. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, Calcutta, 1928, p. 97 ff.

[3] Apparently Azam Shah made these concessions to enlist the support of Marathas in the war of succession that ensued after Aurangeb's death on 3 March 1707. Azam ascended the throne but later on he was defeated by Shah Alam. See Satish Chandra, *op. cit.*, 12 ff.

[4] Khafi Khàn, *Muntakhabu'l Lubab*, Bibliothece Indica, Calcutta, II, pp, 625-26, 742-43; G.S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas, II*, p. 12.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 742-43.

[6] Syed Ghulam Hussain Khan, *Seir Mutaqherin*, Calcutta, IV, 17 ff; Khafi Khan, II, p. 784.

A treaty of peace and goodwill and an agreement with definite terms ensuring the interests of both the parties was advocated. The Marathas were called upon only to stand by the side of Hussain Ali. The terms agreed to by Hussain Ali and Sahu were:[7]

(1) that all territories known as Shivaji's *swarajya* (original dominions) together with the forts therein, be delivered to Sahu in full possession;

(2) that such territories as had been recently conquered by the Marathas in Khandesh, Berar, Gandamara, Hyderabad and Karnatak as detailed in the annexure to the treaty, should also be ceded to the Marathas;

(3) that the Marathas should be allowed to collect *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from all the six Mughal provinces in the south. In return for the *chauth* the Marathas were to serve the Emperor with a contingent of 15,000 troops for his protection; and in return for the *sardeshmukhi* the Marathas were to be responsible for maintaining order by preventing robbery and rebellions;

(4) that Sahu should do no harm to Sambhaji of Kolhapur;

(5) that the Marathas should make a cash payment annually of ten lakhs of rupees to the Emperor as *peshkash*; and

(6) that the Emperor should release and send back from Delhi, Sahu's mother Yesubai, his wife and his brother Madan Singh with all the followers that were detained there. Hussain Ali delivered a *sanad* containing the above terms, under his seal, to the *Vakils* or agents of *Sahu* and made no delay in writing to the Emperor for a royal *firman* confirmatory of his *sanad*.

Farrukh-Siyar refused to ratify the agreement made by Hussain Ali as *subedar* of the Deccan with the Marathas. Hussain Ali marched to Delhi with an army of his new allies (Marathas) in February 1719. Farrukh-Siyar was deposed on 17 February 1719 and Prince Rafiuddarajat was enthroned. He reigned for few months and himself deposed on 24 May 1719. It was during this period that royal *firmans* confirming the grants to Sahu were issued. The *firman* for *chauth* was issued on 3 March 1719, and that for *sardeshmukhi* on 15 March 1719.

QUANTUM OF MARATHA LEVIES AND THE BASIS OF ASSESSMENT

Balaji Vishwanath, who is considered to be the author of the scheme for collecting the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*, based his scheme of appropriation of revenues on the standard assessment of Aurangzeb's times when the annual estimated revenue was calculated to be about Rs 18 crores.[8] But the Marathas did not expect to get straightaway one-fourth of this estimated revenue. The Marathas were to get a fourth part of what the Mughal officials collected as

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[7] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 39 ff; A.C. Pawar (*op. cit*) gives texts of the *sanads*.

[8] Yusuf Hussain Khan, *Nizamu'l Mulk Asaf Jah I*, pp. 103-4.

TABLE I

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT SHOWING DIFFERENT RATES FOR CALCULATING THE MARATHA LEVIES AND THE SHARE OF THE SARKAR (MUGHAL GOVERNMENT) DURING 1730-76 FROM A FEW PARGANAS OF AURANGABAD PROVINCE

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pargana/ Year	*Mal/ Rahdari Rs/as/ps*	*Sarkar's Share*	*Chauth, Babti and Sardeshmukhi*	*Sardesh-mukhi*	*Chauth and Babti*		*Rate of Maratha levies per Rs 100*
					Chauth Mokasa	*or Babti*	
Sandwara 1730-58	(*a*) 100/—[1] (Mal)	69/6/3	28/2/9	8/2	20/0/9[3]		28/2/9
					15/9	5/-	
”	(*b*) 100/-[2] (*Rahdari*)	44/13/9	29/2/3	6/11/3	22/7/-		29/2/3
					14/10/—	7/13/—	
Pattan 1749-60	112/8— (Mal) (*Jamabandi* 100/—)	77/8/—	35/—/—	12/8/—	22/8/—		31/—/—
Pattan 1761-75	100/—/— (Mal)	72/7/3	27/8/9	9/9/—	17/15/9		27/8/9
					13/3/3	4/12/6	
Dawarbadi 1749-60	110/—/— (Mal)	77/8/—	32/11/—	10/—/—	22/11/—		32/11/—
					17/—	5/	
Dawarbadi 1761-75	100/—/— (Mal)	70/11/—	29/5/—	8/3/—	19/9/—		29/5/—

SOURCE: Document No. 94, Rao Pandit Pradhan Peshwa's Papers, State Archives, Hyderabad, hereinafter abbreviated as R.P.P.

[1] Out of this an amount of Rs 2/7/— was deducted towards the *Rusumi Zamindars* (Perquisites).

[2] Less Rs 24 for *Sih-bandi*; less Rs 2 towards the perquisites of zamindars.

[3] Out of the three sets of figures here the upper one in the centre indicates the combined amount of *chauth* and *babti*, while the lower figures on the left and right indicate the individual amounts of *chauth* and *babti* respectively.

TABLE II

STATEMENT SHOWING DIFFERENT RATES OF PERCENTAGE FOR THE COLLECTION OF *chauth* AND *SARDESHMUKHI* FROM PARTS OF DIFFERENT PROVINCES UNDER JIVAJI PANDIT, VAKIL OF THE PESHWA FOR 1775-76

	1	2	3				4
Provinces	*Rate per Hundred Rs/as/ps*	*Sarkar's share Rs/as*	*Maratha Levies*				*Percentage of Maratha Levies (from Col. 1 and 3)*
			Total	*Sardesh-mukhi*	*Chauth*	*Babti*	
Khujistabunyad (Aurangabad)							
(*a*) Sarkar Daulatabad	112/8/—	60/—/—	52/8/—	12/8/—	30/—/—	10/—/—	46.6
(*b*) Aurangabad and Berar (Payanghat)	,,	75/—/—	37/8/—	12/8/—	18/12/—	6/4/—	46.6
(*c*) Aurangabad and Burhanpur	,,	56/4/—	56/4/—	12/8/—	43/12/—	—	,,
(*d*) Pargana Kaudapur	,,	66/8/—	45/14/—	12/8/—	23/6/—	—	,,
(*e*) Pargana Byzapur	,,	50/—/—	62/8/—	12/8/—	50/—/—	—	,,
Berar Balaghat	,,	60/—/—	52/8/—	12/8/—	30/—/—	10/—/—	,,
Muhammadabad	110/—/—	75/—/—	35/—/—	10/—/—	18/12/—	6/4/—	31.8
Khandesh	112/8/—	70/—/—	42/8/—	12/8/—	22/8/—	7/8/—	
Bijapur	,,	60/—/—	52/8/—	12/8/—	30/—/—	10/—/—	46.6

SOURCE : Document No. 103, R.P.P.

mal (land-revenue) and as *sair*[9] from the *khalisa* (crown lands) and jagir lands. It was settled that, in addition to the fourth share which they were to get from the receipts of the jagirdars, they were to receive from the raiyats 10 per cent as *sardeshmukhi*. Also the Marathas were to receive *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the *abwabs* called *faujdari*, *shiqdari*, *ziyafat*,[10] and other charges, as shown in the gross account of the collections.[11] Further the Marathas exacted *rahdari* transit duties in each district of the Mughal provinces at the rate of half a rupee or one rupee, for each bullock and cart from merchants and whatever they pleased from other persons.[12] This was in contravention to the agreement and strict injunctions of the Viceroy of the Deccan.[13]

Altogether the Marathas were to receive 35 per cent of the total Mughal revenues from the *subah* of Deccan as *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. However different documents give different rates of actual collections. A single document[14] alone gives various rates for the period 1730 to 1775 for three different parganas (Table I). For the pargana Sandwara for 1730 to 1759, the document states the rate of the Maratha levies at Rs 28/2/9 for Rs 100 in some cases and Rs 29/2/3 in others. The share of sarkar (Mughal government) is quoted at Rs 69/3/3 per Rs 100. For the pargana Pattan, the rate for 1749 to 1760 is stated at Rs 31.1 and for the years 1761 to 1775 at Rs 27/8/9 per Rs 100. And for the pargana Dawarbadi, the rate for 1749 to 1760 is stated at Rs 29.7; while for the years 1761-75 it is stated at Rs 29/5 per Rs 100.

Another document[15] of 1775-76 shows the rate of the Maratha levies per Rs 100 at Rs 46.6 and Rs.31.8 (Table II). Out of the total amount of Rs 112/8 the share of the sarkar varied from Rs 50, 56/4, 60 to Rs 75 (except in the case of S. No. 3, when the total amount was at Rs 110, the share of the sarkar was Rs 75); while the amount of the Maratha levies varied from Rs 42/8, 45/14, 52/8, 56/14 to Rs 62/8 (except S. No. 3 where the total amount was Rs 110 the Marathas share was Rs 35). The percentage of *sardeshmukhi* was

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[9] All sources of revenue accruing to the Mughal government, other than the land tax, this includes a variety of imports, as customs, transit duties, licences fees, house-tax, market tax, etc *Wilson's Glossary*, pp. 725-26.

[10] *Abwabs*—heads of taxation imposed in addition to the regular assessment on the land, *Wilson's Glossary*, p, 4.

Faujdari—A tax levied for the support of the police An *abwab* exacted by the *faujdar*.

Shiqdari—revenue receipts at the office of the collector called *shiqdar* (*Wilson's Glossary*, pp. 247, 770). An *abwab* levied by the *shiqdar*.

Ziyafat—a feast, an entertainment (*Wilson's Glossary*, p. 902), Hence an entertainment tax.

[11] Khafi Khan, II, p 786

[12] *Ibid* (for the amount of *rahdari* exacted see Table III, and Appendix Document VII).

[13] Khafi Khan, II, p 785. Hussain Ali Khan was the viceroy of the Mughal provinces of the Deccan.

[14] Document No. 94, R.P.P., State Archives, Hyderabad.

[15] Document No. 103, R.P.P,

TABLE III

STATEMENT SHOWING DIVISION OF THE REVENUE OF *mal rahdari* FROM SOME PARGANAS IN AURANGABAD PROVINCE BETWEEN THE MUGHAL GOVERNMENT (SARKAR) AND THE MARATHAS FOR 1775-76

Pargana	*Mal (per Rs 1000)*				*Rahdari (per Rs 1000)*			
	*Mamla-daran**	*Sarkar*	*Sardesh-mukhi*	*Chauth and babti*	*Mamla-daran*	*Sarkar*	*Sardesh-mukhi*	*Chauth and babti*
Pattan	318/3	681/13	90/15	227/4	545/7	454/9	90/15	454/8
Jalna	318/3	681/13	90/15	227/4	318/3	681/3	90/15	454/8
Kandapur	318/3	681/13	90/15	227/4 (only *chauth*)	545/7	454/9	90/15	454/8
Byzapur	545/7	454/9	90/15	454/8	545/7	454/9	90/15	454/8
Dawarwadi	318/3	681/13	90/15	227/4	318/3	681/13	90/15	227/4
Sundarwada	,,	,,	,,	,, (only *chauth*)	,,	,,	,,	227/4 (only *chauth*)

SOURCE: Document No. 89, R.P.P.

**Mamladaran*—from *mamlatdar*—representative of the Peshwa in the districts (S. Sen: *Administrative system of the Marathas*, pp. 224, 249); See also Satish Chandra: *Ideas in History* (ed , B. Prasad), Asia, 1958, p 187.

around 11.1. whereas another document[16] of the same period 1775-76 states the rates of the Maratha levies exacted on *Mal* and *rahdari* at Rs 31.8 and Rs 54.5 per Rs 100 (Table III). However, the rate of *sardeshmukhi* was at Rs 90/15 per Rs 1000 (i.e., 9 per cent) for both *mal* and *rahdari*.

Two other documents[17] which seem to lay down the principle for the distribution of the Maratha levies into their sub-divisions, and apparently of 1775-76, state the rate of the Maratha levies at Rs 32/8 per Rs 100 of the Mughal revenues. The balance (i.e., Rs. 67/8) out of Rs 100 is stated as the sarkar's share. Out of the total amount of the Maratha levies (Rs 32/8) the percentage of *sardeshmukhi* is stated at 10; and the balance of the amount (Rs 22/8 i.e., 25 per cent of Rs 90) is stated for *chauth*. (Appendix, Doc. No. I and II.)

Thus, we may conclude that the quantum of Maratha levies exacted varied both with time and place, though documents do not mention any reasons for this.

Besides the exactions upon *mal*, *rahdari* and *abwabs*, the Marathas sometimes exacted their levies upon *siwai*,[18] collected 5 per cent on account of *kaodana*[19] (or *ghasdana*, fodder money) for the horses of Raja Bhonsle, (Table VII) and sometime exacted *nazr*[20] in the name of the Peshwa[21] (Table I). Further, the villages which had been laid waste by the Marathas, and which had been again brought into cultivation under special agreements, as in the districts around Nandurbar in Khandesh and other places in Berar, the Marathas recognized only three shares one for themselves, one for the jagirdar and the third for the raiyats. This arrangement overlooked the actual agreement the Marathas made with Hussain Ali Khan in 1718.[22] Thus in revenue matters the orders and actions of the Marathas prevailed over the authority of the Mughal *faujdars* and jagirdars.[23]

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[16] Document No. 89, R.P.P.

[17] Document Nos. 8, 11265. See Appendix, Documents I and II.

[18] Extra revenue derived from all taxes, except those raised from land, and exclusive of customs and transit duties. The amount of *siwai* was not included in the *jamabandi* (*Wilson's Glossary*, p. 780; Aziz Jung, *Mustehlat-e-Deccan*, 1310F, Hyderabad, p. 191).

For the exaction of the Maratha levies on *siwai* see Appendix Document VII and IX. There are instances (Tables IV and V). The amount of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* for the parganas in Table IV has been derived (in Table V) as in the document by not taking into account the amount of *siwai* (in col. 4, Table IV). For instances for pargana Wadhun (Table IV), the total amount is given at Rs 635 (col. 2) is sum of the revenues from *mal*, Rs 394/4 (col. 3) and *siwai*, Rs 43/8 (col 4) and the amount paid for the Maratha levies *chauth*, Rs 131/8 and *sardeshmukhi* Rs 65/12 (Table V). But for calculating the Maratha levies the amount of *siwai* (Rs 43/8) has not been taken into account. Same method is adopted in the case of all the parganas given in Table IV.

[19] S. Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, Calcutta, 1928, fns 47 and 52. In *Administrative System of the Marathas* (p 611) Sen says that *ghasdana* was a contribution like the *chauth* levied by the Marathas. The rate of *kaodana* is not mentioned in any document. They exacted it illegally as it was not authorized by any treaty or *sanad*. See fns 38 and 45' *infra*.

[20] Present or offering. The Marathas were not entitled to exact on this account.

[21] Document Nos. 94, 89, 915,

[22] Khafi Khan, II, p 786.

But as a result of wars and depredations after Aurangzeb's death the yield of revenue had considerably diminished. In these circumstances 'to have collected even one-fourth of the standard assessment would probably at this period have been impossible; but the Marathas, in all situations endeavoured to secure, in lieu of this *chauth* at least 25 per cent of the real balance. But although they seldom could collect it, they always stated the *chauth* as due upon the *tankhwah*[24] or the standard assessment, because even should a day of retribution arrive, no claim on *peshkash* could be made by the Mughals on that head, as none was specified on the deed.[25]

However, whatever be the amount and percentage, the collection of the Maratha levies was not so simple as it appeared. The total amount of *chauth* for the entire province of the Deccan on the basis of the assessment arrived at was not paid in a lump sum to the Marathas from the Mughal treasury. The Marathas were allowed to exact the amount of *chauth* from the individual zamindars and jagirdars.

Whenever the Marathas approached for exacting the levies the *muqaddams* and zamindars hastened out to meet them and undertook to pay the *chauth*. But instead of showing the full value of their revenue they tried to show only half or one-fourth of the actual assessment. Whatever sum was settled, they promised payment of one-fourth part as *chauth* and gave sureties for the payment.[26]

After the settlement of *chauth* with Sahu through the Treaty of Mungi Shevgaon of 6 March 1728, Nizamu'l Mulk tried to systematize the collecting of *chauth* by the *jamabandi chauth* held in 1728-29 throughout the Deccan. The fixation of the assessment of *chauth* was arrived at by first making the general *jamabandi*[27] of the land revenue and taking into consideration the *tankhwah kamil* of the jagirdars. After the *jamabandi chauth* Nizamu'l Mulk ordered the enhancement of the *chauth* amount by two and a half annas per rupee excluding the expenses of the *sih-bandi* or the irregular infantry employed to exact the levies. The enhanced assessment was effected strictly from 1728 and the differences between the old and the revised rates of *chauth* were recovered from the jagirdars and zamindars.[28]

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[23] *Ibid*, Ghulam Hussain in *Seir Mutaqherin* says "the Imperial [*Mughal*] commands ceased to have any energy all over the Deccan" (p. 18).

[24] Though it is mentioned by Grant Duff and Yusuf Hussain Khan (*op. cit*) *tankhwah* is no longer equated with the standard assessment of the revenue (*jama*).

[25] Grant Duff, *A History of the Mahrattas*, I, p. 375; Yusuf Hussain Khan, *op. cit*, pp. 103-4.

[26] Khafi Khan, II, p. 782.

[27] For the system of general *jamabandi* see Dr Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of the Mughal India*, 197 ff.

[28] Document No. C 40 (Omalan), State Archives, Hyderabad (hereinafter abbreviated as

In some places in the extreme south like Jinji and Tanjore the *jamabandi-chauth* was not implemented; not only did the old rate of *chauth* continue but there was a disparity between the *jama* figures for the exaction of *chauth* and *peshkash*. In one document of 1734-36, pertaining to Ped Naik, zamindar of Nusratabad (Sakkar), the *jama* for the purpose of *chauth* is stated at Rs3,09,503; whereas for the purpose of the *peshkash* it is given at Rs 4,42,553.[29] Perhaps two sets of figures were kept because the collection of the Maratha levies drained the Mughal resources.

The assessment of *chauth* made during the times of Nizamu'l Mulk became outdated about fifty years later due to a considerable increase in the receipts of the Mughal resources The Marathas were not satisfied by the low figures of

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S.A.H.). Since this is a very important document giving administrative procedure followed in the *jamabandi* of land revenue, *jamabandi* of *chauth* and assessment and fixation of *tankhwah kamil* of the *jagirdars*, it is reproduced in full here. It is a memorandum of investigation of assessment of land revenue and fixation of *chauth* on the basis of revised *jamabandi*. It bears the endorsement *manzoorshud* of the *diwan* sanctioning the issuance of a *sanad*.

Yadasht tashkhees mahalat chauth jagir
Mubariz Khan, etc , province of Furkhundabunyad, Hyderabad, 1139.F. (1728).
Nine *mahal*

Fixed *tankhwah kamil*	Rs 842796/8/6
Fixed *jamabandi*	Rs 129883/12
Fixed *chauth* (as per the contract)	Rs 32470/12

Actual (*asl*) of previous year	Enhancement
Rs 28181/4	Two and half annas per rupee Rs 4289/8

Jagir Mubariz Khan Bahadur
pargana Kohir, etc.
Five *mahal*

Fixed *tankhwah kamil*	Rs 482189/10/6
Fixed *jamabandi*	Rs 70025
Fixed *chauth*	Rs 17506/4
Asl (original)	*Enhancement*
Rs 15506/4	Rs 2 000/-

Jagir Lutfullah, etc., Pargana
Odemmari, Sarkar Bhongir
Mahal as per the Tahud.

Tankhwah kamil	Rs 27880/12/3
Fixed *jamabandi*	Rs 10423/8
Fixed *chauth*	Rs 2605/-
Asl of previous year	Enhancement
Rs 2316/6	Rs 289/8

Jagir Khajan Quli Khan Bahadur
Pargana Kohir, etc.
Three *mahal*
Fixed *Tankhwah kamil*
Rs 332720/1/9
Jagir Hussain Quli Khan
Rs 39635/2/3
Mohammed Iqtiyar Rs 135/3/6

Jagir Mohammed Tahir Rs 4000/-
Qila Kolas (*Ahsham*)
Rs 18147/12
Fixed *jamabandi*
Rs 49443/10
Fixed *chauth* Rs 12358/10/6

Asl of Previous year	Enhance
Rs 10358/10/6	Rs 2000/-

[29] Document No. 2009, Asafia Record (S.A.H.). See also my article. "Mughal Documents Relating to the Peshkash of the Zamindars of South India," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, December 1975.

jamabandi chauth. Therefore in 1776 Peshwa Madhav Rao submitted to Nizam Ali Khan a detailed report with revised *jama* figures. The complaint of Madhav Rao was genuine. There was really disparity between *jama* and *hasil* figures assessed during the times of Nizamu'l Mulk (1724 48) and those actually prevailing a few decades later in 1775 76. This will be evident from the data relating to a few selected cases in Tables IV-VI.

A comparative statement of the Maratha levies fixed during Nizamu'l Mulk's times and the revised estimates, based on the contemporary receipts, submitted by Madhav Rao in 1775-76, for the pargana Pattan Aurangabad is given in Table VI. On the basis of the disparity between the two figures the Marathas claimed an additional amount of Rs 8251/8/7. Originally the Maratha levies for the pargana Pattan was fixed at Rs 6,85,516/5; the Marathas claimed Rs 253,188/12/6. Further the Mughals paid a huge amount on account of the expenses of the Maratha troops; this amount was taken into account as part of the Maratha levies (Table VI).

The Marathas were not satisfied by bringing to the notice of Nizam Ali Khan the gross figures of increase in receipts of different parganas. They submitted detailed accounts of every pargana of various Mughal provinces in the Deccan, except province of Hyderabad.[30] One such example is given in Table IV from a *kaifiyat-e-daul jamabandi*[31] (statement of particulars of the total revenue assessed) of the villages in pargana Bid. Table IV and V give details of the increase and decrease in receipts for the year 1774-75 over the figures of 1773-74 on account of different heads of receipts, *mal* and *siwai*.

Consequent upon increase in the receipt of *mal* the Marathas demanded increase in their levies In order to satisfy the Marathas Nizam Ali Khan directed his revenue officials to verify the figures of Nizamu'l Mulk's time and compare them with those submitted by Madhav Rao. He further ordered that until the verifications of assessments were made throughout the province, payment of *chauth* be made on the basis of Madhav Rao's report. He agreed to adjust differences in the figures after verifications.[32]

The assessment issue dragged on for a few years and differences with regard to the provinces of Bijapur and Bidar persisted for some time as the Marathas would not agree to long-term assessments. Sukaram Bapu, *karbhari* or agent at Poona was adamant that the levies should be determined on the basis of periodical re-assessment as agreed upon by Nizamu'l Mulk. The *karbhari* had posted Jiwaji Raghunath at Hyderabad in 1779 and Margo Girmaji in 1781 to settle the *chauth* affair.[33] In 1781 Nawab Moinud Daula (Arastujah) made alternative proposals that pending the re-assessment, the *chauth* due should

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[30] In the province of Hyderabad the system of Marathas themselves collecting *chauth* was discontinued from 1727 (See Sec. II (c), para 5, *infra*).

[31] Document No. 223 (R.P.P)

[32] Document No. C 252 (S.A.H.). See Appendix, Document III.

[33] *Poona Akhbars*, State Archives, 1953, I, p. 16.

TABLE IV

STATEMENT OF THE TOTAL REVENUE ASSESSED (*kaifiyat-e-dual jamabandi*OF SOME OF THE VILLAGES IN PARGANA BID, AURANGABAD PROVINCE SUBMITTED BY BABU RAO, *gumshdar* (AGENT) OF THE PESHWA FOR 1774-75

	M·A L				*S I W A I**	
Villages	*Kamil Amount for 1774-75 Rs/as*	*Fixed Amount for 1774-75 Rs/as*	*Receipt for 1774-75 Rs/as*	*Previous year's 1773-74 Rs/as*	*Amount for 1774-75 Rs/as*	*Last year's 1773-74 Rs/as*
Wadhun	220/4	635	394/4	366/13	43/8	42/8
Hannegaon	901	928	578/10	630/2	60	62/10
Babalgaon	450	586	361/14	392/14	43/4	44/4
Meenhali Cholka	2401	1888	1160/10	1157/13	147	145/14
Komti	509/4	435	270	209/10	30	27/8
Palon	2269/4	1579	846/10	912/—	109	—
Suri	440/9	1007/8		641/11/6		45/4/6
Annakola	238/7	201	118/5	106	22/8	20/4
Tandalbari	801	—	—	191/1	—	38/6

SOURCE : Document No. 223, R.P.P.

**Siwai* : Extra Revenue, derived from all taxes, except those raised from land and exclusive of customs and transit duties. The amount of *siwai* was not included in the *jamabandi* (*Wilson's Glossary*, 780; Aziz Jung: *Mustehlat-e-Deccan*, p. 191).

TABLE V

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF *chauth* AND *sardeshmukhi* DERIVED FOR THE PARGANAS IN TABLE IV FOR 1774-75

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Chauth			*Sardeshmukhi*		
Village	*Amount* (*1774-75*) *Rs/as*	*Original* (*Asl*) (*1773-74*) *Rs/as*	*Increase or decrease* *Rs/as*	*Amount* (*1774-75*) *Rs/as*	*Original* (*Asl*) (*1773-74*) *Rs/as*	*Increase or decrease* *Rs/as*
Wadhun	131/8	122/4	9/4	65/12	61/3	4/9
Hannengaon	192/14	212	19/2	96/8	106	9/8
Babalgaon	120/8	130/14	less 10/6	60/6	65/9	less 5/3
Meenhali Cholka	2401/—/—	385/14	less 1/4	193/6	192/15	less —/7
Komti	509/1/—	79/14	20/2	45	35	10
Palon	282/4	304	21/12	141/2	152	10/14
Suri	213/14	—	—	106/12	—	less —
Annakola	39/7	35/5	4/2	19/12	17/11	2/1
Tandalbari	63/11	—	—	31/14	—	1

SOURCE: Document No. 223, R.P.P.

TABLE VI

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE MARATHA LEVIES FIXED IN 1728-30 DURING THE TIMES OF NIZAMU'L MULK AND REVISED ACCOUNTS SUBMITTED BY PESHWA MADHAV RAO FOR THE PARGANA PATTAN, ETC AURANGABAD PROVINCE FOR 1775-76

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Total amount	*Amount of chauth, babti and sardeshmukhi*	*Nazr to the Nizam when he visited the place—deducted*	*Fixed share of the Marathas*	*From the villages of the Jagirdars and Sihbandi*	*Expenses towards the troops of Pandit Pradhan*[1]	*Tankhwah paid to the Mokasadars of the Maratha*[2]	*Paid to Harnaji Nayak (agent of Peshwa)*
Rs/as/ps							
Nizamu'l Mulk's 187045/10/6 (fixed)	685516/5	168311/–/—	157045/10/—	30000/–/—	129488/2/3	39383/4/6	1778/14/6
Peshwa Madhav Rao's 253188/12/6	781114/11	168311/—/—	223178/12/6	30000	129489/2/3	39383/4/9	1778/14/6

SOURCE: Document Nos. 87 and 88, R.P.P.

[1] The pargana Pattan was under the occupation of the Marathas during 1184-85 F (1774-75). It was transferred to the Nizam in 1185 F. (1775-76). Expenses of troops are those claimed towards the vacation of the pargana (See Doc. III, Clause VI, Appendix).

[2] The *tankhwah* of the *makasadars* of the Marathas is claimed for the period of occupation of the pargana by the Marathas.

NOTE: The Marathas claimed an amount of Rs 82518/7—for (1775-76. Out of this, Rs 16385/5/— were due in accordance with the rate fixed during the times of Nizamu'l Mulk; and Rs 66133/2— were now claimed due to the increase in the receipts of the revenue as per the estimates submitted by the Peshwa, as shown in the above statement. (Source: Document No. 86, R.P.P).

be estimated on the basis of the accounts rendered by the zamindars and these claims should be balanced against the remissions promised to be allowed on the collection of the levies due in the provinces of Bidar and Bijapur.[34] The Marathas would not accept; they were only willing to accept the previous offer that after the verification of claims, both parties should come to a final settlement.[35] Nizam Ali Khan then suspended payment of *chauth*; and in June 1781 ordered the jagirdars not to remit the *chauth* to the agents of the Peshwa.[36] And in the province of Bidar the *kamaisdars* or revenue collectors of the Peshwa were expelled by the local *amils* of the Nizam on alleged delay in fulfilling the terms of the Treaty.[37] The *Poona Akhbar* of 9 July 1781 reported that "the *karbharis* do not want to be straightforward in matters of *chauth*. . . .The *karbharis* do not settle the accounts regarding *chauth*. They have sent for Peshwa's Vakil Moro Girmaji. Receipts covering the second instalment have not been given to Azimud-daulah "[38]

At last the Peshwa deputed Krishna Rao Ballal to the court of Nizam to settle the *chauth* affair and was advised to adopt a conciliatory attitude in view of the growing English menace. He was further advised to spare no effort to persuade the Nizam into a military alliance against the English even at the cost of yielding some ground in regard to the settlement of the *chauth* claims.[39] Early in October 1781 Krishna Rao met the Nizam and Moinud-

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[34] *Ibid*, 25.

[35] *News Letters (1767-1799)—Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan's Reign*, State Archive,s 1955 p. 15.

[36] *Poona Akhbars*, I, pp. 29, 45. The *mamlatadars* were the representatives of the Peshwa in the districts. The Nizam had stopped one-fourth portion of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* for the three provinces of Aurangabad, Bijapur and Berar-Balaghat for the period 1782 to 1785. Document No. 924/1, R.P.P.

[37] *Ibid*, I, p. 44; Document Nos. 11174, 11176/1, 924/1-5, R.P.P.

[38] *Ibid.*, 132, p 44. Besides the settlement of re-assessment; another disputed issue was with regard to the maintenance of accounts of *chauth* and *kaodana* The Maratha *karbaries* wanted and insisted to combine the amount accruing from *chauth* and *kaodana* into one head Whereas the Nizam's officials were vehemently opposed to this proposal on the grounds firstly that there is no imperial sanction for *kaodana* and secondly because it was not proper; and moreover because Rao Pandit Pradhan has already agreed to continue the practice as prevalent during the times of Nizamu'l Mulk The Nizam opposed the very idea of exaction on account of *kaodana*. Consequently due to the differences settlement dragged for several years. Document No. 4908—letter of Rai Haibat Rao Gopal, *Akhbar Navis* (News Reporter) at the court of the Peshwa to his son Raghutam Rao, 22 July 1781; Yusuf Hussain Khan, ed., *News Letters (1769-1799)—Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan's Reign*, State Archives, Hyderabad, 1955, p. 20 (Persian text).

[39] *Ibid*, I, p. 32, p.44. The *Akhbar Navis* attributes in his letter that the Nizam-British relations is the cause for the delay in the settlement of *chauth* affair and unfavourable attitude of the Marathas towards the problem and the rift between the Nizam and the Peshwa (*Poona Akhbars*, II, p. 32). It may be mentioned that about this time the Nizam-British relations were not very cordial. In his letter to Sir Eyre Coote, (16 January, 1781), the Nizam recalled the unfriendly attitude of Sir Thomas Rumbold and his successor Whitehill and the violations

TABLE VII

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF *karkuni* (ACCOUNTANCY) CHARGED BY THE MARATHAS ON THEIR LEVIES OF *chauth*, *babti* AND *sardeshmukhi*

	1	2	3		4		5	6		7
Year	*P—Pargana* *S—Sarkar* *Subah—Mohammadbad*	*Total amount of the Maratha levies Rs/as/ps*	*Mokasa-chauth*		*Babti*		*Sahotra*	*Sardeshmukhi*		*Percentage of Karkuni on the levies*
			Ain	*Karkuni*	*Ain*	*Karkuni*		*Ain*	*Karkuni*	
1782—83	P—Peta Jalalpur	3527/—/—	2100/—/—[1]		767/—/—		60/—	600/—		20.41
	S—Nanded		1900/—/—	200/—/—				450	150	
1785—86	Peta Jalalpur	1730/13/—	900/—/—		158/8		55/—	425		15.6
	S—Nanded		800/—/—	100/—/—	133/8	25		(including *karkuni*)		
,,	P—Srekunde	1793/8/—	1050/—/—		383/8		60/—	300		19.57
	S—Nanded		950	100	338/8	50		225	75	
1786—87	P—Otkur	12968/12/—	10118/12[2] (*Chauth and babti*)					600		18.39
	S—Muzaffarnagar		7819/12 (*Chauth and babti*)			2200 (*Karkuni*)	—	550	50	
,,	P—Kankarti	10700/—/—	5250		5000		—	450		8.75
	S—Muzaffarnagar		5000	250	(including *karkuni*)[3]			400	50	

1787—88	Maoza Rudra P—Kotgir S—Nanded	1356/—/—	1000 (including *karkuni*)	220/8 187 50	50/—	537/8 437/8 100	19.05
,,	Maoza Sherwar P—Indur S—Nanded	2393/12	600/—/— 550/— 50/—/—	1316/11 (including *karkuni*)	100/—	1175 1075 100	9.6

SOURCE: Document Nos. 894/3, 901/2, 110/4, 855/64, 1095/1, 962, 855/57.

[1] Out of the three sets of figures, the upper figures in the centre indicate the total amount of the Maratha levies including *karkuni* figures in the left indicate the actual (*Ain*) amount of the levy; while those in the right are the charges towards *karkuni*.

[2] Here the document does not give separate figures of the two levies. Hence the amount is given in the centre of the two columns.

[3] The document do not mention separate amount for *karkuni*. They mention total amount "including *karkuni*."

daula at Hyderabad and tried in vain to effect a rapproachement between the Nizam and the *karbharis*.[40]

The negotiations for a settlement dragged on for a few months. The Nizam desired that the claim of the Maratha levies in the province of Bidar should be waived as was being done in the case of the province of Hyderabad.[41] However, the Maratha *karbharis* turned down this on the basis of the existing royal *sanads* of the Mughal Emperor.[42] The rift continued and the *chauth* affair remained unsettled till 1784 when it was partially resolved after the war between the Nizam and the Marathas through the Treaty of Yadgiri. Nana Farnawis met Nizam Ali Khan and settled all outstanding issues relating to the Maratha levies. The Nizam agreed to pay all the arrears on account of the Maratha levies.[43]

In 1791 Govind Rao Kallay and Govind Rao Pingley, envoys of the Peshwa at Hyderabad formally requested Nizam Ali Khan to appoint *amins* for investigating and settling the outstanding Maratha claims regarding assessment and arrears of the levies. Nizam Ali Khan countered this move by making a set of demands regarding contributions unjustly exacted and the revenues of different places improperly taken or withheld by the Marathas. To this Nana Farnawis promptly demanded the adjustment of the Maratha claims. The Nizam was compelled to acknowledge some of these demands while others he evaded. But he promised in general terms to appoint some officials to settle the whole affair soon after the war with Tipu Sultan was concluded.[44]

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of the Treaty of 1768 in respect of *peshkash* and the cession of Guntur. In order to foster and promote friendship and amity, the Nizam laid great stress on the payment of the arrears of *peshkash* and the restitution of Guntur to Basalate Jung In 1768, the Nizam and the British entered into an engagement to render mutual help and assistance, to consider the enemies of one, the enemies of both and the friends of one, the friends of both, as the British promised thereby to pay a fixed sum of *peshkash* to the Nizam from the revenues of Northern Sarkars leased to the British When Whitehill was Governor of Madras he withheld payment of *peshkash* and did not comply with the request of Nizam Ali Khan to send British troops to his assistance against the Peshwa Raghunath Rao in 1774. (Letter of Nizam Ali Khan to Sir Eyre Coote in *Diplomatic Correspodence between Mir Nizam Ali Khan and the East India Company 1780-98*, ed. Yusuf Hussain Khan, State Archives, Hyderabad, 1958, pp. 67.) Thus the apprehensions of the *Akhbar Navis* against the Nizam-British relations is wrong.

[40] *Ibid.*, II, p. 23.

[41] Doc No. 4908, *News Letters, op cit.*, p. 20 (Persian text).

[42] *Ibid* , p. 66. The reference is to the Mughal *firmans* of 1719.

[43] Treaty of Etgeer (Yadgir), 5 June 1784. Clause 6, Persian text, Mohd. Sirajuddin Talib, *Nizam Ali Khan*, (Urdu), II, p. 237. Though the Nizam agreed to pay *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* by this Treaty, the Marathas claimed it from 1782 when these were suspended, as evident from the documents.

[44] Sirajuddin, *op. cit* ; Grant Duff, II, pp. 240-41.

Another deputation of the Peshwa, Govind Rao Bhagwant and Bhawani Shankar, came to Hyderabad and met Mir Alam, Minister, to settle the arrears of the levies from Adoni from 1773 to 1794. During the discussion Mir Alam and Sham Raj Bahadur urged the deduction of a proportion of the claims equivalent to the sums of money realized by Hyder

TABLE VIII

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES OF PARGANA KALLAMNOORI ETC. AURANGABAD RELATING TO *sardeshmukhi, mokasa, babti* AND *sahotra* FOR 1788-89

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">1
<i>Pargana or village</i></th><th rowspan="2">2
<i>Receipts by mamlatdars</i></th><th rowspan="2">3
<i>Sardeshmukhi</i></th><th rowspan="2">4
<i>Mokasa</i></th><th rowspan="2">5
<i>Babti</i></th><th rowspan="2">6
<i>Sahotra</i></th><th rowspan="2">7
<i>Kaodana for the animals of Bhonsle</i></th><th colspan="2">8
<i>Expenses of Mamladaran</i></th><th rowspan="2">9
<i>Sih-bandi for Amils of sarkar</i></th><th rowspan="2">10
<i>Receipts by sarkar</i></th></tr>
<tr><th><i>Bhonsle</i></th><th><i>Sardeshmukhi</i></th></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>64795/—/—</td><td>17165/—/—</td><td>12300/—/—</td><td>5625/—/—</td><td>1565/—/—</td><td>21,000/—/—</td><td colspan="2">7140*</td><td>21900</td><td>36710</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>2800</td><td>4340</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Kallamnoori</td><td>26666/12/—</td><td>6500/—/—</td><td>4500/—/—</td><td>1075/—/—</td><td>350/—/—</td><td>6100/—/—</td><td colspan="2">3000</td><td>6600</td><td>1458/4</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1000</td><td>2000</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Dudhara and</td><td>26213/4/—</td><td>2505/—/—</td><td>3000/—/—</td><td>1075/—/—</td><td>215/—/—</td><td>2500/—/—</td><td colspan="2">1600</td><td>4900</td><td>11518/4</td></tr>
<tr><td>Banna</td><td>10895/—/—</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>800</td><td>800</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Natha</td><td>7310/—/—</td><td>1650/—/—</td><td>1500/—/—</td><td>700/—/—</td><td>200/—/—</td><td>1500/—/—</td><td colspan="2">500/—</td><td>1560</td><td>292</td></tr>
<tr><td>Jharni</td><td>24000/—/—</td><td>3780/—/—</td><td>2700/—/—</td><td>1500/—/—</td><td>375/—/—</td><td>2500/—/—</td><td colspan="2">1200</td><td>2000</td><td>9345</td></tr>
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<tr><td>Sambha</td><td>5200/—/—</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Chinur</td><td>6300/—/—</td><td>830/—/—</td><td>600/—/—</td><td>75/—/—</td><td>25/—/—</td><td>800/—/—</td><td colspan="2">—</td><td>3970</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Bhod</td><td>11250/—/—</td><td>—</td><td>—</td><td>—</td><td>—</td><td>—</td><td colspan="2">—</td><td>1300</td><td>9350</td></tr>
</table>

SOURCE: Document No. 915 R.P.P.

*Figures in the centre indicate the combined amount of expenese: while those on the left side indicate the expenses of Bhonsle's agents and these on the right side that of *Sardeshmukh's*.

However the problems were not settled until the Treaty of Khardla, on 30 March 1795 Nizam Ali Khan agreed to clear all arrears of the levies and to consider the *chauth* of the province of Bidar as *wutun* or private hereditary property of the Peshwa, Nana Farnawis.[45]

Consequently, the Marathas submitted detailed account of the arrears for 1781-89. The Marathas claimed from the Nizam an extra amount towards *karkuni* (accountancy charges). The documents give the exact amount (*ain*) of the Maratha levies and indicate separately the amount of *karkuni* in each case of the sub-divisions of the levies. (Table VII). No *karkuni* was charged for *sahotra* as none of the documents mention it. The average percentage of *karkuni* for *chauth*, *babti* and *sardeshmukhi* works out to 16 per cent (Table VII). Apparently the Marathas had charged the Nizam for the maintenance of accounts of the arrears for the period when one-fourth portion of the levies were withheld by the Nizam due to the dispute in the case of the province of Muhammadabad-Bidar only. In some cases the Marathas charged the Nizam the expenses incurred on their *mamlatdars* (Maratha agents in the districts) and their *sardeshmukhs* which amounted to several thousands, as evident from the details furnished in Table VIII. The Marathas not only collected their levies but also exacted huge amounts towards *kaodana* (feed of the animals of the Raja Bhonsle), expenses incurred towards the establishments of their agents. Also the *amils* of the Nizam incurred huge expenses in making collection. Finally out of the total receipts of huge amounts a small portion remained for the Sarkar (Table VIII).

MODES OF COLLECTION AND PAYMENT

a. Collection through the Maratha Collectors Stationed in the Mughal Provinces

From 1707 the Marathas directly collected *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the zamindars and jagirdars of every district. But in 1712 with the arrival of Nizamu'l-Mulk as *subedar* of the Deccan, the Marathas were prevented from

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Ali Khan in the districts of Bellary, Anagundi and Kanchan Katah. Govind Bhagwant insisted that as the Peshwa's claim was mainly confined to the districts of Adoni, Raichoor, Kutal Bednore and the fort of Sauger, payment of arrears in instalments was not acceptable as the Peshwa had to meet considerable demands of bankers and others owing to the delay in the payment of his dues by the Nizam. But as the amount of the total claim of the levies was not specified, on the insistence of Mir Alam, Govind Rao unofficially disclosed that it amounted to Rs 175,000 per annum, excluding the amouut of the *mokasa* of Daulat Rao Gorphade. However, the settlement was not reached. Document No. 7792; *News letters*, *op cit*, p 19.

[45] Sirajuddin, p. 182; Grant Duff, pp. 204-41, 260-61, 248. Further, by a separate agreement, Nizam Ali Khan ceded territory yielding three lakhs and eighteen thousand rupees, in lieu of Raghuji Bhonsle's claims for *kaodana* in Gungthuree (Gangthadi-tracts adjoining the banks of river Godavari) estimated at three and a half lakhs annually, Duff, II (1921 edn.) p. 248.

collecting especially in the neighbourhood of Aurangabad, the headquarters of the Mughal *subedar*. Nizamu'l Mulk wrote orders to the *faujdars* and *ziladars*, directing them to oust Maratha collectors from several places dependent on Aurangabad.[46] In the remaining territory of the Mughal Deccan however, they continued to operate.

The Maratha organization for collecting revenues in the Mughal provinces was further strengthened after the issue of the Mughal *firmans* in 1719 granting *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. The Viceroy of the Deccan Hussain'Ali settled with Sahu that two Maratha officers Balaji Bishwanath and Jamnaji should stay with a suitable escort at Aurangabad as deputy and vakil of Sahu, so that all civil and revenue matters could be settled through them.[47]

In every *mahal* of the six Mughal provinces of the Deccan Raja Sahu appointed two collectors one with the title of *kamaishdar* for collecting *chauth* and other that of *gumashta* for collecting *sardeshmukhi*.[48] Besides these, there were two separate collectors of the *rahdari* (road duties) in each *mahal*.[49] Thus in every *mahal* of the six Mughal provinces of the Deccan there were three types of regular collectors of Sahu, with parties of horsemen and footmen stationed at their office. Further, in each of the six provinces of the Deccan, a Maratha chief was appointed as a *sarsubedar* (provincial head) for the administration of the collectors and their work in the same way as Mughal *subedars* were appointed. For example one Maratha official Khandu Pahariya held the province of Khandesh.[50]

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[46] Khafi Khan II, pp. 742-43.

[47] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 786-87

[48] *Ibid.*, Gulam Ali Bilgrami in *Khazane-i Amera*, (p 41) states that in every pargana the Marathas appointed one *mokasadar* to collect *chauth* and one *naib-sardeshmukh* for collecting *sardeshmukhi*.

[49] Khafi Khan, II, pp 786-87.

[50] *Ibid.*, II, p. 777.

A brief analysis of the Maratha's plan of collecting and appropriating the revenue of the levies, will afford insight into the working of the system. During the times of Balaji Vishwanath the Marathas divided arbitrarily the Mughal provinces and other parts of the Deccan into zones for the realization of the levies and the same system continued later on There were district agents for realizing the *babti* and *sardeshmukhi*, for the *sahotra* of the Pant Sachive, for the *nargunda* of the assigns to whom it belonged, for the *mokasa* to different officers for maintaining troops. *Mokasa* was distributed against a great number of chiefs as military *jagir*.

There were particular quarters of the country assigned to the principal officers, which, as far as they can now be ascertained, were as follows: The Peshwa and Senapati charged with the command of a great proportion of the Raja's personal troops, were ordered to direct their attention to the general protection and defence of the territory. The former had authority to levy in parts of Balaghat, the latter was vested with similar authority in Baghlana, and the right to realize the dues established by usage in Gujarat. Kanhoji Bhonsle, the Sene Sahib, had charge of Berar payanghat, and was privileged to make conquest and exact tribute from Gandwara to the eastward.

For collecting the levies the Maratha collectors stationed in the *mahals* sent messengers with bills demanding payment from the zamindars or the Mughal officials (text has *Hakim*) stationed in the respective parganas.[51] The Marathas also submitted to the Mughal Government detailed account of their levies as due from different provinces of the Deccan. They also submitted *sanads* of *iqrarnama* (agreement bond) after settling the levies as due from a place. In 1749-50 the Maratha leader Fateh Singh submitted to Nasir Jung, a *sanad* of *iqrarrama* regarding the settlement of *bilmuqta* (stipulated) amount of Rs 7,25,000 *chauth* due from the Karnatak.[52]

The Maratha collectors also exacted *chauth* from the caravans as *rahdari.* The leaders of the bands did their best to settle the amount of *chauth* to be paid, while their men on the contrary strove to prevent any settlement. Because if an agreement was arrived at, without plundering, it belonged to the chiefs, and the men got nothing. But, if it came to plundering, each man kept what he could lay hands upon, and the chiefs did not gain much.[53]

b. Exaction by the Maratha Troops

If the Maratha armies were strong enough to prevail, they enforced their demand of the levies, and when the amount was in arrears they enforced the claim more rigidly, threatening destruction if not complied with,[54] as the following three instances illustrate.

In 1709 a Maratha woman named Tulasi Bai with about 15,000 horsemen came to the town of Ranwir near Burhanpur. Having surrounded the *sarai* of Ranwir, in which travellers and villagers had taken refuge, she sent a message to the *subedar* Mir Ahmad Khan, demanding payment of eleven lakhs of rupees as *chauth* to save the town and the men who were besieged in the *sarai.*[55]

In 1741 Raghuji Bhonsle and Fateh Singh, two Maratha leaders, invaded Arcot with a large army to exact *chauth.* When battle was imminent Safdar

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The *surlushkar* had Gungthuree (Gangthadi) including parts of Aurangabad.

Fateh Singh Bhonsle was appointed to the Karnatak, with general charge of the old territory from Neera to Varna. And the collection from Hyderabad and Bidar was left to the pratinidhi and the immediate agents of the Raja. Chitnis and Kanhoji Angre were incharge of Konkan (Duff, 1912 edn, 371 ff). Documents corroborate this practice. As far as Mughal Deccan was concerned the territory was divided into five zones Documents give detailed account of the levy from different provinces and districts under different Maratha chiefs. Document No. 148, R P.P.

[51] Yusuf Hussain Khan, *op. cit..* pp. 103-4.

[52] Document C.40, (S A.H.); See Doc. IV, Appendix.

[53] Mir Abu Turab Mir Alam, *Hadiqatu' l-' Alam,* II, p. 140; Mohd. Mahbub Junaidi, *Hayat-e-Asaf,* p. 164.

[54] This policy of the Marathas was in contravention of the agreement with Hussain Ali Khan and later on stipulated in the Mughal *firmans, viz.* that the Marathas would preserve the tranquillity of the Deccan. Sardesai, II, p. 41.

[55] Khafi Khan, II, p. 666,

Ali Khan, son of Dost Ali Khan governor of Karnatak, thought it prudent to make peace and consented to pay forty lakhs of rupees as *chauth* in instalment.[56]

From *Tuzak-i-Walajahi* we learn that in 1742 when Nizamu'l Mulk was busy in settling the affairs of Karnatak Payenghat, Raghunath Babu Nayak, a Maratha chief on the advice of the Peshwa marched at the head of one lakh horses towards Hyderabad. He collected large sums as *chauth* from the subjects as well as Mughal officials, and the disturbances reached as far as Hyderabad.[57]

C. Collection Through the Agency of the Mughal Officials and the Problems that confronted them

When in 1709 Daud Khan Panni, deputy of the viceroy Zulfiqar Khan, entered into an agreement with Sahu, the Mughals took up the responsibility of collecting *chauth* and the Maratha were not allowed to post their collectors in the Mughal provinces.[58] This arrangement did not work and Maratha agents were active in the Mughal provinces collecting *chauth.*

Nizamu'l Mulk from the very beginning of his first viceroyalty of the Deccan was opposed to the presence of the Maratha collectors in the Mughal provinces. Soon after his arrival at Aurangabad in 1712 he tried to suppress the authority of Maratha collectors. He repudiated the obligations created by the convention entered into by Zulfiqar Khan and Sahu, alleging its observance to be impossible and inconsistent with the authority invested in the viceroy of the Deccan.[59] However, due to the short tenure of Nizamu'l Mulk's first viceroyalty of the Deccan he could not successfully implement his schemes.

When Nizamu'l Mulk returned to the Deccan in 1720 and again in 1724 he was anxious to whittle down the Maratha's right to the levies. However, in the light of the Mughal Emperor's *firmans* to Sahu, Nizamu'l Mulk could do nothing to get the system changed. He next tried to get the province of Hyderabad exempted from the direct collection of the levies on some compensation.[60] Following this policy Nizamu'l Mulk, after the battle of Palkhed in 1727, proposed to the *pratinidhi* or the envoy of Sahu, that he would make cash payment towards arrears of *chauth,* on condition that the Maratha collectors were withdrawn from the Mughal provinces. Sahu was almost on the point of accepting the proposal, when Baji Rao returned and remonstrated with him strongly on the subject. Consequently on 13 October 1727, Sahu declared war upon the Nizam.[61] After the war the issue was resolved through the Treaty of Mungi-Shevgaon of 6 March 1728 between the Nizam and Sahu.[62] But the terms of the Treaty do not say anything about the cash payment about the mode of payment of the *chauth*. A study of archival documents reveals that the system of cash payment of *chauth* for the province of Hyderabad was implemented forthwith from 1727 when an agreement was made between the Nizam and the *pratinidhi*.[63] This is also corroborated by *Hadiqatu'l Alam* and *Tarikh-i-Fathiyah*.[64]

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[56] S. Mohd. Husayn Nainar, *Tuzak-i-Walajahi,* p. 46.

[57] *Ibid* , pp. 72-73; Yusuf Hussain Khan, p. 250.

[58] Khafi Khan, II, p. 625; Yusuf Hussain Khan, p. 50, 55.

[59] Khafi Khan, II, p. 743; Yusuf Hussain Khan, 68-69. Study of Nizamu'l Mulk's letters in *Gulshan-e-Ajaib* and *Munshat-i-Musavi Khan* (MSS) reveal that he was very much opposed to the Mughal grant of the Maratha levies He endeavoured to impress on the Emperor the need to abolish the levies.

[60] *Hayat-e-Asaf, op. cit.,* p. 265.

Following the arrangement of 1727, Nizamu'l Mulk devised and organized an administrative machinery for the collection of *chauth* from the province of Hyderabad. He created a new post of tahsildar *chauth*.[65] Besides, different Mughal officials such as *faujdar*,[66] *amanatdar*,[67] *shiqdar*,[68] *qiladar*,[69] *tahsildar*,[70] *amin*,[71] *amil*,[72] and *rahdar*[73] were also entrusted with the additional duty of *tahsildari-chauth*. Even jagirdars, *inamdars* and *mansabdars* were entrusted with the collection of *chauth*.[74] Generally the jagirdars themselves came forward voluntarily to take up the responsibility of collecting *chauth* within their own jagirs. This was with a view to avoid outside collectors.[75]

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[61] Sardesai, II, p. 95

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[63] Document No. C.29, S.A.H. Until 1722 the revenue collectors of the Mughals used to deduct the amount of *chauth* before crediting the total revenue in the Government treasury. This amount was later on paid to the Maratha collectors, as evident from Mughal documents, S.A.H.

[64] *Hadiqatul Alam*, II, p. 138; Yusuf Mohammad Khan, *Tarikh-e-Fathiyah* (MSS), State Archives, Hyderabad, 12; translation in *Eighteenth Century Deccan* by Setu Madhava Rao, p. 25. Yusuf Hussain Khan (p. 186) is wrong when he calls "Hyderabad, the new Capital of Nizamu'l Mulk." It was not the "new capital" alone that was exempted from the direct collection of *chauth* by the Marathas but the entire "*Subah* of Hyderabad" *Hadiqatu'l Alam*, II, p. 138), *Tarikh-e-Fathiyah*, *op. cit*, p 25. This is corroborated by documents.

[65] Document No. C11, C36, C29, (Omalan) (S.A.H.).

[66] Document No. C 201, C 801 (S.A.H.). See Document XI-XIV, appendix. See Zahiruddin Malik: "Documents Relating to Pargana Administration in the Deccan under Asaf Jah I," *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, Aligarh. Vol. III (1975), 161 ff.

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] Document No.C 456 (Omalan), S A.H.

[69] Document No. C79 (Omalan), S.A.H.

[70] Document N. C 891 (Omalan), S.A.H.

[71] Document No. C 900 (Omalan), S.A.H.

[72] *Ibid.*

[73] Document No. C 921 (Omalan), S.A.H. See Zahiruddin Malik, "Documents Relating to *chauth* collection in the *Subah* Hyderabad." *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1970, p. 343.

[74] Document No. C 121; C 103; 189 (*Mal*), S.A.H.

[75] Document Nos. C 29, C 52, C 83, 162 (Omalan), S.A.H.

The usual practice was to assign the collection of *chauth* on contract (*ijara* or *ta'ahhud*) for a few years.[76] If during this period any *tahsildar chauth* was transferred or removed another person was assigned the contract.[77] The contractor (*ijaradar*) who undertook the contract of collecting *chauth* had to submit a *qabuliyat* or deed of acceptance.[78]

To ensure prompt collection, the *tahsildar* generally engaged irregular infantry (*sih-bandi*). The Nizam allowed service charges of 7 per cent of *chauth* amount as *sih-bandi* and *haqq-i-tahsil* to the collector.[79] Sometimes this amount was not allowed to jagirdars and *mansabdars* in view of their higher status.[80] Moreover some jagirdars voluntarily agreed to forego the expenses towards *sih-bandi*.[81]

To ensure regular flow of *chauth* amount into the Mughal treasury, Nizamu'l Mulk compelled all the *tahsildars* of *chauth* to execute a formal bond of surety called *muchalka*. It contained the terms of service, amount of *chauth*, service charges and their deductions, particulars about the *parganas* or *mahals* for which *chauth* was to be collected, in case of a jagir the name of the jagirdar and the period with specific years. When this *muchalka* with the petition of the prospective *tahsildar chauth* reached the office of the *diwan*, the office used to make its remarks and submit it to the *diwan* for orders. The *diwan* then endorsed the petition for the issuance of a *sanad* in case of approval. Before the *sanad* or appointment orders could be issued the agent (*vakil*) of the principal (*muwakkil*) had to execute a surety bond and deliver it to the office of the *diwan*.[82]

In default of non-payment of *chauth* for considerable period the jagirs were confiscated.[83]

The system of *tahsildar chauth* organized by Nizamu'l Mulk continued after his death as his successors too adopted it. This is evident from several documents between 1748 and 1800 [84]

The system of cash payment to the Marathas in lieu of *chauth* by the Nizam was also introduced in the *Khalisa* or Crown lands in the Deccan. The Nizam appointed his own revenue officials to collect it from the Crown lands and paid cash to the Marathas.[85]

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[76] Document Nos. C 7, (*Mal*), S.A H.

[77] Document No C2, C 72 (Omalan), S.A.H.

[78] This was in accordance with the general practice for any contract. For patent terms of a contract see Munshi Nand Ram: *Siyaq Nama*, Lucknow 1879, pp. 28-29.

[79] Document No. C 41, C 31, C 48.

[80] Document No C 73, 79, S.A.H.

[81] Document Nos. C 51, C 250, S.A.H.

[82] Document No. C 11, C 89, C 93, 136, 154, 161, S.A.H. The terms of a *muchalka* were patent. The same form was adopted in the case of *tahsildari-chauth*. See *Siyaq Nama*, p. 69.

[83] Documents No 907/3, R.P P.

[84] Document No. 333, C 344, R.P.P.

d. Mode of Payment to the Marathas

When the Marathas collected the levies directly through their own agents, they used to exact whatever amount they could at a time in lump sum or in instalments.[86] They used to send bills periodically, usually twice or four times in a year to the jagirdars and zamindars. The bill gave details of the amount of the levy due. The Marathas accepted a portion of the amount readily available on account.[87]

During the time of Nizam Ali Khan, the Marathas reported that the collection of *chauth* at the end of every year usually lapsed to the next year. As such Nizam Ali Khan ordered that the *chauth* amount be collected at every *fasal* (season or harvest), that is, three times in a year. But it was paid to the Marathas in a lump sum once at the end of the year by the Mughal treasury.[88]

When the provincial Mughal officials failed to remit the amount in time from the places where the Nizam undertook to collect the Marathas claimed it direct from the provincial headquarters of the Mughal government in the Deccan. Sometimes they threatened that the amount be paid by the sarkar within a stipulated time and suggesting the Sarkar to take over the administration of the places from where the *chauth* amount was not forthcoming in time.[89]

DIVISION OF THE RIGHT OF COLLECTION OF *Chauth* BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES OF MARATHA RULERS

The right of collecting the levies became a disputed issue between the two Maratha rulers, Sahu and Tarabai, and later on her son Sambhaji. Both professed to be rightful claimants and demanded equal division of the revenue. Both the factions in dispute now looked openly upon the Mughals as the supreme arbitrators and paramount power to grant or deny the right. During the second regnal year (1707-08) of Bahadur Shah, Tarabai sent emissaries to the Mughal Emperor seeking recognition for her son Sambhaji as the Maratha king and demanding a *firman* in his name. In an astute move to make her claim more attractive to the Mughals, she asked for only 9 per cent as *sardeshmukhi* without any reference to the *chauth.*[90]

In the Mughal court her side was taken by Munim Khan, while Zulfiqar

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[85] Document No, 1072 to 1076, R.P.P.

[86] Document Nos. C 12, C 271, S.A.H.

[87] *Poona Akhbars*, I, p. 29; Document Nos. C 3, 39, (S.A.H.).

[88] Document No. C 252, S.A.H.

[89] Document IV, Appendix.

[90] Khafi Khan, II, p. 626.

Khan took the side of Sahu. A great controversy arose upon this matter between the two ministers. Bahadur Shah did not wish to displease any one and directed that *firmans* be issued in compliance with the requests of both the ministers, that is both Sahu and Tarabai were granted the right of *sardeshmukhi*. But due to the tussle between the two ministers the orders remained inoperative.[91]

In an endeavour to check the power of Sahu, Nizamu'l Mulk declared Sambhaji as Chhatrapati in February, 1728.[92] Nizamu'l Mulk, at his own initiative, without Emperor's sanction dismissed all the revenue collectors of Sahu from the Mughal territory and in their place appointed those of Sambhaji.[93] Thus according to the prevalent custom Nizamu'l Mulk sequestrated the property in dispute by dismissing Sahu's collectors from the Mughal provinces of the Deccan until their respective rights were equitably adjusted.[94]

The dispute was resolved through the Treaty of Mungi Shivgaon of 6 March 1728 between Nizamu'l Mulk and Sahu. Nizamu'l Mulk recognized Sahu as the king of the Marathas, entitled to *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* in the provinces of the Deccan at the same time allowing Sambhaji to levy *chauth* in the Mughal territory south of river Krishna[95] The territorial extent of Sambhaji's kingdom was demarcated by the Treaty of Varna of 13 April 1731 between Sahu and Sambhaji.[96] River Varna formed the dividing line between the kingdoms of Sahu and Sambhaji. However so far no document has been found giving details of the levies collected by Sambhaji or paid to him by the Mughals.[97]

DUAL MUGHAL-MARATHA LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION IN THE MUGHAL PROVINCES

The network of three types of revenue collectors of the Marathas in every *mahal*[98] along with their supervisory staff at the headquarters of the

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[91] *Ibid.*

[92] Syed Md. Ali al-Hussaini, *Tarikh-e-Rahat Afza*, Hyderabad, 1947, p. 115; Sardesai, II, pp. 90-91.

[93] *Hadiqatu'l Alam*, II p. 139; *Tarikh-e-Rahat Afza*, pp. 115, 119; Khafi Khan II, p. 742.

[94] Grant Duff, I, p. 412.

[95] *Hadiqatu'l Alam*, II, p. 140; *Tarikh-e Rahat Afza*, p. 119.

[96] Manohar Malgaonkar; *Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur*, p. 149.

[97] Mir Alam in *Hadiqatu'l Alam*, (II, p. 139) mentions appointment of *gumashdars* of Sambhaji in the Mughal provinces for the collection of the levies, while *Tarikh-e Rahat Afza* mentions *mokasadars* of Sambhaji (p 115, 119).

[98] The total number of *mahals* in the six provinces of the Deccan during the eighteenth century was 1271 as detailed below: (1) Aurangabad, 147; (2) Khandesh, 136; (3) Berar, 61; (Balaghat) and 191 (Payanghat); (4) Muhammadabad Bidar, 76; (5) Bijapur 148 (Bijapur) and 104 (Karnatak Bijapur); (6) Farkhunda Buniyad, Hyderabad, 213 (Telengana), 66

Mughal provinces (except in the province of Hyderabad for which the Nizam paid cash from 1727 onwards) seems to have operated simultaneously along with their counterparts in the Mughal government.

Mughal Chronicler Khafi Khan informs us that on the rolls (*baraurd*) of the collection of land revenue the signature of the Maratha official *sarishtadar* of the *sardeshmukhi* was placed first.[99] This practice which was prevalent during the early eighteenth century might have continued throughout the century.

The Maratha collectors went to the fields in the Mughal provinces and settled the assessment of *jama* and *hasil* on the basis of the standing crop and fixed the amount of the levies and took sureties for its payment from the zamindars.[100]

The fixation and revision of the levies was made as and when the Marathas desired in order to get a higher amount due to the increase in the receipts of revenue.[101] Thus the Marathas exerted their authority to get the *jamabandi* of any place revised as and when they liked.

During the time of Nizam Ali Khan, the Marathas claimed higher amount of *chauth* on the basis of higher receipts and desired periodical re-assessment of the *jama* and *jamabandi-chauth*. Nizam Ali Khan appointed *amils* or *amins* for investigating the *jama* and *hasil* figures. Along with the Mughal *amils* one representative of the Marathas was also appointed to accompany them during the investigations. Thus in 1783 when Nizam Ali Khan appointed Mir Mohsin Ali Khan Bahadur to investigate the assessment report of Madhav Rao, one Maratha official, Rao Jevaji, was also appointed to accompany him to the Jagir of Tej Singh of Narsi.[102]

The direct mode of collection of the levies had given the Marathas unrestricted freedom to roam about in the Mughal territory along with their troops. Without this freedom the *sardeshmukhi* was meaningless. The Marathas controlled the gates of the Mughal provinces and collected *chauth* on transit duties. The Maratha claims of revenue were met first, enforced as they were by an armed authority and the Mughal revenue collectors were given secondary importance.[103] Consequently the influence of the Mughal revenue officials was gradually paralyzed and power fell into the hands of the Marathas who had established a quasi-military control over the Deccan in order to protect their collectors. All these practices resulted in the unique system of dual Mughal-

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(Karnatak Balaghat and 131 Karnatak Payanghat)—*Swaneh Deccan*, MS, State Archives, Hyderabad; Junaidi, *op. cit*, 467 ff.; Sir J.N Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, p. lxxvii ff.

[99] Khafi Khan, II, p. 786.

[100] *Ibid.*, II, p. 782.

[101] Document C 252, R.P.P.; see Document III, Appendix.

[102] Document Nos. C 36, C 37, R.P.P.

[103] Yusuf Hussain Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Grant Duff, I, p. 375.

Maratha land revenue administration in the Mughal Deccan (except the province of Hyderabad and Crown lands in the Deccan in which places the Nizam undertook to collect and pay cash to the Marathas).

SUB-DIVISIONS OF *Chauth* AND *Sardeshmukhi*

The proceeds of *chauth* which the Marathas collected from the Mughals were divided among themselves into the following shares:[104]

1. *Babti*: 25 per cent, reserved for the Maratha ruler;
2. *Mokasa*: 66 per cent, granted to the Maratha *sardars* for maintaining troops;
3. *Sahotra*: 6 per cent, granted to the Pant Sachive; and
4. *Nadgounda*: 3 per cent, awarded to various persons at the ruler's pleasure.

The proceeds of the *sardeshmukhi* also was similarly divided.

The distribution of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* into sub-divisions was the internal administrative arrangement of the Marathas. The Mughals in the Deccan were not concerned with these divisions. Nor was any reference to these divisions made in the Mughal *sanads*. However, surprisingly enough, we find mention of these sub-divisions and payment by the Mughals on these accounts in the Persian documents. The documents give details of the amount allotted against the various sub-divisions of *chauth*.[105] The sub-divisions mentioned are *mokasa, mokasa-chauth, babti, sahotra* and half (*nisf*) shares as *nisf-mokasa, nisf-babti* and *nisf-sahotra*.

In the Treaty of Yadgir of 5 June 1784, mention of these sub-divisions—

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[104] S. Sen, *Administrative System of the Mahrattas*, 242-43, *CHI.*, V, 394. The percentages given by Sen are traditional and not based on documents. Prof. Satish Chandra gives an interesting background for the system of division of the Maratha levies between the Maratha ruler, the Peshwa and other military chiefs, etc. He says that the rise of a new nobility consisting of military chiefs were required to raise their own troops and were paid by the assignment of *mokasa* and *saranjams* out of the Maratha claim of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the Mughal territories. A part of the levies were reserved for the Maratha government, but the individual *sardars* had to be assigned their responsibility for collecting this also. The *sardeshmukhi* was reserved for the Maratha king and was to be realized by him directly from the peasants. Out of *chauth*, three quarters were to be assigned to the various chiefs as *saranjam* for their own expenses and the expenses of their troops. Another 6 per cent called *sahotra* was reserved for the Pant Sachive, while 3 per cent (*nadgaunda*) was at the king's disposal for granting to any one at his pleasure The remainder, or 16 per cent was reserved for the king. *Ideas in History* ed., Bisheshwar Prasad, Asia. 1968, p 184.

[105] Document Nos. 899 to 1100, (R.P.P.) *Nadgaunda* is not mentioned in these documents. But we find mention of *narkondi* (expenses towards fodder, etc), Document No. 1072/21. *Narkondi* may be considered to be same as *kaodana*.

chauth with *babti, sahotra* and *sardeshmukhi*—is made.[106] But this mention is in a different context, regarding the principles to be adopted in the conquest and mutual division of the revenue of the territory beyond the river Tungabhadra, between the Nizam and the Marathas. The Nizam and the Peshwa agreed that if the Nizam conquered the territory of the river Tungabhadra by his own men and material, then he would pay the Maratha levies as usual; if the territory was conquered independently the Maratha would pay *peshkash* to the Nizam; and if conquered by the joint efforts of the Nizam and the Marathas, then in that case territory would be divided equitably and the Peshwa would not demand "*chauth*, etc." from the Nizam.[107] Here "etc." in the text of the Treaty signifies the sub-divisions of the Maratha levies.

The Treaty does not mention *mokasa, mokasa-chauth, nor half shares* as found regularly in the documents. In the documents *half shares* (*nisf*) of *chauth, mokasa, sahotra, babti, sardeshmukhi* are mentioned without any explanation. A study of the documents reveals that the terms *chauth, mokasa* or *mokasa-chauth* have been used interchangeably in a careless manner. Some documents mention in the caption "Balance of *chauth, babti, sahotra* and *sardeshmukhi*" but a detailed examination of the texts reveals that instead of *chauth* only *mokasa* is mentioned.[108] These details mentioned in the documents emanating from the offices of Peshwa go against the administrative principles of the Marathas. As *chauth* and *mokasa* cannot be equated, *mokasa* constituting only 66 per cent of the total amount of *chauth,* we may say that the terms were wrongly used by the accountants.

The following extracts from a few documents would illustrate the different sub-divisions of *chauth* and the amount claimed under different heads and the amount towards the *karkuni* or accountancy charges.

A document[109] gives details of the amount of *mokasa-chauth* as due from Petah Sarkonda and *pargana* Kolas, *sarkar* Nanded, *subah* Muhammadabad. It is dated 10 January 1789.

Total amount of *chauth*, etc.	Rs 1,739/8
One-fourth deductions withheld by the Nizam's government	Rs 448/6
Net payable to the Marathas	Rs 1,345/2

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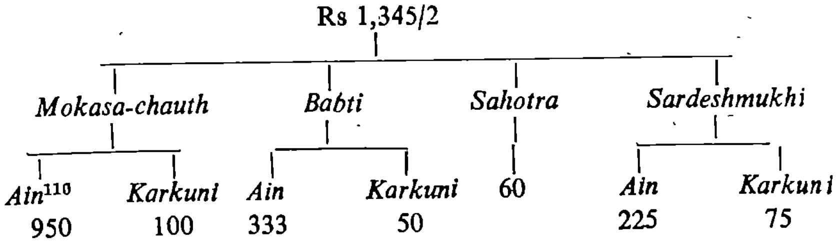
[106] Clause 14, Persian text, *Treaty of Yadgir*, Sirajuddin, *op. cit.*, 237-38.

[107] *Ibid.* The text of the Treaty has "*Chauth wagairah*" (*chauth*, etc.).

[108] Document No. 1707/23, R.P.P., S.A.H.

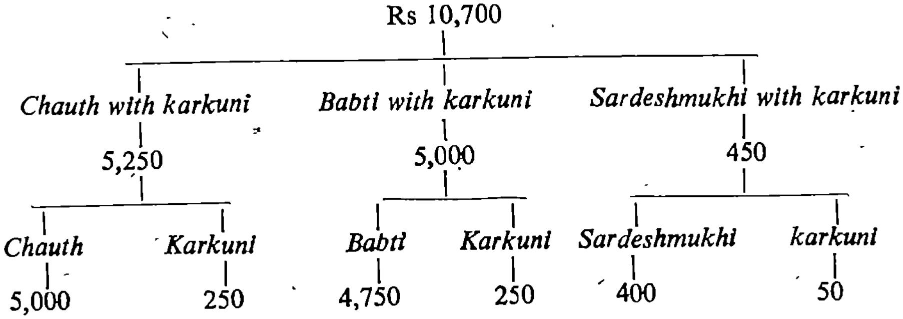
[109] Document No. 11011, R.P.P., S.A.H. It is is a letter from Azamul Umar Bahadur in the name of Raja Shankar Rao.


Rs 1,345/2
Mokasa-chauth
Babti
Sahotra
Sardeshmukhi
Ain[110]
950
Karkuni
100
Ain
333
Karkuni
50
60
Ain
225
Karkuni
75

One-fourth deductions withheld	262/8	95/14	15	75
Net payable to the Marathas	787/8	287/10	45	225

In a document[111] giving details of the amount of *chauth* due from the pargana Kankar, *sarkar* Muzzaffarnagar, *subah* Muhammadabad for 1787 the amount of *sahotra* is not claimed and the one-fourth deductions are shown in lump sum against each division. From the document it is also evident that the Nizam withheld the one-fourth deductions up to 1787-88 which was made from 1781-82.

Total amount of *chauth*, etc.	Rs 10,700
One-fourth deductions withheld	Rs 2,675
Net due to the Marathas	Rs 8,025


Rs 10,700
Chauth with karkuni
5,250
Chauth
5,000
Karkuni
250
Babti with karkuni
5,000
Babti
4,750
Karkuni
250
Sardeshmukhi with karkuni
450
Sardeshmukhi
400
karkuni
50

The document[112] is arrears bill for the *khalisa* lands of *subah* Muhammadabad. A portion is extracted here, showing the amount of arrears due for

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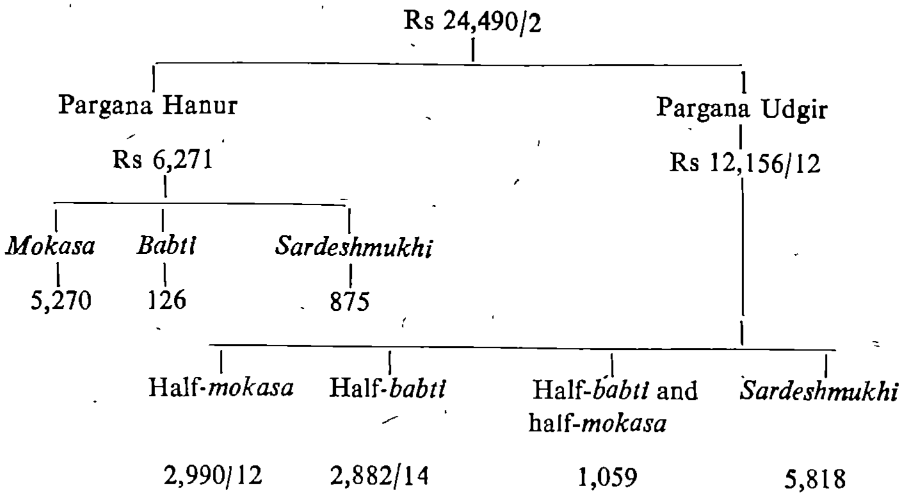
[110] Here it means actual amount or specific sum or value of the levy.
[111] Document No. 11014, R.P.P., S A.H.
[112] Document No. 1072/3, R.P.P., S.A.H.

1787-88 from the *parganas* Hanur and Udgir. under the administration of Sazaul Mulk Bahadur.


Rs 24,490/2
Pargana Hanur
Pargana Udgir
Rs 6,271
Rs 12,156/12
Mokasa
Babti
Sardeshmukhi
5,270
126
875
Half-*mokasa*
Half-*babti*
Half-*babti* and half-*mokasa*
Sardeshmukhi
2,990/12
2,882/14
1,059
5,818

It will be noticed from the extracts that half-shares, *nisf-mokasa* and *nisf-babti* have been claimed only in regards to the pargana Udgir and not for the other pargana. And *chauth* does not find mention; *mokasa* is recorded to have been claimed instead. *Sahotra* also has not been claimed. And since the Nizam took the responsibility of payment cash for the claims of the levies from the Crown lands we find no claim towards *karkuni* in this document.

The purpose of half-*mokasa* or half-*babti* is nowhere mentioned in the documents. Nor is any reference made to these in the works dealing with the administrative system of the Marathas. Since the amounts of half levies is mentioned only in the documents giving details of arrears due, it is possible that full amounts of the levies were not claimable from the particular area and only half the amount was claimable, i.e., half the amount of the levies might have been paid earlier and as such the balance of half the levy was claimed. The terms *nisf-mokasa, nisf-babti* might have been applied to distinguish the half amounts.

A document[113] clearly states the rate of *sardeshmukhi* at Rs 10 per Rs 110 (*sardeshmukhi yak sad deh ra deh rupia*), or 9 per cent. Though the document is dated 1776-77, on the top of every page it is stated that the rates and amounts are according to the prevailing practice during the times of Nizamu'l Mulk (*Muafaq Ma'amul Bandegan Hazrat Makhfarat Ma'ab*).

A document[114] gives details about the distribution of *rahdari* into different heads of *chauth*, *sardeshmukhi*, *babti*, *rusum* (perquisites) of the *zamindars* and the percentage of the division. The period covered is from 1748 to 1774. Out of 25 per cent of the levy, two-thirds (2/3) was towards *chauth* and one-third (1/3) for *babti*. That is, the allocation of the one-third portion of the amount for *babti* is against the usual practice of the Maratha administration. As mentioned above the share of *babti* was 25 per cent of the total amount of *chauth*. This is disproved by the rate in several documents. It implies that 33$\frac{1}{3}$

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[113] Document No. 95/8, R P.P., S A.H.

[114] Document No. 94/3, R.P.P., S.A.H.

TABLE IX

STATEMENT SHOWING THE RATE OF PERCENTAGE OF DISTRIBUTION OF *chauth* AND *sardeshmukhi* INTO THEIR SUB-DIVISION

1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	
Maratha levies Rs as ps	*Chauth Rs as ps*	*Mokasa Rs as ps*	*Babti Rs as ps*	*Sahotra Rs as*	*Sardeshmukhi Rs as*	*Source*
32/6/9	14/10— (45%)	—	7/3/9 (22%)	—	10 (32%)	Table I
27/8/9	—	13/3/3 (47.2%)	4/12/6 (18%)	—	9/9 (40%)	Doc. No. 94 R.P.P.
35/—/—	—	16/14 (48.3%)	5/10 (16%)	—	12/8 (35.7%)	,,
29/—/—	14/15/— (51%)	—	7/6/— (25%)	—	6/11/0 (23%)	,,
32/8/—	22/8/— *a*) — *b*) (69%)	15/13/6 (70.4%) (47.9%)	5/4/6 (23%) (16%)	1/6 (6%) (4%)	10 — (4%)	App. Doc, II
32/8/—	22/8/— *a*) — *b*) (69%)	15/14/3 (70.6%) (48.8%)	5/4/9 (23%) (32%)	1/5 (6%) (5%)	10 — (4%)	App. Doc. I
52/8/—	30 (57%)	—	10 (19%)	—	12/8 (24%)	Table II
37/8/—	18/12 (50%)	—	6/4 (16%)	—	12/8 (33%)	,,
28/2/9	15/0/9 (62%)	—	5/— (18%)	—	8/2 (20%)	Table I
32/11/—	17/— (79%)	—	5/11 (17%)	—	10 (3%)	,,

[1] Figures in Columns 2-6 are actual amounts of the individual levies; while below them, within the paranthesis indicate the percentages.

[2] At S. Nos. 5 and 6, the percentage of (*a*) indicate that calculated for the amount of *chauth* (i.e., for Rs 22/8) and those of (*b*) for the total amount of the levies (i.e., Rs 32/8).

per cent was reserved for *babti* and not 25 per cent. This upsets the standard percentage of divisions mentioned above which needs revision (see Table X). In this document the Nizam's share is given as two portions, since one portion was allotted for *sih-bandi*. But in other documents 75 per cent or three portions of the total receipts is mentioned as Sarkar's share.[115] Some documents give

TABLE X

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT TO ILLUSTRATE THE INCONSISTENCY IN THE DIVISION OF MARATHA LEVIES IN SOME PARGANAS OF *khalisa* IN THE SUBAHS OF BIDAR AND BIJAPUR FOR 1789-90. THE TOTAL AMOUNT[1] OF ARREARS IS Rs 3, 39, 713/15/6, OF WHICH Rs 57350/1 IS FROM *khalisa* AND Rs 92, 885/4/3 FROM JAGIRS

1	2	3	4	5	6
Pargana	*Amount* *Rs as*	*Chauth* *Rs as*	*Babti* *Rs as*	*Sahotra* *Rs as*	*Sardeshmukhi* *Rs as*
Bardapur	3825	325 (M)[2]	2350	1150	
Q. Khed	1485/—	900	175	60	325
Nilanga	15122/8	4211 2000 (M)	3125	386/8	5400
Naldurg	1464/12		464/14		1000/—
Kalimungi	18927/4	10125 725 (M)	3000	750	5062/1
Owsa	15521 (after deducting one-fourth)	450 (M)	3628/8	1200	7700[3]
Odgeer	3602/—/3	1630/8 Half-*chauth*[4] and *babti* =972/— Half-*chauth* 631/8	Half-*babti* 631/8	139/8	687/8/3
Hasnabad	3135/12 (after deducting one-fourth)				
Q. Ankeli	416/2		145/8	17/2	233/8
Aland	14643	10,323/8	3441	887/8	—

SOURCE : Document No. 1072/15-17, R.P.P., S.A.H.

[1] Only a small portion of the document relating to the *khalisa* on the Crown lands is given here.

[2] M=*Mokasa*.

[3] Here Rs 25428/—/—towards *kaodana* are mentioned.

[4] Here *nisf* (half) is mentioned in the document.

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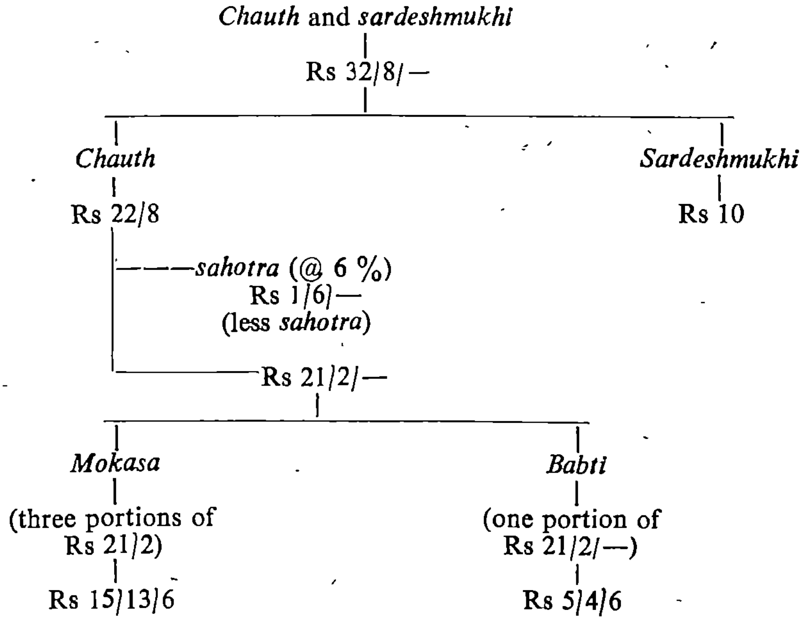
[115] Document No. 94/2, 3, 5, R.P.P., S.A.H.

even less share to the Sarkar, and it varied as already mentioned above.[116]

A document[117] of 1781 gives percentage of the Maratha levies payable to the Peshwa at Rs 32 and 8 annas per Rs 100 and the rate of distribution into other sub-divisions is given below:


Chauth and *sardeshmukhi*
Rs 32/8/—
Chauth
Rs 22/8
Sardeshmukhi
Rs 10
sahotra (@ 6 %)
Rs 1/6/—
(less *sahotra*)
Rs 21/2/—
Mokasa
(three portions of Rs 21/2)
Rs 15/13/6
Babti
(one portion of Rs 21/2/—)
Rs 5/4/6

From an analysis of the these documents the following facts emerge about the inconsistency in the rate of the percentage of distribution of the Maratha levies into its sub-divisions. In actual practice the proceeds of the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* were divided as follows:

(1) *Mokasa:* 75 per cent and not 66 per cent. Since three portions of the amount of *chauth* (after deducting 6 per cent *sahotra*) were allotted as *mokasa* and one portion as *babti*, (Appendix Documents I and II). But this rate too was not constant. The rate of division varied as evident from Table IX.

(2) *Babti:* 33⅓ per cent (i.e., one-third of the *mokasa*) and not 25 per cent (Documents I and II appendix). But slight variation in this rate is also found as indicated in Table IX.

(3) *Sardeshmukhi:* Varied from 9 per cent to 11 per cent—not uniform. Some documents clearly state the rate of *sardeshmukhi* at 10 per cent, some at 9 per cent while some state at Rs 10 per Rs 110, i.e., 9 per cent, (Tables I and III, Appendix Document IX). Another document give the rate of *sardesh-*

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[116] Document No. 94 and 103, R.P.P.

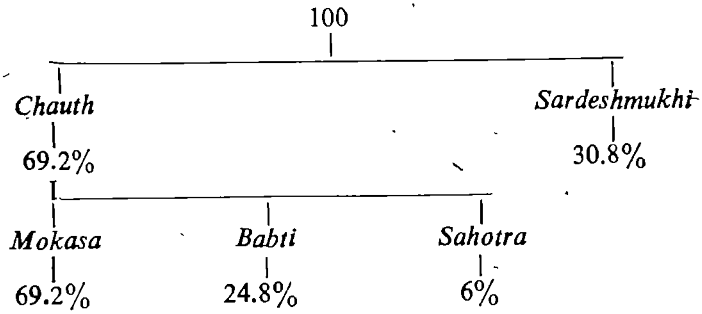
[117] Document No. 801, R.P.P., S.A.H.

mukhi at 11 per cent (Table II).

(4) *Sahotra:* 6 per cent.

(5) Half-*Mokasa* and Half-*Babti:* The principle of their division was same as mentioned above for their full shares.

However, if we consider the documents[118] giving the principle adopted for the allocation of the Maratha levies into its various sub-divisions the following percentages are derived.[119] It will be noticed in the chart that the amount of *chauth* (69.2 per cent) is again re-distributed into *mokasa* (69.2 per cent of the *chauth* amount), *babti* (24.8 per cent) and *sahotra* (6 per cent).



But the standard rates for the distribution of the Maratha levies do not always hold good. Great inconsistency is found in the distribution of the levies of some parganas of the Crown lands and jagirs in the province of Bidar and Bijapur for 1789-90, as is evident from the portion of the document, giving details of the arrears, extracted in Table X.[120]

IMPACT ON THE MUGHAL ECONOMY

The Mughal *sanads* granting *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* stipulated that the yield on this account would be four and a half crores of rupees out of the total estimated revenue of about eighteen crores of rupees. But the country had been so devastated by wars that after Aurangzeb's death the actual yield was about half the estimated revenue. The proportion of 25 per cent for *chauth* was apparently fixed upon the understanding that local expenses of the Mughal Government were about one-fourth of the entire collections. The *chauth* collection was conceded to the Marathas who undertook to collect on the understanding that it involved no real loss of the net revenue which reached the central authorities at Delhi, being 75 per cent of the total collections.[121]

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[118] Document Nos. 11265, 8, R.P.P.

[119] The percentages are derived on the basis of the amounts given in the document I of the Appendix.

[120] Document No. 1072/15-17, R.P.P.

However, owing to the generally depressed state of the country the Maratha levies absorbed nearly the whole of the actual receipts and left but little that could reach the Mughal exchequer. It exhausted the paying capacity of the zamindars and others and the Mughal agents were unable to recover any amount.[122]

To the Mughal grants of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* the Marathas later on added 5 per cent for *kaodana*. This amounted to 40 per cent of the total receipts of the Mughal treasury. But this too was only on paper, as actually it worked out to be much higher, about 50 per cent of the estimated revenue of the Mughals and almost whole of the *hasil* or actual receipts. This will be evident from the following analysis.

At places where the Mughals or the Nizam undertook the responsibility of collecting the Maratha levies and paid cash to the Marathas, they had to incur additional expenses towards the following heads: *tahsildari-chauth*[123] (6 per cent); *haq-e-tahsil*[124] (6 per cent); *havaldari*[125] (6 per cent); *rusum-i-zamindar*[126] (2 per cent); *sih-bandi*[127] (7 per cent); and *karkuni*[128] (15.97 per cent); (Table XI). This works out to 32 per cent of the amount collected. But all these expenses were not incurred simultaneously.

So, let us consider that at least half of these, i.e., 16 per cent were incurred on an average. Since where *tahsildari-chauth* was paid; *havaldari* was not paid.[129] Sometimes *sih-bandi* was not paid to the big jagirdars who undertook to collect *chauth*.[130] Further, the Mughal government had to incur expenditure towards periodical *jamabandi* or assessment whenever and wherever the Marathas desired by appointing special investigating officers to settle the dispute. But these expenses cannot be estimated. So, on an average we may say that 16 per cent were spent for the collection and maintenance of accounts of the Maratha levies. This plus 40 per cent of *chauth*, *sardeshmukhi* and *kaodana* works out to 56 per cent of the total receipts when collected through the agency of the Mughals

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[121] Ranade, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[122] Yusuf Hussain Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[123] Document No C 391 (Omalan), S.A.H.

[124] Document No. C 46, C 406 (Omalan), S.A.H. Sometimes *Haq-e tahsil* and *sih-bandi* were combined and paid at the rate of 7 per cent, Document No. C41, C 59 (Omalan, S.A.H.) Sometimes the combined rate was 6.5 per cent, Document C 51.

[125] Document No. 94/1, R.P.P. *Havaldari*, a charge made to the villages for the expenses of subordinate revenue officials sent to watch or to attach the crops (*Wilson's Glossary*, p. 317).

[126] Perquisites or commission allowed to the zamindar usually at 2 per cent. Document No. 94/6, R P.P.

[127] Document Nos. C 10, C 21, C 56, (Omalan), S.A.H.

[128] Mughal government paid *karkuni* to the Marathas at this rate as evident from the several documents cited above Similarly, same figure may be taken into account for calculating approximate expenditure incurred by the Mughals on this account. However, this amount was not claimed nor mentioned in the documents as expenses of the Mughal government.

[129] Document No. C 98, S.A.H.

[130] Document No. C 73, 79, S.A.H.

And from places where the Maratha collectors made direct collections they sometimes charged expenses of their *mamlatdars*[131] (11.7 per cent), expenses of troops[132] (82.4 per cent), *sih-bandi*[133] (33.8 per cent) *tankhwah* of *mokasadars*[134] (21 per cent) and *karkuni* (15.97 or 16 per cent) towards the maintenance of accounts of arrears (Table XI). But again all these expenses were

TABLE XI
STATEMENT SHOWING THE EXPENSES INCURRED AT DIFFERENT TIMES FOR THE COLLECTION OF THE MARATHA LEVIES

(*A*) *Expenses when collection was made by the Marathas—per cent of the total Maratha levies collected :*

Expenses of *Maratha Troops*	Expenses of *Mamlatdars*	*Karkuni*	*Sih-bandi* to *Amils* of Mughal Government	*Tankhwah of the Mokasadars*
82.4%[1]	11.7%[2]	15.97[3]	33.8%[4]	21%[5]

(*B*) *Expenses when collection was made by the Mughal officials for the province of Hyderabad and all the Crown lands in all the provinces of the Deccan. per cent of total Maratha levies collected:*

Tahsildari-Chauth	*Sih-bandi*	*hav-e-tahsil*	*Havaldari*	*Rusum-i-Zamindari*
6%[6]	7%[8]	6%[8]	6%[9]	2%[10]

SOURCES : [1]Document Nos. 87 and 88, R.P.P. (See Table VI.).

[2]Document No. 915, R.P.P. (See Table VIII). Here Percentages are calculated on total amount of the Maratha levies.

[3]See Table VII.

[4]Document No. 915, R.P.P. (See Table VIII.) Percentage derived from cols. 2 and 10

[5]Document No. 81 and 88. (See Table VI).

[6]Document C 391, S.A.H.

[7]Document Nos. C 41, 31, 48, S A.H.

[8]Document C46, C406, S.A.H. (Sometimes *haq-e-tahsil* was combined and paid at the rate of 7 per cent only. Document C41, C59, S.A.H.)

[9]Document IX Appendix.

[10]Document 9416, R.P.P.

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[131] Document No. 89, R.P.P.

[132] Document Nos. 87 and 88, S.A.H. See Table VI

[133] Document No. 915, R.P P. See Table VI.

[134] Document No. 87 and 88, R.P.P. See Table VI.

not met nor charged simultaneously. The expenses toward troops were charged only on one occasion. So, this may not be taken into the account of regular expenses. Similarly expenses towards *sih-bandi* and pay of *mokasadars* may be excluded as these were also charged on one occasion. We may consider expenses towards *mamlatdars* and *karkuni* only which works out to 27.97 per cent. But both these expenses were not charged simultaneously; so, as in the previous case, we may take into account only half of this i.e., 14 per cent on an average. That is, the total collections of the Maratha levies and their expenses amount to 54 per cent (25 per cent *chauth*, 10 per cent *sardeshmukhi*, 5 per cent *kaodana* and 14 per cent expenses) when collected through the agency of the Marathas themselves.[135]

The average percentage of the Maratha levies and expenses incurred for collection through the two modes works out to 55 per cent of the total receipts of the Mughals. And even if we consider the Maratha levies at the rate of Rs 32.5 per cent as given in some documents[136] the percentage would be 52.5 per cent.

Now in the light of this analysis the statement of Khafi Khan that "they [Marathas] were to receive nearly half the total revenue [of the Mughals] recorded in the government rent-roll,"[137] seems to be no exaggeration. Though this statement of Khafi Khan pertains to the first quarter of the eighteenth century it is equally true for the entire period of the century, as the documents on which basis the percentages have been worked out pertains to the whole of eighteenth century.

Thus, "owing to the depressed state of the country, the *sardeshmukhi* and *chauth* revenue nearly absorbed the whole of the actual receipts [the *hasil* which was far less than the *jama*], and left but little that could reach the Imperial [Mughal] exchequer"[138] and this ruined the Mughal economy.

The *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* system (including *ghasdana*) came to an end on 17 December 1803 when the Marathas renounced their claims on the Nizam's (Sikandar Jah Asaf Jah III) territories through the Treaty of Devgaon with the British. The Treaty further provided that all the differences between the Nizam, the Peshwa and the Sena Sahib (Porsarji Bhonsle) were to be arbitrated by the British Government.[139]

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[135] Document Nos. 894/3, 901/2, 11014, 855/64, 1095/1, 962, 855/57, R.P.P. See Table VII.

[136] Document Nos. I and II, Appendix.

[137] Khafi Khan, II, p. 786.

[138] Ranade, *op cit*. 1966 edn., pp. 102-103.

[139] Grant Duff II, 1921 edn., p. 361. The settlement of Maratha levies dragged on for several years and the British arbitrated between the Nizam and the Peshwa. This is evident from scores of documents at the State Archives like Document Nos. 11237, 1106, 11273, etc., of 25 December 1817.

APPENDIX

DOCUMENT I

Statement Defining Suraj[1] (*Maratha Levies*)

Sardeshmukhi	*Mokasa* or *chauth*
10%	Rs 15/14/3

Details of *chauth*, *babti*, *sahotra* and *sardeshmukhi* per hundred rupees. For example, from Rs 100 of *jamabandi* after deducting *rusum* of zamindars.

Share of the sarkar — Rs 67/8
suraj — Rs 32/8

Sardeshmukhi	*Mokasa* or *chauth*
10%	Rs 100
Rs 10/—	Rs 10 *sardeshmukhi*
	Rs 90
	Rs 22/8 (*chauth*—one-fourth of Rs 90)
	Rs 1/5 *sahotra* (6% of the *chauth* amount Rs 22/8)
	Rs 5/4/9—*babti* (one-fourth of Rs 21/3)
	Rs 15/14/3 *mokasa*

SOURCE: Document No. 11265, R.P.P., S.A.H.

DOCUMENT II

Amount of *mamladaran* (representatives of the Peshwa) in the districts of Rao Pandit Pradhan. For example one hundred rupees is equal[2] to Rs 32/8

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[1] The word *suraj* implies Maratha levies of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. Appears to be corruption of *swaraj*—the share of the revenue claimed by the Marathas from any conquered country, the same as the *chauth*—*Wilson's Glossary*, p 795.

[2] The text has "*Raqham Mamladaran Rao Pandit Pradhan maslan sad rupia ra se bist rupia hashat anna meeshawad.*"

Sardeshmukhi
Rs-100
(total amount after deducting
sih-bandi fixed Rs 10)

"chauth, etc."
Rs 100
(total amount after deducting
sih-bandi)
Rs 10 less *sardeshmukhi*
Rs 90
Fixed one-fourth *chauth*
Rs 22/8/

sahotra	*babti*
per hundred Rs 6	Rs 22/8/
Rs 22/8/	less Rs 1/6 sahotra
fixed Rs 1/6/	
	Rs 21/2/
mokasa Rs 15/13/6	Rs 15/13/6 *mokasa*
	Rs 5/4/6

SOURCE: Document No. 8, R.P.P., S.A.H.

DOCUMENT III

Following are the *Irshada'at* (Orders) of Nizam Ali Khan Asaf Jah II regarding the settlement of different aspects of the *chauth* affair given on the report of Peshwa Rao Pandit Pradhan Mahadeo Rao. The document is dated 1186 F. (1786-87).

I. "Ordered that the amount (of *chauth*) fixed during the times of *Maq farat Ma'ab* (Nizamu'l Mulk) will be compared (with those submitted by Mahadeo Rao) and will act according to the investigations. For the remaining of the *mahalat* for which comparative figures are not received, investigations will be made by appointing an *Amin*."

"If investigations were not done satisfactorily then again they will be investigated (for fixing the amount of *chauth*)."

"Three methods are provided, one of them may be adopted:

"Firstly, certain amount has been written in the *sarkar* (Mughal records) from the times of Nizamu'l Mulk. This amount (of *chauth*) will be compared (with that of Mahadeo Rao's Report). If found correct, it will be continued. Otherwise, as per the rules, investigations would be made. If any difference, it will be adjusted mutually."

"Secondly, what you (Maratha) have fixed should keep it up. After investigating whatever amount, whether less or more, will be adjusted."

"Thirdly, until the figures of Nizamu'l Mulk's time are agreed upon, the figures given by Mahadeo Rao are accepted."

"The question of one-fourth (*chaharrum*) share withheld by the *sarkar* will be decided later on after the investigations.

II. "From places in Berar Balaghat which are thinly populated the amount of *kaodana*, etc., is not being received even though *kaodana* is available during the season. And the amount which was fixed during the times of Nizamu'l Mulk is due from the jagirdar to the '*suraj*' (Maratha ruler) has not been paid. It is ordered that those areas may be distributed equally (for the purpose of repopulating and for the collection of the arrears) between the clerks of the Rao Pandit Pradhan and those of the *sarkar*.

"Until the receipts of the total amount from the *tahsil* of the *mahalats*, half the amount be given to the jagirdar and half to the Marathas, including that realized from the *Kaodana*, etc., when the amount equal to the *jama kamil* of Nizamu'l-Mulk's times is received then the distribution will be shared equally between the *sarkar*, *suraj* and the jagirdar. If the amount received by the Sarkar is in excess or less, it will be adjusted."

III. "Ordered that the case of Holkara of Pargana Nilanga be disposed off according to the official papers in the office of Ganghadhar Bhat. If any amount received in excess to be returned back."

IV. "Settlement to be made regarding the amounts of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the *mahalat* of Narsi which was under the administration of Fazil Beg Khan (late)."

V. "Though at the time of the submission of the petition the amount demanded was Rs 5,30,000 from late Fazil Beg Khan, later on an amount of Rs 20,000 was paid as per the decision of Hari Pandit." "Ordered that if Balaji Pandit gives a petition, necessary action will be taken in this regard.

VI. Collection of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* for the current year extends to the next year. It was ordered to collect the due amount at every season (*fasal*) and arrears should not be allowed."

VII. "In 1185 F. *mahalats* of Pattan, etc., were transferred from the possession of Rao Pandit Pradhan to the *sarkar* (Nizam); but decision about the collection of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from these places for 1185 F. (1785-86) has not yet been made."

"Ordered to find out whether the amount of Maratha levies (*raqam-e-suraj*) due from Pattan is with the *gumashtadarans* of the Pandit or with the *amils* (of the Nizam). Any excess or deficiency in the amount would be adjusted."

VIII. "Ordered to send papers regarding the Adoni case to Nawab Azimuddaula for settlement."

DOCUMENT IV

"Translation of the *Sanad* of *Iqrar Nama* (Agreement-Bond) with the seal of

Fateh Singh[3] in Hindi regarding the stipulated (*bilmuqta*) amount of *chauth*, etc. for 1158 F. (1749-50) for the Zilla Karnatak, as detailed below":

Rs 7,25,000

Arcot *Mahal*
Sewal (Batul) *Sarkar-e Aali*
Rs 3 lakhs
(to be given every year from the treasury)
Cuddapa (*Karpah*)
Rs 1,20,000
Sera
Rs 1,20,000
6 Mahals
Sera, Balapur, Hawaskota
Kothar Beem Koti

Qhamar Nagar
Rs 70,000

Adoni
Rs 1,25,000

"Total Rs 7,25,000 from the *mahalat* mentioned above, to be given from the Sarkar's treasury. Arrears of the previous year is claimed. For its claim instructions be issued that the *ta'aluqdars* (collectors) of every place be advised to remit to Mahadeo Rao. If the arrears are not received within four months then this amount should be given to us from the *sarkar* and in lieu of this, the *mahalats* mentioned may be taken over by the *sarkar*."

"Mahadev Janoji Jaswant Nimbalkar who is mediating in this case will collect money from the treasury and remit us (to the Marathas)."

"Whatever the *kamaishdars* have collected, will be deducted from the total amount."

"Next year, the *ta'aluqdars* of every place; except that of Arcot will be liable for punishment" (if they fail to remit the amount of the Maratha levies). And from Arcot which is mahal of *Sarkar-e-Aali* (*khalisa*), the amount will be collected as agreed upon and no deviation will be made on the side of the Marathas. Attention of *Bandeqan-e-Aali* (Nasir Jung) is necessary to whatever has been agreed."

"An amount of rupees one lakh has been fixed towards *kaodana* (grass and grain for horses) as the responsibility of the zamindars. Since this amount has not been paid for the last two years necessary orders be issued in this regard also for payment."

"Amount towards present (*tawazo*) to Raja Sahu, has not been received from the zamindars. Orders may be issued for payment."

"This has been written on Jamdi'ussani 1158H (1745) in accordance with the agreement."

SOURCE: Doc. No. C401, S.A H.

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[3] Fateh Singh was Maratha chief responsible for the collection of the Maratha levies in the Karnataka. See *f.n.* 50 (last para) *supra*.

DOCUMENT V

Statement of estimated amount of *babti*, *sahotra*, and *sardeshmukhi* payable to the Rao Pandit Pradhan from the *subah* of Khujistabunyad (Aurangabad).

Rs 1,27,84,121/9 — total *kamil*
Rs 2,49,216/10/9 — towards Rao Pandit Pradhan
Rs 70,82,725/9 — total
Rs 9,33,508/14/3 — deducted due to the wrong entry by Mahpat Ram

P. Kandapur
Rs 3,90,964—
mamladaran
Rs 3,48,093
P. Antar
Rs 3,34,379/2/6
(with *mamladaran*)
Balance Rs 66,34,904/14/3
Old mahalat
Rs 57,01,396/3/6
jagirdars *inamdars*
Rs 34,75,677/1 Rs 2,15,648
khalisa
Rs 40,72,000/2/6

P. Jalnapur
including *mamladaran*
without *mamladaran*
Rs 43,671/3/9 Rs 1,57,206/6
P. Ellora
Rs 50,159/1/3
(without *mamladaran*)
kamil
mahalat of Holkar, etc.
(confiscated by the *sarkar*
Rs 9,33,508/14

Rs 9,72,070/11/3 *kamil* without Chauth, etc.

Sair, etc.
Subah Khujistabunyad
Rs 4,35,989/15/3
Sair Daulatabad
Rs 6,690/7/3

P. Ellora, Mahal Holkar
Rs 50,159/1/3
P. Karin (need verification)

Rs 1,943/3/6
Rs 56,62,834/6 *Kamil*
Rs 19,23,588/8/9

Mahalat and Srisad, etc.
Rs 50,27,695/13/6 *kamil*

Darul Zarab
(Mint)
Rs 15,432/—/3
villages of Pargana
Kandapur (*Mahal* Holkar)
Rs 43,671/3/9
P. Akni, *Mahal* Holkar
Rs 3,34,379/2/6
Villages *waqf* (endowed) for
Raoza Munnavar
Rs 83,805/9

fixed amount of *chauth*,
Sardeshmukhi, etc.
Bilmuqta P. Bir
Rs 6,35,138/5/6 *kamil*

(P.=Pargana)

Rs 27,89,523/8/8	different accounts	fixed amount *bilmuqta* Rs 1,34,055

Fixed estimated amount including *sih-bandi* expenses.
Rs 9,72,894/2/3

Estimated amount		*bilmuqta*
Rs 17,89,523/8/8	*kamil*	Rs 1,34,055

Amount fixed as per the verification
and details below:
Rs 8,38,839/2/3

Rs 4,47,380/14 *kamil*	Rs 4,47,380/14	*kamil*
Rs 3,35,535/10/6	Rs 4,47,380/14/6	
Rs 4,47,380/6/— *kamil*	fixed *charrum*	
Rs 1,67,767/13/3	Rs 1,11,845/3/6	

SOURCE: Document No. 921, R.P.P.

DOCUMENT VI

"Arrears of *chauth, babti, sahotra* and *sardeshmukhi* of Rao Pandit Pradhan due from the *Mahalat-e-Khalisa, subah* Mohammadabad, as per the account papers in Hindi for the period beginning from 1191F to 1191F."
Rs 1,19,371/8/6

Now to be given by the *sarkar.*
Rs 53,090/1/6

P-Haveli Bidar *Amal*[4] Balaji Pandit. Rs 34,724/9/6	P. Mannur, *Amal* Raja Ishwant Rao and Narayan Rao Rs 9860

Taraf Mirak P. Odgir, etc.	*Mokasa*	*Babti*	*Sardeshmuki*
Amal Raja Ishwant Rao Rs 8330/8	Rs 8918	Rs 1242	Rs 600

Amal Jadu Rao from 1193 to 1195F.	*Amal* Raja Ishwant Rao	*Taraf* Lokri (P. Mannur) *Amal* Pandhora—1193F
Rs 8226/12	Rs 103/12	Rs 175

Rs 66,281/7

Saza war-ul-Mulk Bahadur	From Munnawar Ali Khan
Rs 24409/2	Rs 8765

P. Hayur *Amal* Sazawar-ul-Mulk	P. Odgeer 1197-98F	P. Mukat Mudkhed	P. Ardhapur
Rs 6271	Rs 12156/2	Rs 6025	Rs 2740

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[4] *Amal* implies administration of.

Mokasa *Babti* *Sardeshmukhi* Half-*babti* *Mokasa* and *babti* *Mokasa*- *Babti*

1197 and 1198F

Rs 5270 Rs 126 Rs 5818/8 2887/14 Rs 3875 1075 Rs 900

Sardeshmukhi Half-*babti* and Half-*mokasa* Half-*mokasa* *Sardeshmukhi* *Sardeshmukhi*

Rs 5818/8

Rs 1059 Rs 2990/12 Rs 2150 Rs 765

P. Orad P. Parwapur

Amal Anta Pandit

Rs 900 Rs 5082

Babti *Sahotra*

1196-98F 1198F

Amal Mangha Rao

Rs 3607 Rs 1150

Mokasa

(Maoza Kam-khed —1198F)

Rs 325

From Mahd. Hussain Khan Bahadur

Four Mahals. P. Makthal, Kadichor,

Amarchanta and Dudiyal.

Mokasa and *Babti*—1198F.

Rs 11000/—

From Raja Shankar Rao Bahadur

Rs 4784/13

Maoza Sirpur, etc. Taraf Narkarkura

P. Endur

Rs 1585/10 Rs 1333/9

Mokasa *Babti* 1198F *Babti* *Sahotra* 1198F

Rs 770 Rs 740/10 Rs 726/1 Rs 45

Sahotra *Sardeshmukhi* 1198F

Rs 75 Rs 562

Taraf Jolakunta *Qabza* Bisaka

P. Bhasar

Rs 180/10 Rs 1685

Mokasa 1198F *Sardeshmukhi* 1197-98F *Mokasa* 1192-93F *Sardeshmukhi* 1191-93F

Rs 63/12 Rs 116/14 Rs 700 Rs 985

From Alkaji (*Naib*-deputy	From Azam Beg Khan—
P. Otkur (Uroof Tokapalli)	P. Thamseri
Rs 15462/8	Rs 1860
Mokasa and *Babti* 1198F	*Sardeshmukhi*
	1191-98F
Rs 1400	Rs 1462/8

paid by the sarkar—
Enhanced (*eezaf*)
Rs 12968/12 Rs 1131/4

SOURCE : Document No. 94, R.P.P.

DOCUMENT VII

Details of the amount of *Chauth*, *Babti* and *Sardeshmukhi* from the Parganas Kandapur, Jalnapur and Byzapur (*Subah* Aurangabad) for the year 1185F (1775-76).

I. Pargana Kandapur

A) *Mal*	Rs 144559/8
Less due to the poor conditions of the ryot	Rs 5000
	Rs 139559/8
	Rs 4661/8
	Rs 134888/—/3

Fixed Rs 48223/11	
Sardeshmukhi	*Chauth* and *Babti*
Rs 17209/7	Rs 31114/4
Maoza (village) 129	*Maoza* — 29
Rs 144519/8	Rs 23215/4
Less *Rusum zamindars* Rs 1,12280/12	Less Rs 3299
Patti Aisi[5] from *Sardeshmukhi* Rs 1013	*Sarkar/Sardeshmukhi/Chauth*
Rs 109267/12	Rs 1048 1687 564
Rs 39089/2	Rs 577/4
	Less *Rusum of Zamindars*
	Rs 19916/4
	Rs 19318/2
	Rs 7870/9

Sardeshmukhi one-ninth share (*Nahum Hissa*)	*Chauth* and *Babti*	*Sardeshmukhi*	*Chauth* and *Babti* (one-ninth share)
	Rs 98904	Rs 2146/8	Rs 5724/1

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[5] *Patti* means occasional or extra import or cess. *Wilson's Glossary*, p 655.

Chauth
Rs 12362/15 Rs 24726/3
Patti Aisi from *Sardeshmukhi* *Patti* of Nine villages
Rs 1013
Rs 2251
Sardeshmukhi *Chauth*
Rs 1687/— Rs 564/—

B. *Siwai*
Rs 17254/8 Rs 5550/15
Sardeshmukhi *Chauth* and *babti*
Rs 1222/8 Rs 4323/7
Rs 9323/7
Chauth and *babti* Rs 3376/11
Rs 8232/4
Rs 2144/4
Rs 8222/4 Villages 129 villages 29 villages
Rs 1424/12
Havaldari[6] *Fatodari*[7] Rs 4747 Rs 10618
Rs 6997/4 Rs 525 fixed one-third portion Rs 787/— less arms Rs 154 less arms
Rs 3960 Rs 264/7
Maseleh[8] *Patti*
Rs 700/— Rs 2088/12 Kao Patta Kao
Rs 1424/12 Rs 1119/4 264/12
Inam[9] *Arnaku*[10] *Inam* *Arnaku*
Rs 3799/8 Rs 2088/12 Rs 502 Rs 30 Rs 1060
fixed Rs 230 Rs 300
Rs 1699/6 Rs 1320
Sardeshmukhi *Chauth and Babti* *Sardeshmukhi* *Chauth and Babti*
Rs 440/8 Rs 880 Rs 265 Rs 99/8

Rs 2,10,571/12
Less *Nazr* to the sarkar Rs 38000
Rs 1,72571/12

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[6] *Havaldari*—the office of tenure of a *havaldar*—a charge made to the villages for the expenses of subordinate revenue officers sent to watch or to attach the crops. *Wilson's Glossary*, p. 317.

[7] *Fatodari—Fotadar*—Poddar—a treasurer or cash keeper. Here it implies the tax collected by the *Fotadar*. *Wilson's Glossary*, p 249.

[8] *Masaleh*—implying various materials used in the preparation of anything. Here it means expenses towards the preparations. *Farhaing-e-Anand Raj*, p. 333.

[9] *Inam* is revenue fee also gift of any thing, *Wilson's Glossary*, p. 338.

[10] *Rusum of Zamindars*—perquisites of the zamindars.

Usual deductions Rs 4640
Rs 167931/12
less arms—Rs 931
Deduct *Rusum of zamindars*[11]—Rs 4661/12
Rs 16299/4

Sardeshmukhi	*Chauth* and *babti*
Rs 20439/15	Rs 4724

C. *Mal etc.*
Rs 25,425/12
Deduction due to the poor conditions of the Ryots Rs 5000
Rs 2425/12
Less *nazr* on royal appearance Rs 38000
Rs 162425/12
Usual deductions Rs 4640
Rs 157785/12
less arms Rs 971/—
Rs 1,56,814/12
Less *Rusum of zamindars*—Rs 4661/8
Rs 1,52,153/14
Rs 3,5774/10

Sardeshmukhi	*Chauth* and *babti*
Rs 18431/10	Rs 3594/11

II. Pargana Jalnapur
Rs 2,29,241/13

As per the previous *daul* (account paper)	Increase due to *rahdari*
Rs 228598/6/9	Rs 634/12/3

less shortage Rs 55286

Chaldu[12]	*Madiya*[13]	
Rs 4493/13	Rs 548/13	
Karorgiri, etc.[14]	*Kotwali*, etc.[15]	
Rs 11,000	Rs 3243/4	
	Kotwali, etc.	*Sokula*[16]
	Rs 2718/15	Rs 524/5

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[11] *Arnacu*—might be from urmansiyan—implying cess derived from village free land-*Wilson's Glossary*, p. 854.

[12] *Chaldu-Chaltu* Land in cultivation. *Wilson's Glossary*, p. 154.

[13] *Madiya-madi*—a rice-field a garden bed—here revenue accruing from such rice-fields. *Wilson's Glossary*, p. 495.

[14] A tax collected at the markets *Wilson's Glossary*, p 467.

[15] It implies tax or cess collected by the *Kotwal* (Chief Police Officer or a superintendent of market). *Wilson's Glossary*, p. 464.

[16] Not identifiable.

Rs 1,73,955/13
Less due to the poor
condition of the *ryots* Rs 5955/2
Rs 168000/11
Less *nazr* on royal appearance Rs 45000/—
Rs 123000/—
less *sih-bandi* to *sarkar* Rs 800/—
Rs 122200/11
fixed Rs 27387/—

Sardeshmukhi	*Chauth* and *babti*
Rs 11125/5	Rs 13261/11

Mal, etc.	*Sair rahdari*
Rs 1,53,000	Rs 20953/13

Less due to the poor conditions of the *ryot* Rs 5955/2
Rs 1,47,046/14
less *Nazr* on Royal appearance Rs 15000/—
Rs 102046/14
Rs 2,2524/4

Sardeshmukhi (One-ninth share per hundred)	*Chauth* and *Babti*
Rs 9277	Rs 92769/14 fixed Rs 13247/3

Siwai
Pargana Kandapur

Bhatt[17]	*Mehantana*[18]
Rs 880	Rs 3294/12 fixed Rs 1098/3

Sardesh-mukhi	*Chauth and babti*	*Sardesh-mukhi*	*Chauth and babti*
Rs 317	Rs 276/8	Rs 366	Rs 732/13

Sair Rahdari
Rs 10,080
As per the previous *daul*
Rs 9600
increase
Rs 480
fixed Rs 7389/5

Sardeshmukhi	*Chauth* and *babti*
One-fifth portion Rs 2008	Rs 8072 fixed Rs 538/15

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[17] *Bhatt* here implies land rent derived from the lands assigned to the Brahmins at a low rate (Aziz Jung: *Azamu'l Atiyat,* Hyderabad 1300 F. 70-72 and *Siyaq-e-Deccan,* 1313 F., Hyderabad, 54.

[18] Commission.

IV. Pargana Byzapur

Rs 48187/15/9

As per the previous Daul	Increased *sair*
Rs 148105/11/6	Rs 82/4/3

Less due to the poor condition of the ryots Rs 7000
Rs 141187/15/9
less *nazr* on royal appearance Rs 18000/—
Rs 123187/15/9
Less *rusum* of Zamindars Rs 1100
Rs 121187-15-9
Less *patti* Rs 726/4
Rs 120461-11-6
fixed Rs 66118/13/9

Sardeshmukhi	*Chauth* and *Babti*	
Rs 13308/0/3	Rs 53810/14	
Mal, etc.	*Sair Rahdari*	
Rs 1,43,605/11	Rs 43586/4/9	
less Rs 1000	*Sardeshmukhi*	*Chauth* and *Babti*
Rs 36605/11	Rs 432/9/7	Rs 43149/11/6
Nazr Rs 18000		Rs 2308/13

V. Pargana Byzapur

Rs 118605/11
Less *rusum of zamindars* Rs 2000
Rs 116605/11
Less forth *patti* of Jivan Rao Deshpandia Rs 726/4
Rs 115879/7
fixed Rs 64377/7

Sardeshmukhi	*Chauth* and *Babti*
One-ninth share	Rs 103004
Rs	fixed receipts Rs 51502

VI. Pargana Dawarbadi

Rs 39213/2/9
Less due to the poor condition of the Ryots Rs 700
Rs 38523/2/9
Nazr on royal appearance Rs 4811
Rs 33712/2/9

Less *Kaodana*, etc.	*Abwab*
Rs 700	Rs 65

Nazr Subedar Rs 1038
Rs 31919/2/9

Less *rusum* of zamindars Rs 687/5
Rs 31231/13/9
fixed Rs 9992/14

Sardeshmukhi
One-ninth share
Rs 3470/2

Chauth and *Babti*
per hundred Rs 32/8
Rs 6522/12

Mal, etc.
Rs 39000

Less due to the poor condition of the ryot Rs 7991/5

Maughoof (Stopped)
Rs 700
Patti Kaodana[20]
Rs 700
Patti Sar Subah[21]
Rs 1028

Nazr
Rs 4811
Abwab srideh[22]
Rs 65
Rusum zamindars
Rs 657/5

Rs 3109/11
fixed Rs 9921/16

Sardeshmukhi *Chauth* and *babti*
Rs 3445/7 Rs 6476/8

Mal
Rs 25785
less Rs 1445
Stopped
Rs 700
Patti kaodana
Rs 700
Abwab
Rs 65

Siwai
Rs
less Rs 1715/5
Rusum zamindars *Nazr ser subah*
Rs687/5 Rs 1018
fixed Rs 2139/12

Sardeshmukhi as per the above rates
Rs 743/4
Chauth and *babti* after deducting *Sardeshmukhi*
Rs 396/8

fixed Rs 7782/3

Sardeshmukhi
one-ninth share
Rs 2702/3

Chauth and *babti*
Rs 32/8 per hundred
Rs 21617/93
fixed Rs 5080

Rahdari Rs 222/2/9
fixed Rs 70/15

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[19] *Abwab Sarwan*—Monthly or yearly balance of the imposed.
[20] Cess of *Kaodana*.
[21] Cess of the *subhedar*.
[22] Taxes of the village.

	Sardeshmukhi	*Chauth* and *babti*
Fixed	Rs 24/11	Rs 187/7/9 fixed Rs 46/4

VII. Pargana Sandwari

less due to the poor condition of the *ryot* Rs 244/7/3
Rs 12975/9
less *nazr* on royal appearance Rs 2500
Rs 9875/9
Less *rusum zamindars* Rs 259/2/9
Rs 9615/14
fixed Rs 3059/6/3

Sardeshmukhi	*Chauth* and *babti*
Rs 873/14/6	Rs 2185/7/9
Mal	*Rahdari*
Rs 12244/7/7	Rs 119/8
	Rs 37/10
Less stopped Rs 244/7/3	*Sardeshmukhi* *Chauth* and *babti*
Rs 12000/—/4	Rs 10/5/6 Rs 109/2/9
	Rs 27/4/9

Nazr on royal appearance Rs 12500
Rs 9755/8/9
Rusum zamindars Rs 259/2/9
Rs 9496/6
Rs 6021-12-3

Sardeshmukhi	*Chauth* and *babti* after deducting *Sardeshmukhi*
Rs 863/9	Rs 2158/3/7

SOURCE: Doc. No. 85/7, R.P.P.

DOCUMENT VIII

Qabuliyat (Deed of acceptance) with the seal of Khwaja Inayatullah Khan *Diwan-e-Badshahi*, *subah* Hyderabad, dated 29 Safar 1173 H (Oct. 1759), that I myself agree to take the contract (*ta'ahud*) for the collection of the share of the sarkar and *chauth*, amounting to Rs 2658/11—from the villages of pargana Pattanchura etc. *subah* Hyderabad which is the *jagir mashrut Diwani*[23] of mine. I take the responsibility of depositing the said amount in the treasury of the sarkar. Orders for the issuance of a *Sanad* of *Ijara* for the year 1169F (1760-61) may be issued.

Rs 11276-6 (*kamil*)

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[23] *Jagir Mashrut Diwani* —conditional assignment for the remuneration of the fiscal duties as a *Diwan*. Aziz Jung: *Azamul Atiyat*, pp. 36, 102; *Wilson's Glossary*, p. 577.

Share of the sarkar
Rs 2518/11

Jagir Mashrut Diwani Subah
Rs 8757/11

From *Maoza*
Aminpur
P. Pattancheru

From *maoza*
Kangra Buzurg
P. *Haveli* Hyderabad
Rs 5938/12

From *maoza*
Aminpur
P. Pattancheru
Rs 12260/12

from Pargana
haveli Hyderabad
Rs 3843/13

Tarkapalli
Rs 2770

Kangra Buzurg
Rs 1498

Deduct share of the sarkar Rs 1498/12/3
Deduct share of the sarkar Rs 1019/4/9
Fixed *ta'ahud* for the whole year
Rs 2658/11

Original (*Asl*)
Rs 2408/11

Increase (*Izafa*)
Rs 250

From Pargana Pattancheru and *maoza* Aminpur
Share of the sarkar
Rs 1019/14/9
Fixed *ta'ahud* Rs 1763/3

Jagir *Mushrut*
Rs 4918/13/3

Asl
Rs 1493/3

Izafa
Rs 250

Sarkar's share
Rs 1019/14/9 (*Kamil*)
Fixed *ta'ahud* Rs 493/3

Chauth Jagir *Mashrut*
Rs 4918/13/3
(fixed according to the investigations of Venkat Kishna Deshmukh)
Rs 1250

From pargana *haveli* Hyderabad
Rs 5342/10
Rs 5942/10 (*kamil*)
Sarkar's share
Rs 1498/12/3
Fixed amount of *ta'ahud* as per the previous,
Rs 915/8

Jagir *Mashrut*
Rs 3843/13/3

Sarkar's share
Rs 1498/12/3 (*kamil*)

Fixed *ta'ahud*
Rs 600

Chauth jagir *Mashrut*
Diwani
Rs 3843/13/3 (Kamil)
fixed *Chauth*
Rs 315/8

SOURCE: Document No. C/101, Omalan, S.A.H.

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Price-making and Market Hierarchy in Early Medieval South India

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Historical scholarship on trade in ancient India has attempted to identify the place of commerce within a society which was primarily not trade oriented. But even in such an agrarian society, trade seems to arise naturally as a result of the geographic dispersal of the products of the soil, due to their different requirements of temperature, humidity, soil quality, etc. For example, wet rice agriculture is confined to areas meeting the requirements for its growth, areas with large amounts of water readily available, while areas with little water adapted their agriculture to accommodate their habitat. Only certain areas of the Indian subcontinent produced spices, pepper for example, necessitating trade to articulate their distribution to non-producing areas.[1] Similarly, areca-nut, an item seemingly used throughout the subcontinent even in early times, was the product of a palm tree that required a specific habitat.[2] Thus, although ancient Indian society was essentially agrarian, historical sources present evidence that within this society trade flourished.

Among the available sources stone and copper plate inscriptions have proved invaluable in the reconstruction of India's historical past. Inscriptions from south Indian temples, for example, record not only gifts to a temple, usually land or money, but also interaction between the temple and its community. Though temple inscriptions were primarily religious documents emphasizing actions which affected the temple itself—events which were often reported using a good deal of culturally symbolic vocabulary—by the analysis of key words and phrases, both political and economic activities as well as degrees of social interaction, though ill-reported, may be established. This essay, as with other scholarship which is based on these incomplete and fragmentary sources, is necessarily speculative. While recognizing that the sources impose limitations, we have formed certain impressions of the data and intend to suggest ways, using the available inscriptional records, in which early Indian trade and the market centres which came to dominate it may be examined.

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[1] For a brief summary of commerce in early India see A.L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India*, New York, 1959, pp. 215-31.

[2] Areca-nuts are a product of a type of palm, which grows best in areas which are not subject to heavy rainfall. See Sir George Watt, *The Industrial Products of India*, London,1908, pp. 86, 920.

This essay is based on the author's examination of Tamil inscriptions dating to Cōḷa times (A.D. 850-1279), the golden age of early medieval south Indian civilization. An important feature of south India's political landscape during this period was administratively autonomous village and regional assemblies known as *ūr*, *nāḍu*, *brahmadēya*, and *nagaram*, which had remained stable despite the rise and fall of several imperial dynasties. This study focuses on the assembly of regional commercial centres, known as *nagaram*, and this institution's administrative and marketing functions. By examining the position of trade and traders within south Indian society this study proposes that commerce was institutionalized to mitigate its more harmful effects. An analysis of the distribution of *nagaram* suggests that there was a maximum of one *nagaram* in each traditional unit of regional administration (*nāḍu*), and that this was intended to contain the commercial penetration of foreign merchants within the region's designated market, usually a nagaram.

By the late twelfth century international traders considered Coromandel coast emporia among their regular ports of call. The nature of the commodities these traders acquired in south Indian ports—pearls, areca-nuts, spices, and cotton products[3]—required a regular, ongoing relationship with the hinterland to allow locally produced goods to reach the coastal centres of international exchange.[4] Various stone and copper plate inscriptions dating to Cōḷa times suggest that there was considerable commercial activity in the south Indian hinterland and that well-organized trade networks supplied the commodities demanded by the foreign traders.

THE SETTING

Local commercial centres provided the setting for the exchange of goods and services in the Cōḷa domain. Such centres had streets of permanent shops (*aṅgāḍi*) where exchanges were continuously transacted.[5] *Kaḍai* are distinguished as being a different sort of commercial area which are probably best characterized as "bazaar." In one such bazaar street (*kaḍaitteru*) those from outside the community were said to have offered paddy, rice and other commodities which were sold by measuring, articles which were placed on the ground and sold, heaps of commodities which were sold by weight, and other goods which were sold from baskets.[6] Another feature of local commerce was the fair (*tāvaḷam*). Local inscriptions indicate that market centres held periodic fairs which convened in another area of the community. Uttaramērūr, Chingleput, for instance, held a periodic cattle market[7] while Jambai, South Arcot, was the scene of a weekly fair.[8] A thirteenth-century inscription notes that in one community which held a fair each Tuesday, "whatever official exacts tolls, firewood, grain . . . ornaments and clothes, or commissions on sales, has transgressed the order of the king . . . ,"[9] providing a clue to the variety of commodities exchanged at such a fair.

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[3] See F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries entitled Chu-fan chi*, St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 96.

[4] Although pearls were available along the south Indian coastal region, areca-nuts and cotton were definitely not agricultural products of the delta regions adjacent to the major ports. For the distribution of cotton production in southern India see *Economic Atlas of Madras State*, New Delhi, 1962, p. 52. On the growth of areca-nuts see Watt, *op. cit.*

[5] See, for example, *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Archaeological Survey of India (henceforth cited by sequence number alone), 40 of 1895 (*South Indian Inscriptions*—henceforth SII—5, 597), where the *nagaram* at Tillaisthānam, Tañjāvūr, collected the *aṅgāḍikkūli* (a tax on shops) in that town's shop district. As per convention of the Archaeological Survey of India references to all inscriptions are by the modern village and district of the inscription's source.

In the various inscriptions we have examined, it is our impression that within these early medieval south Indian markets the prices of standard commodities were set and were not allowed to undergo the fluctuations one encounters in a modern "price-making" market of free exchange economies.[10]

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[6] 321 of 1910 (SII, 3, 90).

[7] 74 of 1898 (SII, 6, 359).

[8] 440 of 1937-38.

[9] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, 5, Arkalgud 21.(A.D. 1274).

[10] The work of Karl Polanyi and other modern anthropologists has indicated a difference between modern "price-making" markets and the markets of the ancient world. Ancient markets were of two types: "primitive" and "administered" (see Karl Polanyi, "The Economy as Instituted Process," in Karl Polanyi *et al.*, *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*, Glencoe, 1957, pp. 243-270). In Polanyi's model, primitive markets were governed by sociable gift exchanges in which there was no sense of profit. One person exchanged goods with a neighbour according to certain standards of local tradition; another reciprocated in fear of losing dignity. If one individual cultivated grain and another raised livestock, these two would exchange grain for livestock within the context of the local social system of which they were both members. Such reciprocity sustained the local community. As Marshall Sahlins has expressed it: "bargaining was done with strangers" (Marshall Sahlins, "On the Sociology of Primitive Exchange," in Marshall S hlins, *Stone Age Economics*, Chicago, 1972, pp. 185-275). In what he labels the "generalized reciprocity of primitive exchange," there was not an effort to establish values within a local community. Similar goods moved against each other in different proportions as an exchange of "gifts." It was only as one moved outward, from "gift" exchanges of equals to those between different "communities," that one encountered haggling and bargaining. That is, theories of value came from external spheres of transactions. Yet external exchange was also institutionalized by recognizing that this was a discrete relationship between "communities" on a less personal basis.

Exchanges with external communities within the context of an "administered market" were recognized by Polanyi as being closely connected to and regulated by government intervention. Here the representatives of two or more distinct social groups exchanged goods. One was recognized as being the local cultural unit, the others were visitors or "guests" who had come to exchange external commodities for local goods. The local government imposed its jurisdiction over these transactions, establishing rules for exchange, setting standards for weight and measure, and in some instances negotiating the price given to the commodities exchanged.

For instance, as suggested in an inscription from Cidambaram which dates to the reign of Rājēndra I (A.D. 1012-1044), there was a standard local price index on certain commodities[11]:

one measure of pepper=5 *nāḷi* of paddy (*padi*) and 5 *ūri* of āli (a spice)
(2 *ūri*=1 *nāḷi*)
5 *pala* of puli (tamarind)=4 *nāḷi* of paddy
5 sticks of *mañjal* (turmeric)=5 *ūri* of paddy
one *ūri* of ghee=5 *kuṛuṇi* of paddy (8 *nāḷi*=1 *kuṛuṇi*)
one full measure (*ūr.*) of curds=3 *kuṛuṇi* of paddy
2 1/2. . . of betel leaf and 100 areca-nuts=5 *nāḷi* of broken paddy
one bundle of firewood=3 *kuṛuṇi* and 4 *nāḷi* of paddy
one *ūri* and one *āḷākku* of oil (4 *āḷākku*=1 *ūri*) =5 *kuṛuṇi* of paddy[12]

This inscription also notes that the yearly cost of supplying a temple cook with cloth amounted to eight *kalam* of paddy (1 *kalam*=12 *kuṛuṇi*).

One faces the problem of how to treat such inscribed price indexes. Were they merely lists of exchange values set for a normative purpose, as for example duties or taxes (the means of payment of a tax, the ratio for computing a tax, or a basis for wealth and estate evaluation) or contributions to temples? An inscription from Tañjāvūr is of interest because it provides evidence that often such inscribed prices did relate to actual market place transactions during the Cōḷa age and may well relate closely to actual market prices. In this inscription dating to the reign of Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1016), when the Rājarājēśvaram temple reassigned a large grant of gold and livestock it required that the shepherds receiving gold and cows were to exchange these for ewes in the local market place, i.e., they were to negotiate these exchanges at the prevailing rates of market exchange. The local cash standard for ewes, as reported in the inscription, was three ewes per *kāśu* gold, although ewes of less quality appear to have been purchased at the rate of four ewes per *kāśu*. In barter exchanges one cow sold for two ewes, one she-buffalo sold for six ewes, one heifer sold for one ewe, as did one calf.[13] The donations, redistributions, and exchanges may be represented as follows:

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[11] See K. A. Nilakanta Shastri, *The Colas*, Madras, 1955, p. 624, for a table of Cōḷa weights and measures.

[12] 118 of 1888 (SII. 4, 228). One of the best examples of the stability of local market rates is a series of inscriptions from Ālaṅgaḍi, Chingleput, where the price of one *nāḷi* of ghee remained at 1/3 *kalam* of paddy for a period of 31 years. See 506 (A.D. 1094), 518 (A.D. 1116), 515 (A.D. 1117), and 512 (A.D. 1125) of 1920.

[13] SII, 2, 95, as discussed in George W. Spencer, "Temple Money-Lending and Livestock Redistribution in Early Tanjore," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, V, No. 3, 1968, p 284. Spencer suggests that these prices were determined by the milk output of each of the animals, as one she-buffalo's output was equal to that of three cows or six ewes (p. 281). It is of interest, with this scale in mind, that the temple preferred to receive ghee from ewes as indicated by its pattern of investment.

DONATIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS OF EWES IN TANJAVUR INSCRIPTION 95

Commodity and local rate of exchange		*Ewes directly assigned by temple**	*Ewes purchased by the assignee using assigned money or cows*
Money (3 ewes/*kāśu*)			
Total Donation	594 *kāśu*		
Assignment	128 *kāśu*** =		384 (approx.)
Difference	466 *kāśu* =	1398 (approx.)	
Cows (2 ewes/cow)			
Total Donation	1620		
Assignment	1248*** =		2496 (approx.)
Difference	372 =	744 (approx.)	
She-Buffalo (6 ewes/buffalo)			
Total Donation	40		
Assignment	0		0
	40 =	240 (approx.)	
Approximate Total of Ewes Purchased		2392 (approx.)	2880 (approx.)
Ewes			
Total Donation	2563	2563	
Assignment	4896	4896	
Approximate Total of Ewes Purchased in the Market By Those Assigned Money or Cows		2880	
Approximate Total of Ewes Reassigned as a Result of Grant		7,776	

*Including those purchased by the temple in money, cows, or buffalo

**Assigned to shepherds with the stipulation that the money be used to purchase ewes.

***To be immediately exchanged for ewes.[14]

The fact that our estimates, using the market standards quoted in the inscription, and the actual total are so close would indicate that the market standards noted in the inscription were, indeed, the actual local price index.[15]

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[14] This table is based on Spencer, p. 283.

[15] One would expect that the difference between the number of ewes the temple was capable of assigning and the number it did in fact directly assign (a difference of 59 ewes) reflected the temple's policy of retaining part of a gold endowment for its temple treasury.

This analysis may be duplicated in other inscriptions, and allows us to suggest that many prices quoted in the inscriptions of the Cōḷa age did, in reality, closely conform to the prices in the market places of the communities where the records were inscribed.[16]

It is significant that most of the price lists we have examined fix the prices of the various commodities in paddy and not in cash,[17] attesting that rice was the standard of value, and perhaps also the medium of exchange in small transactions within the local market. Another inscription from the Tañjāvūr temple complex indicates that only precious articles, the staples of long distance trade such as cardamom seeds, champaka buds, khaskhas roots, and camphor (all aromatics used in temple ceremonies) were given a cash value, while prices for standard market commodities like pepper, ghee, and areca nuts were stated in paddy equivalents:

COMMODITIES AND PRICES IN TANJAVUR INSCRIPTION 27

Commodity	*Quantity*	*Price*
cardamom seeds	1 *kuruṇi* and 4 *nāḷi*	1 *kāśu* of gold
champaka buds	1 *padakku*	1 *kāśu* of gold
khaskhas roots	605 *palam*	1 *kāśu* of gold
dhal	1 *nāḷi*, 3 *uḷakku*, and 1 *āḷākku*	5 *nāḷi*, 1 *ūri*, and 1 *āḷākku* of paddy
pepper	1 *āḷākku* and 1 3/4 *cevidu*	5 *nāḷi* and 1 *ulakku* paddy
mustard	1 *āḷākku* and 1 *cevidu*	2 *nāḷi* and 1 *uḷakku* paddy
cumin	15/16 *cevidu*	1 *nāḷi*
sugar	3 *palam*	1 1/2 *kāśu* of gold
ghee	1 *uḷakku*, 1 *āḷākku*, and 3 3/4 *cevidu*	1 *kuruṇi* and 1 *nāḷi* paddy
tamarind	1 *palam*	1 *nāḷi* of paddy
curds	3 *nāḷi*	1 *kuruṇi*, 1 *nāḷi* of paddy
gram	3 *cevidu*	1 *uḷakku* of paddy
plantains	18	5 *nāḷi* of paddy
salt	1 *uḷakku* and 1 *āḷākku*	1 *uḷakku* and 1 *āḷākku* paddy
tender leaves	12	2 *nāḷi* of paddy
areca-nuts and	30	
betel leaves	60	4 *nāḷi* and 1 *uḷakku* paddy
camphor	3 *kalañju*	1 *kāśu* of gold[18]

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[16] We have used the inscriptional data noted in this section with extreme caution, guarding that values of exchange quoted in the inscriptions were not, in fact, exchange values set for normative purposes.

[17] See 175 of 1915, 273 of 1910, 91 of 1892, 263 of 1912, and 249 of 1910, which quote local market standards for various commodities such as oil, ghee, salt, sugar, areca-nuts, etc., and equate each commodity to an appropriate quantity of paddy.

[18] SII, 2, 27, Rājarāja I, 29th year.

An inscription dated A.D. 1012 from the marketing centre of Mummuḍicōḷapuram (Kāḷahasti, Chittoor) states the exchange rate for ghee in gold equivalent, with nine *kuṟuṇi* of ghee equal to one *kalañju* of gold and fifteen *kalam* of ghee equal to twenty *kaḷañju*,[19] but records the price of curds in paddy (one and one-half *nāḷi* of curds purchased one *nāḷi* of paddy) and concludes with the note that seven *kalam* of paddy sold for one *kaḷañju* of gold.[20] The reason for the two systems of pricing, i e., in gold and in paddy, may be indicated in the previously noted inscription from Tirumeynanam, Tañjāvūr, in which the inscription seems to state that gold was realized from the sale of paddy and rice, but that gold was the unit of exchange for other commodities is not specifically stipulated.[21] This inscription, the Tañjāvūr inscription, and the Mummuḍicōḷapuram inscription suggest that surplus rice was brought into the market place where it was sold for cash, the cash then being used to purchase either non-agrarian or luxury goods, or to be exchanged for other agricultural commodities.[22]

One is particularly impressed by the seeming uniformity throughout the Cōḷa heartland of the rice standard. A survey of inscriptions dating to the eleventh. century reveals that one *kaḷañju* of gold was equal to sixteen *kalam* of paddy measured by the Rājakēsari standard at Tirumukkūḍal, Chingleput,[23] seventeen *kalam* at Cidambaram,[24] sixteen *kalam* at Tiruppugalūr, Tañjāvūr,[25] and fifteen *kalam* at Paṇḍāravāḍai, Tañjāvūr.[26] Some fluctuations of the rate may be seen in more remote areas, as at Kāḷahasti, Chittoor in 1012 when only seven *kalam* of paddy could be exchanged for one *kaḷañju* of gold.[27] The reason for this discrepancy is not evident. One can only speculate that there may have been a local difference in the unit of measure or that less rice was cultivated in the Kāḷahasti area, hence its higher price.[28] Inscriptions suggest that the supply of gold may have contributed to such a price variance, although it is likely that the price of rice was more subject to fluctuation and gold offered a more stable exchange standard. In two inscriptions from Tirumukkūḍal, Chingleput, one states that in 1015 one *kaḷañju* bought thirteen and one-third *kalam* of paddy[29] while the second records that in Vīrarājēndra's reign (1063-1069) the same amount of gold purchased sixteen *kalam* of paddy.[30] At the end of Kulōttuṅga I's reign in the early twelfth century thirteen *kalam* of paddy sold for only one *kāśu* (two *kāśu* equated to one *kaḷañju*) in the Tañjāvūr area.[31]

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[19] See also 146 of 1912 (Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Chingleput) where an inscription dated 1038 states that 50 *nāḷi* of ghee cost one *kaḷañju* of gold.

[20] 229 of 1904 (SII, 17, 328),

[21] 321 of 1910 (SII, 3, 90). A tax of one *nāḷi* of paddy was charged on each *kāśu* realized from paddy sales.

[22] This situation may be contrasted to that in Mughal times as described by Irfan Habib in his book *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* (London, 1963), in which the Mughal government's requirement that taxes be paid in cash and not in kind forced farmers to sell part of their crop in the city for cash, which then went to the government's tax collectors and was not used to purchase goods produced in the city. The Indian countryside, Habib argues, received nothing from the commercial centres in return for the various provisions the hinterland provided. Such a system of exploitation was not the case in early medieval south India as there is considerable evidence that the agricultural community was not exploited but benefited from the activities of commercial centres.

[23] 182 of 1915, Vīrarājēndra.

[24] 118 of 1888 (SII, 4, 223), Rājēndra I.

[25] 68 of 1928, Rājarāja I

[26] 232 of 1923, Rājakēsarivarman.

[27] 299 of 1904 (SII, 17, 328).

Since the inscriptions give the distinct impression that local prices were not subject to significant fluctuations, one must ask how these rates were established and if, as seems the case, they were closely supervised—if these prices were fixed by local merchant groups or whether prices were set via negotiation among local institutions which held administrative jurisdiction over a market. For instance, an inscription from Arakaṇḍanallūr, South Arcot, suggests that local markets were governed by a set of laws.[32] This inscription reports that due to a period of famine local residents had sold their local house sites and had gone off to other places. As a result the community's assembly redistributed twenty-five shares in the village to new persons on the condition that no sale or barter of local production to outsiders was permissible. If anyone was found to have broken this rule he was said to be subject to a fine of sixty-four *kaḷañju* of gold and in addition lost his local right to land possession.

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[28] Cōḷa inscriptions record standards of measure which were named in honour of Cōḷa kings, as the *Rājarājan-kāśu-niraikal* which was the standard for testing the weight of gold at Tiruvārūr near Nāgapaṭṭinam in Rājēndra I's reign (680 of 1919), the *Parakēsarikkal* standard for testing gold in various areas of the Cōḷa domain in the same reign (190 of 1920), and the liquid measure *Rājakēsari* (149 of 1942-43). One inscription recording the testing process included the statement that gold had the proper impress and weight, suggesting that a seal or stamp was applied—possibly the tiger impress which is found on Cōḷa copper plates and which was also said to have been given goods passing through Cōḷa ports—which guaranteed the quality of the gold (*loc. cit.*). The importance of establishing a legal unit of measure is shown in an inscription from Rājarāja I's reign when as a result of measuring paddy by the *Viḍaiviḍaṅgan* instead of the *Rājakēsari* standard a surplus remained (21 of 1922; see *Colas*, pp. 613-27, for a discussion of Cōḷa weights and measures). By establishing the value of goods by a legal standard of measure it would have been easier for merchants to determine a fair price in trade. negotiations and was probably a critical factor in trade negotiations between local and itinerant merchants.

[29] 176 of 1915.

[30] 182 of 1915.

[31] 44 of 1891 (SII, 4, 445). An inscription from Tiruppanandāḷ, Tañjāvūr (46 of 1914) informs us of the standards of metal equivalence: one *kaḷañju* of gold was said equal to two *kāśu*; bronze sold at 35 *palam* per *kāśu*, 30 *palam* of copper equated to one *kāśu*, 26 2/3 *palam* of silver equalled one *kāśu*, and 70 *palam* of tāra (an alloy) was worth one *kāśu* of gold.

[32] 151 of 1934-35.

To deal in such a local market external merchants would have been forced to negotiate through local institutions. Thus it is not unusual to find references to merchants who were given a local monopoly in certain specified commercial commodities. We may note, for instance, an agreement by the regional assembly (*nāḍu*) of Kōṇāḍu selling the authorized brokerage (*taragu*) in betel leaves to two itinerant merchants, who were the only merchants allowed to transport betel leaves into that area.[33] Such trade may be seen as being built around a series of networks in which local institutions, representing their local communities, formed alliances with external merchants. Trade between such different communities was potentially explosive. Itinerant merchants were often regarded, and probably with good reason, as armed robbers. For example, an inscription from Kāṭṭūr, Chingleput, notes that itinerant merchants sometimes extracted trade by force, threatening people with drawn swords, capturing them, or depriving them of their food.[34] Trade was a meeting of two people who owed each other nothing and a misunderstanding could well have led to such violence.

MARKET ADMINISTRATION

Major Cōḷa inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries which record royal communication are usually addressed to the members of the various local assemblies of that period, who are categorized into four groups:

1. *Nāṭṭār*
2. *Brahmadēyak-kiḷavar*
3. (*a*) *Dēvadāna*
   (*b*) *Paḷḷiccandam*
   (*c*) *Kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu*
   (*d*) *Veṭṭappēṟṟū-ūrkaḷilār*
4. *Nagaraṅkaḷilār*[35]

Nāṭṭār identifies the members of the *nāḍu* assembly, the regional unit of political administration in that time[36]; the second category recognized the representatives of the *brahmadēya* communities, those villages dominated by Brahmins[37]; while the fourth group was composed of the representatives of the *nagaram* assemblies, the administrative assemblies of regional marketing centres. That the third group may be considered as one is indicated in the inscriptional phrase in which the last component, *ūrkaḷilār*, qualifies each of the preceding members and does not of itself denote a separate member of the group.[38] This third category designated the representatives of those who lived in *dēvadāna*, villages which had been endowed to a Vaiṣṇava or Śaivite temple, *paḷḷiccandam*, villages endowed to a Jain or Buddhist temple, and *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* and *veṭṭappēṟṟu*, villages assigned to specific individuals as service tenures.[39] As opposed to this third category of communities whose revenue collections were essentially designated for religious purposes or to support some individual, the other three seem to have had more significant administrative responsibilities. In particular these three institutions were held responsible for the collection of local revenue cesses which were payable to the Cōḷa king and in most instances each made a direct revenue settlement with the king's revenue officials.[40]

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[33] *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State* (henceforth IPS), No. 125.

[34] 256 of 1912.

[35] "Larger [Leiden Grant of Rājarāja I" (A.D. 1006), *Epigraphia Indica* (EI), 22, 34, p. 243, ln. 2-4; "Tirumālpuram Inscription of Uttamacōḷa" (A.D. 984), SII, 3, 142, ln. 2-8; "Anbil Plates of Sundara Cōḷa" (A.D. 960), EI, 15, p. 64, ln. 124; SII, 3, 205, p. 402, ln. 2-5.

[36] See S. Subbarayalu, *Political Geography of the Chola Country*, Madras, 1973. Subbarayalu suggests that local village assemblies, known as *ūr* (not to be confused with the *ūrkaḷilār* of these inscriptions) were represented in a *nāḍu* assembly by prominent landholders who are identified with the terms *veḷḷānvagai* or *araiyakal* and also as the *nāṭṭār*, the

Our interest is in the *nagaram*, an institution which appears to have exercised administrative jurisdiction over important commercial centres of the Cōḷa

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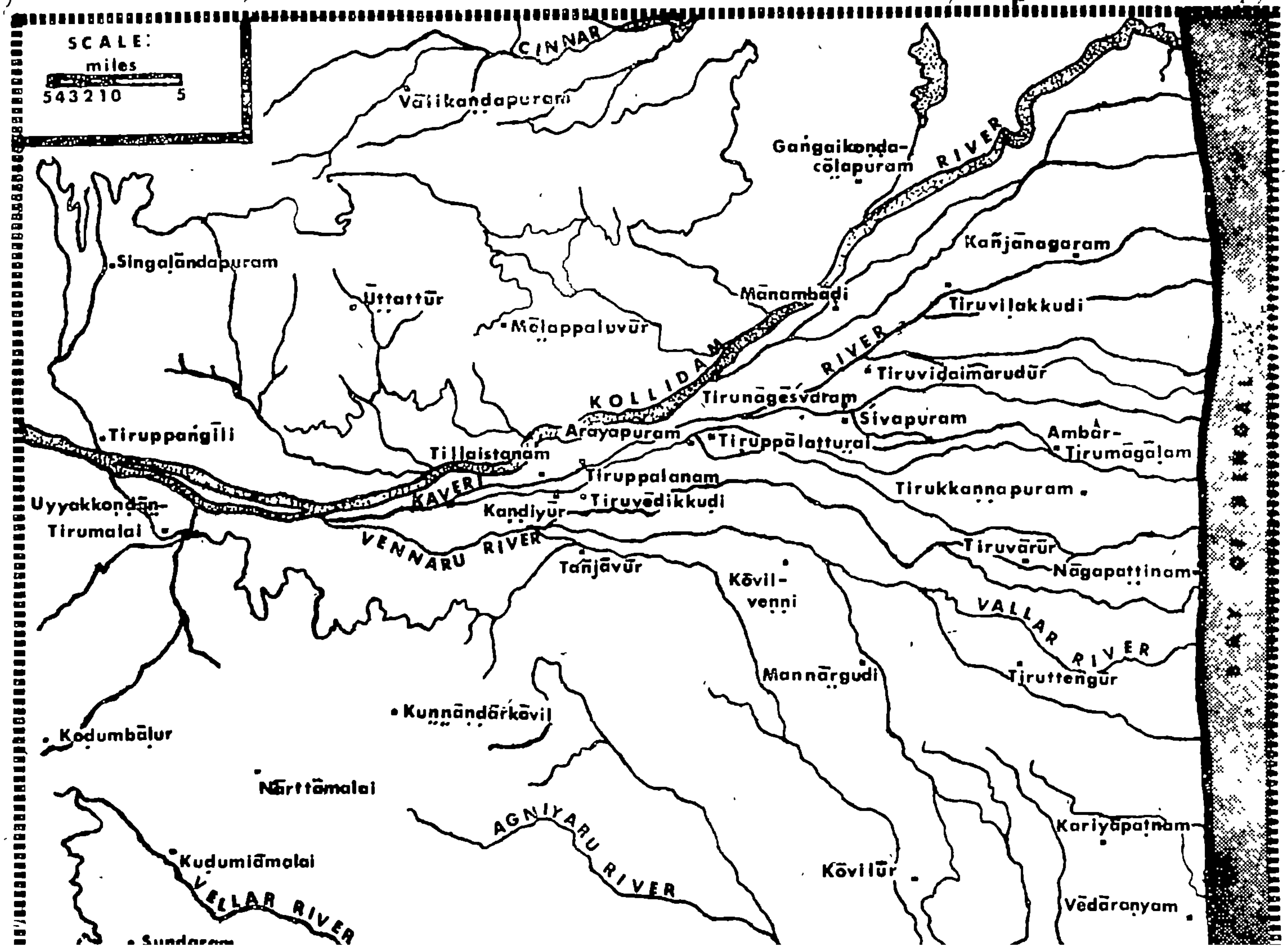
members of the *nāḍu* assembly. It is possible that these *nāṭṭār* were members of the *veḷḷāḷa* community who were later considered the "peasant elite" of the Tamil country or similar "dominant caste" groups in other areas. See Subbarayalu, pp. 34-38, and Burton Stein, "Integration of the Agrarian System of South India," in Robert E. Frykenberg, ed., *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, Madison, 1969, pp. 173-215.

[37] See Noboru Karashima, "The Power Structure of the Chola Rule," *Second International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies*, Madras, 1968, pp. 233-38, and Burton Stein, "Brahman and Peasant in Early South Indian History," *Adyar Library Bulletin*, XXXI-XXXII, 1967-68, pp. 229-69. Stein argues that unlike the theoretical notion of Brahmanical law which usually interprets the conferring of special rights and privileges upon groups of ritual specialists as great gifts (*mahādāna*) of great kings, in southern India many *brahmadēya* owed their origin to local elites as part of a Brahmin-dominant peasant alliance. In Stein's analysis south India *brahmadēya* are defined as units of land management consisting of Brahmin settlements exercising both fiscal and ritual authority over supportive clusters of peasant villages.

[38] The phrase ending in *ūrkaḷilār* may thus be translated as "those who live in *dēvadāna*, *paḷḷiccandam*, *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu*, and *veṭṭappēṟṟu* villages." All four are types of revenue grants in which the right to a designated share of a certain land's production was transferred to the assignee.

[39] "Larger Leiden Grant," EI, XXII, No. 34, p. 231.

[40] A very important difference between the legal texts and their application in southern India is the notion that *brahmadēya* should be free from all taxes. Cōḷa inscriptions clearly indicate that, like other indigenous village institutions of this period, the *brahmadēya* were responsible for the collection of certain tax revenues for the Cōḷa government. See Noboru Karashima, "Allur and Isanamangalam, Two South India Villages of Cola Times," *First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies*, Kuala Lampur, 1966, pp. 426-36.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CINNAR
Valikandapuram
Gangaikonda-
colapuram
RIVER
Kanjanagaram
Singalandapuram
Uttattur
Melappaluvur
Manambadi
Tiruvilakkudi
RIVER
Tiruvidaimarudur
KOLLIDAM
Tirunagesvaram
Sivapuram
Ambar-
Tirumagalam
Arayapuram
Tiruppalattural
Tiruppangili
Tillaistanam
Tiruppalanam
Tirukkannapuram
KAVERI
Uyyakkondan-
Tirumalai
Kandiyur
Tiruvedikkudi
VENNARU RIVER
Tanjavur
Kovil-
venni
Tiruvarur
Nagapattinam
VALLAR RIVER
Mannargudi
Tiruttengur
Kunnandarkovil
Kodumbalur
Narttamalai
AGNIYARU RIVER
Kariyapatnam
Kudumiamalai
VELLAR RIVER
Kovilur
Vedaranyam
Sundaram
BAY OF BENGAL

hinterland and was held responsible for the collection of fees on shops (*aṅgāḍikuli, aṅgāḍippaṭṭam*) and bazaars (*kaḍai-iṟai kaḍaippaṭṭam*)[41] and often collected agricultural cesses on surrounding lands as well.[42] *Nagara,* using the Sanskrit form of *nagaram*, are described in ancient Indian literature as fortified cities of the interior which served as centres of government and commerce. The *Arthaśāstra*, the north Indian treatise on statecraft, indicates that administrative responsibility over a *nagara* was held by a "City Superintendent," whose job did not encompass jurisdiction over trade.[43] *Nagara* trade was administered by a "Supervisor of Markets," whose chief responsibility according to the *Arthaśāstra* was to keep merchants and artisans from cheating their customers.[44] In comparison, we do not encounter a similar jurisdictional separation between city administration and the administration of the market in the inscriptions which record the activities of the south Indian *nagaram*. In its south Indian context, *nagaram* designated a commercial area as distinct from agricultural communities such as *ūr* and *brahmadēya*. As *brahmadēya* were governed by a *sabhā* assembly and *ūr* were governed by an *ūr* assembly,[45] the *nagaram* also held certain delegated rights of administrative autonomy. The *nagaram* assembly, which according to Cōḷa epigraphy was composed of local merchants,[46] generally functioned as one among several assemblies of an urban area, though it sometimes existed as the only assembly in important regional trade centres. Inscriptions inform us that various merchants, artisans, "those who work for hire," as well as "plowmen" were subject to a *nagaram*'s authority.[47]

As depicted in contemporary epigraphy, the most important function of a *nagaram* was the administration of its local market. That the *nagaram* dominated important regional markets may be seen in their control over fees levied on commercial transactions. For instance, each load of paddy brought into the *nagaram* of Mummuḍicōḷapuram (Kōvilūr, Tañjāvūr) was subject to three cesses: some rice was taken as payment for service (*nilakkūli*), a fee was collected for police protection (*pāḍikāval*), and the *nagaram*'s right (*kaivāśi*) to receive a percentage of those goods sold in the local market was exercised.[48]

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[41] SII, 3, 90; 5, 597; 4, 223; 8, 252, 288; 1, 59, 11, 62; 7, 912.

[42] 388 of 1939-40; IPS, 170; SII, 1, 40. The author has discussed the indigenous evidence of the administrative functions of a *nagaram* at length in Kenneth R. Hall, "The *Nagaram* as a Marketing Center in Early Medieval South India," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1975.

[43] *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, trans. R. P. Kangle, Bombay, 1963, 2. 36.

[44] *Ibid*, 4.2.

[45] See Karashima, "Allur and Isanamangalam. . . ," *op. cit.*

[46] 118 of 1888 (SII, 4, 223), 308 of 1913 (SII, 12, 154), 297 of 1904 (SII, 17, 326). Four types of merchants, *viyāpārigaḷ, cāliyar, saṅkarapāḍiyar,* and *vāṇiyar* are identified as members of *nāgaram* assemblies.

[47] 118 of 1888 (SII, 4, 223), SII, 1, 40.

[48] 204 of 1908.

Similar fees for usage (*ciṟṟūrāṭci*) were collected from both local and foreign merchants who "sold at a profit" in the market at Iraviskulamāṇikkapuram.[49] In these examples and others the local *nagaram* had attracted traders into its market place by providing services normally associated with a city government such as police protection, street cleaning, garbage collection, etc., and had charged merchants for these services.[50]

A *nagaram* seems to have become an important commercial centre because it was able to link surrounding villages into a community of exchange in which it monopolized its own sphere of interest. We would speculate that the *nagaram* was a member of the local social system and was regarded as the natural sector within this society where certain types of commercial transactions could be negotiated. The *nagaram* would have been recognized for its expertise in commercial affairs; it served the local community by connecting their own commercial zone to others.[51] Trade with foreign merchants was thus transacted in a designated market, i.e., a *nagaram*, at the extreme edges of the social nucleus where its more harmful effects could be contained.

One may show that this was the case by mapping the distribution of *nagaram* in the Cōḷa domain. This we have done for Cōḷamaṇḍalam, the Cōḷa heartland. Using those inscriptions which make clear reference to the existence of a *nagaram* at a specified place, one definite pattern of distribution becomes perceptible: that there was a maximum of one *nagaram* per *nāḍu* in Cōḷa times.[52] If, as has been argued in recent studies of regional administration under the Cōḷas,[53] the *nāḍu* was the most important regional political unit during these times, then we may suggest that it is more than coincidence that there was only one *nagaram* per *nāḍu.*

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[49] 213 of 1904 (SII, 17, 235).

[50] Although there is little evidence of the daily expenditures of a *nagaram* we may speculate that local tax cesses and other *nagaram* income would have been utilized to pay for urban services. Inscriptions do record that *nagaram* regularly employed clerks, accountants, and overseers [285 of 1959-60; 83, 84, 86 of 1889 (SII, 3, 15, 16, 18); IPS, 112]. Other employees of a *nagaram* would have included sweepers, policemen, and market officials.

[51] See, for example, 77 of 1906, where a merchant who was probably associated with the Tirunāmanallūr, South Arcot *nagaram* was active in the Tiruviḍaimarudūr *nagaram's* market.

[52] I have used Subbarayalu's map of *nāḍu* boundaries in Cōḷamaṇḍalam as the basis for my survey. The pattern of one *nagaram* per *nāḍu* is consistent except in one instance where a *nagaram* was associated with two separate *nāḍu* at different times (indicating that *nāḍu* boundaries were subject to change over time) and in another case where a second *nagaram* was established much later than the first. In this second case the fact that dated references to the two *nagaram* do not overlap probably indicates that the second replaced the first as the *nāḍu's nagaram*. While my map of *nagaram* in Cōḷamaṇḍalam accompanies this article, my supporting tables and maps showing *nāḍu* boundaries appear in Hall, "The *Nagaram* as a Marketing Center." Inscriptions from Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam, the regions south and north of Cōḷamaṇḍalam, indicate a similar pattern of none *nagaram* per *nāḍu* in the remainder of the Cōḷa domain during these times.

[53] Subbarayalu, *op. cit.*

In his article "Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China," G. William Skinner speculated that "central places are readily analyzed on the assumption that the economic function of a settlement is consistently associated with its position in marketing systems which are themselves arranged in a regular hierarchy."[54] Establishing what he believed to be the traditional hierarchy of the Chinese rural marketing system, Skinner mapped communities of exchange, market towns, and their dependent territories.[55] He then overlaid contemporary units of government administration to establish relationships between marketing structures and government.

In Skinner's analysis market towns are seen as the economic centre for a group of approximately fifteen to twenty-five villages. This "cell" was an autonomous economic system with its own transport, trade, artisan industry, and credit mechanisms, and was organized spatially and temporally as a network of periodic markets. This economic system also constituted the social world of the area's inhabitants, as marriage networks, voluntary associations, and clientage relationships usually corresponded to the dimensions of the marketing area. Marketing centres drew to their centre of social action the representatives of village households from throughout the system, facilitating the homogeneity of the local cultural unit as well as minimizing external contacts and thereby fostering cultural isolation and differentiation. Skinner's argument suggests that the cohesive nature of this local marketing system became an asset to the local domain in times of political crisis as the village networks, which were less tolerant of deviation and suspicious of foreign elements, easily withdrew their participation in external exchange networks and fell back upon their ability to sustain themselves economically.

The distribution of the *nagaram* in the Cōḷa domain, as well as supporting epigraphic evidence, suggests that the south Indian *nagaram* functioned similarly to Skinner's market centres, serving a series of local villages by connecting them to the upper levels of a developing marketing system.[56] In the early Cōḷa period, especially, certain constraints seem to have been imposed on overland trade which prevented the commercial penetration of itinerant traders below the *nagaram* level.[57]

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[54] G. William Skinner, "Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXIV, No. 1, 1964, p.5. The three parts of this article have recently been republished together by the Association for Asian Studies, Ann Arbor. Skinner demonstrated that when the central government attempted to restructure the traditional hierarchy of rural markets in Szechwan, the normal flow of trade was disastrously disrupted and that only when the old market structure was restored was the orderly movement of agricultural products to urban centres restored.

[55] Skinner's analysis suggests that a peasant could walk only a limited distance to reach a market in the nineteenth century—about six to ten miles—which Skinner then applied to his mapping of regional economic units.

[56] An inscription from Tiruppaccūr, Chingleput, for example, suggests that twenty-four *nagaram* were associated with Kāñcīpuram's *nagaram* (120 of 1920).

This does not mean that the commodities exchanged by itinerant merchants did not reach local villages. Rather, itinerant merchants participated in exchange at the designated *nagaram* of an area. Here local merchants acquired the commodities offered for sale by the itinerants, which they, in turn, exchanged within the subordinate marketing network of the *nagaram*. The *nagaram*, we would speculate, acted as a centre for wholesaling where merchants negotiated the exchange of locally produced commodities for either commodities which were not locally produced or for cash.[58] Even within the *nagaram* market it would have been uncommon for itinerant merchants themselves to participate in the market place, although they supplied goods of foreign origin to local merchants. Itinerant merchants seem to have been wholesale specialists who dealt primarily with other merchants. Locally based merchants acquired goods from these itinerants at wholesale in a *nagaram* and then sold these goods at retail within the various village markets of their marketing region. An example of this process is provided in the Kōṇāḍu inscription cited above in which the *nāḍu* conferred the brokerage in betel leaves upon two itinerant merchants.[59] These two itinerants were the only merchants authorized to sell betel leaves at wholesale to local merchants. Locally based merchants would therefore have acquired betel leaves from these two merchants, and would then have retailed this commodity within the various village markets of their *nāḍu*.

A key figure in this process was a *nagaram* merchant who acted as the local broker in specified commodities. Within the local marketing system they, rather than externally based itinerant merchants, made certain commodities available to village merchants. This these *nagaram* merchants did at the same time they were acquiring commodities of local production which they would, in turn, sell in the *nagaram*'s market. An inscription from Kāñcīpuram, for instance, records that each year a brokerage (*taravukoḷ*) in some commodity (probably rice) was sold to a merchant who was likely authorized by the local *nagaram* as the legitimate wholesaler in that commodity.[60] Another inscription states that the *nagaram* Ediriliċōḷapuram (Kuḷikkari, Tañjāvūr) controlled various local brokerage fees (*taragu*) which it presumably levied on *nagaram* wholesalers.[61] Thus, as we have noted above, inscriptions recording commercial activity in a

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[57] Inscriptions stipulate that foreign merchants were to be subject to very specific regulations—in most cases more than those imposed on local merchants The inscription from Arakaṇḍanallūr cited above, for example, goes so far as to forbid all external exchanges (151 of 1934-35).

[58] Thus, as we have noted above, inscriptions recording commercial activity in a *nagaram* make frequent reference to the exchange of surplus rice

[59] IPS, 125.

[60] Who sold this brokerage is not clear. 54 of 1893 (SII, 4, 867).

[61] 82 of 1911.

nagaram make frequent reference to the exchange of surplus rice. This surplus rice was brought into the *nagaram* market by local wholesalers who then used the proceeds from the rice's sale either to purchase non-agrarian or luxury goods, or to acquire other agricultural commodities which they could then peddle to the village markets they serviced. The *nagaram* may thus be compared to the intermediate markets in Skinner's analysis: a *nagaram* was a designated centre of exchange where itinerant and local commercial networks intersected.

Criticism of Skinner's model has been based on the suggestion that itinerant merchants, who likely had the goods a community needed, could penetrate his neatly drawn marketing regions, withdrawing the necessity of dependence by local peasants on a specific market. In medieval south India the ability to deal directly with the sources of supply would have eliminated the problem of facing the rules and cesses of the *nagaram.* Why, then, was it necessary for the itinerant merchants to deal with the *nagaram*? It is our impression that the local political structure prevented this penetration of non-local peoples. Above all else, the *nagaram,* as part of the *nāḍu*'s political structure, dominated the marketing operations of its hinterland such that it was not worth their while for external merchants to deal directly with the local villages.[62]

Interaction between the *nagaram* and the *nāḍu* (*kūṛṛam, kōṭṭam*) administration is especially noticeable in contemporary epigraphy, suggesting that a special relationship between these two institutions was the key to a *nagaram*'s prosperity. We may cite, for instance, a joint resolution of the *nāḍu* and *nagaram* assemblies which was made at Tiruppaḷanam, Tañjāvūr, transferring dues collected from farmers as well as duties levied on commercial products such as pepper, areca-nuts, bales of cloth, and bags of rice to the local temple.[63] In Kōṇāḍu, as we have noted above, it was the members of the local *nāḍu* assembly who authorized the brokerage (*taragu*) for all betel leaves brought into Kōṇāḍu.[64] In another community the *nāḍu-kaṇkatci,* an overseer employed by the local *nāḍu* assembly, and the *nāḍu-vagai,* a *nāḍu* revenue collector, approved a decision by twelve merchant families to support a festival honouring the Cōḷa king Rājarāja I.[65]

At Jambai, South Acrot, the *nagaram* and *nāḍu* representatives met together to judge several legal cases. In one the tribunal determined that a *nagaram* merchant could not be prosecuted for stabbing to death a visiting merchant who seems to have been associated with the Tirunāmanallūr, South Acrot *nagaram*[66] and had attempted to rape the local merchant's concubine. To soothe the feelings of the *nagaram* of the deceased, the offender was directed to combine with a relative of the merchant he had murdered in making an endowment in honour of the deceased to the local temple.[67] At Aragalūr, Salem, the *nāḍu* assembly arbitrated a potentially disruptive conflict, stepping in to resolve a serious dispute between the local *nagaram* and another group of merchants over the proper management of temple business.[68] The *nāḍu*'s involvement in *nagram* affairs is particularly perceptible in an inscription from Ūṭṭatūr, Tiruchirapalli where the *nāḍu* and *nagaram* met to convert a local village into a "merchant town" and therefore renamed it Tayilunalapuram.[69] Similarly in Uttaramērūr we find evidence of a merchant community inhabiting a quarter known as Nāḍuvilaṅgāḍi, "the market area of the *nāḍu*."[70]

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[62] We are particularly impressed with the *nagaram*'s dominance over the exchange of local commodities for goods coming from outside the local marketing area. Although there are numerous references in contemporary epigraphy to the usual commercial commodities such as pepper, cotton, various cloth goods, and oil, the *nagaram* seems to have in particular dominated the exchange of grain commodities – i.e., the products of local agriculture.

[63] 187 of 1928.

[64] IPS, 125.

[65] 274 of 1910.

Seemingly not only the *nagaram*'s marketing position would have been challenged by the penetration of external merchants into the hinterland, but also that of the local landholding elite, the *nāṭṭār*, whose monopoly over local production would have been endangered as well. Our suggestion is that it was the indigenous administrative institution known as the *nāḍu* rather than a centralizing government which originally integrated the *nagaram* into the political system of southern India by making it the community's representative in external commercial dealings. If, as recent historians have argued,[71] the *nāḍu* assembly was the representative body of the most powerful landholders in the regional political unit, then the relationships between the *nagaram* and this local elite, as symbolized in their considerable interaction, may well suggest that the *nagaram* was given a commercial monopoly over the *nāḍu*'s production and was the authorized arena for the wholesaling of the local *nāḍu*'s production to outside merchants. As shown in the inscription from Arakaṇḍanallūr cited above, a local institution such as the *nāḍu* was quite capable of legally excluding itinerant merchants from local markets by forbidding local residents to transact business with them.[72] A *nagaram* would then have assumed a "banker's role," collecting, storing, and protecting local goods and utilizing them to conduct trade with itinerant merchants and other *nagarams*.

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[66] 77 of 1906 and 225 of 1939-40.

[67] 77 of 1906. One should note the weak legal position of the visiting merchant.

[68] 432 of 1913.

[69] 521 of 1912.

[70] 52 of 1898 (SII, 3, 195).

[71] See Subbarayalu, *op. cit.*

[72] 151 of 1934-35.

THE LOCAL MARKET AND ITINERANT TRADE

It is the hypothesis of this study that the *nagaram* towns functioned as points of redistribution where certain commodities of foreign origin were made available for a local *nāḍu*'s consumption. These local economic networks in turn were serviced by itinerant trade groups who specialized in exotic commodities ranging from gems to elephants. Contemporary inscriptions categorized such groups as *samayam*, associations of long-distance traders who established permanent exchange relationships with the local economic systems and represented the local marketing networks within the larger system of Asian trade.

Among the south Indian *samayam* in Cōḷa times the *ticaiyāyirattaiññūṟṟuvar*, "the five hundred merchants of the thousand directions," was the most prominent; records of its commercial activities include inscriptions found in northern Sumatra and Pagan.[73] An inscription from Pirānmalai, Ramanathapuram, leads us to believe that *nagaram* were an integral part of the *ticaiyāyirattaiññūṟṟuvar* organization. This inscription, dating to late Cōḷa times, is unique in that it defines the membership of the *ticaiyāyirattaiññūṟṟuvar samayam*.[74] The inscription commences with a eulogy of the group and describes the organization's territory of operation as:

(*a*) the eighteen *paṭṭinam* (emporia) with their streets having terraced buildings as high as to touch the moon
(*b*) the thirty-two *vaḷarpuram* ("prosperous coastal towns")
(*c*) the sixty-four *kaḍigaitāvaḷam* ("periodic market centres") which were inhabited by *ceṭṭis* (merchants) who flourished.

The *Arthaśāstra* clearly distinguishes commerce transacted in a *nagara* from that transacted in designated centres for international exchange, known as *pattanam*.[75] Commodities of distant origin were apparently not a regular part of local commercial exchanges, as the *Arthaśāstra* suggests that when such goods came into *nagara* markets the "Supervisor of Markets," the official who administered *nagara* trade, had to call in the "Director of Trade," an expert in determining prices on such goods, who then fixed a price on commodities of foreign origin after calculating the investment, production, duty, interest, rent, and other expenses which contributed to the "fair price" of such commodities.[76] This "Director of Trade" was normally associated not with *nagara* administration but with that of the *pattanam.*[77] He is specifically listed as an administrative subordinate to the "Commissioner of Ports," whose duty it was to set regulations for the port town.[78]

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[73] See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, "A Tamil Merchant Guild in Sumatra," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, and Volkenkunde*, LXIII, No. 2, 1932, pp. 314-27.

[74] 154 of 1903 (SII, 8, 442). The text has been translated and discussed in K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, "Largest Provincial Organisations in Ancient India," *Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore), LXV, No. 4, 1954-55, pp. 270-86, and LXVI, No. 1, 1955, pp. 8-22. The interpretations of this inscription which appear in this study are, however, quite different than those of Subrahmanya Aiyar.

[75] *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, Book Two.

In the terminology of the *Arthaśāstra,* a *pattana* was a "port," a place officially designated as a centre for the exchange of goods which arrived by boat or by caravan.[79] Such "ports" were principally located either on sea coasts or on river banks of the interior, although in a broader sense *pattanam* could also include major hinterland commercial centres which were visited only by merchant caravans. As we have noted above, the "Director of Trade" was said to have been an expert in determining prices on commodities of distant origin, suggesting that such commodities were regularly exchanged in a *pattanam,* and only rarely in the *nagaram,* whose trade was largely local.

In its south Indian context this broad definition of "port" seems to have been somewhat modified. During Cōḷa times *paṭṭinam* was generally attached to the names of towns where international commerce was allowed, both port cities of the coast (*vaḷarpuram* in the Pirānmalai inscription) as well as important emporia of the hinterland. Itinerant merchants in some instances developed special relationships with major hinterland emporia and symbolized this relationship by the application of the distinctive title *eṛivīrapaṭṭinam* to the emporium's name. Translation of this phrase reflects the commercial implications of such an arrangement: *eṛi,* "the road"; *vīra,* "heroes"; and *paṭṭinam* becomes "a place where the heroes of the road conduct trade." One such *eṛivīrapaṭṭinam* is described in an old-Kanarese inscription of the *Ayyāvoḷe* itinerant traders as "a merchant-town situated in the centre and the first in importance among the twelve [towns] in the glorious Kūṇḍi Three-Thousand, adorned with villages, towns, and chief cities, with elegant mansions, palaces and temples. . ."[80] It is our impression that these *eṛivīrapaṭṭinam* assumed a commercial stance between the *nagaram,* which were primarily centres for the exchange of goods of local origin and were periodically involved in the exchange of foreign commodities, and the *paṭṭinam* (*vaḷarpuram*) of the coast, which were clearly centres for the exchange of foreign merchandise, a position which allowed *eṛivīrapaṭṭinam* to participate in both realms of commercial exchange.

As noted in the various inscriptions recording the activities of itinerant merchants, itinerants depended upon an assortment of relationships beyond the coastal ports to support their commercial activities. Their local presence may be characterized as of three types: (*i*) the itinerant merchants inhabited a specified and permanent quarter of a commercial centre; (*ii*) itinerant merchants occasionally visited a community and were thus rightfully described as part-time residents; or (*iii*) itinerant merchant organizations incorporated local merchants into their membership as the local merchant became the itinerant organization's local trade representative.[81]

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[76] *Ibid.,* 4.2.36.
[77] *Ibid.,* 2.16.
[78] *Ibid.,* 2.28.2; 2.16.25.
[79] *Ibid*, 2.1 19; 7.12.21; 2.28.
[80] *Indian Antiquary,* 14, p. 25, ln. 58 (A.D. 1182-83).

An *eṟivīrapaṭṭinam* provides a good example of the first type of relationship. As described in the Pirānmalai inscription a *paṭṭinam* was a place where people sang in the streets, the "three kinds of Tamil" were spoken, all kinds of fruits, trees, and flowers grew, and all religious observances were properly performed—places which were not only centres of commerce but also of culture and were truly fit for merchant princes. In converting Kāṭṭūr, Chingleput, into an *eṟivīrapaṭṭinam* the *ticaiyāyirattaiññūṟṟuvar* organization dictated a set of rules to be followed by traders resident there.[82] Local inhabitants were exempted from all communal contributions and were to receive twice the privileges they used to receive. The general sense of this inscription is that the itinerant merchants would protect the commercial centre and usher the *eṟivīrapaṭṭinam* into a new era of peace and prosperity. The long-distance trade organization then acted as the agents for the local centre within a larger marketing network. In one such community itinerant merchants of one branch of the *ticaiyāyirattaiññūṟṟuvar* claimed *vaḷañjiyattiḷ-taṉi-ceṭṭum*, an exclusive right to trade in certain imported and exported goods.[83] This and other Cōḷa inscriptions suggest that itinerants were confined to certain types of merchandise—those of the export sector in particular—and did not compete with local merchants within the local marketing system.[84]

It is significant that inscriptions recording the activities of itinerant merchant organizations most often appear in communities which were governed by a *nagaram*. Interaction between an itinerant organization and a *nagaram*, for example, may be seen at Tiruviḍaimarudūr, Tañjāvūr, a *nagaram* town, where a big temple maṇḍapa was called *ticaiyāyirattaiññūṟṟuvar* in honour of the *samayam* which had apparently financed its construction.[85] An itinerant group and local merchants of Vālikaṇḍapuram, Tiruchirapalli, received gold and supplied ghee as co-managers of an endowment for a temple lamp.[86] Similarly at Jambai, South Arcot, an itinerant group and local merchants supplied oil for a temple, two-thirds of the amount from the former and the remaining one-third from the latter.[87] At Tiṭṭaguḍi, South Acrot, an inscription records a gift by the *ticaiyāyirattaiññūṟṟuvar* merchants to the god and goddess of that *nāḍu* and *nagaram*.[88]

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[81] See Kenneth R. Hall, *op. cit.*

[82] 256 of 1912.

[83] EI, 4, pp. 270-77, ln. 7-8.

[84] This impression is supported by the fact that nowhere do we find inscriptional reference to itinerant merchants who paid for merchandise in grains, the most important commodity of exchange in local markets. Itinerant merchants seem to have always used metals and not paddy as their medium of exchange.

[85] 353 of 1907.

[86] 247 of 1943-44.

A most striking example of a *nagaram*'s relationship with a *samayam* is provided in a late Cōḷa inscription from Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi, Ramanathapuram. Here a *nagaram* named Rājanārāyaṇapuram was formed on land which had been given rent-free by the *nāṭṭār* of that area[89] to the *nagaram* of Aiññūṟṟuvapperunderu in Eṇkārikkuḍi, which had also purchased tenure rights over another community and its fields to support the new *nagaram*.[90] Similarly at Puṅgaṇūr, North Arcot, an inscription records the name of a member of the *Ticaiyāyirattaiññūṟṟu-nagaram* who had endowed money to have the village's lake cleared of encumbrances.[91] In both examples a *nagaram* owed its origin or had at least incorporated the name of the *samayam* into its own.

In this light the use of *tāvaḷam* in the Pirānmalai inscription is of particular interest. *Tāvaḷam*, as we have noted above, is a Tamil term used to denote a centre of trade where exchanges took place at periodic gatherings of traders, a place where travelling bands of merchants halted to exchange goods.[92] The Pirānmalai inscription seems to be defining the different levels at which itinerant merchants transacted trade and occupying the lowest level, according to the inscription, were the periodic markets or "fairs" which were held at hinterland centres of exchange.

The Pirānmalai inscription lists eleven groups of *nagaram* members who inhabited places in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam (the area encompassed in this inscription) which were classified as *paṭṭinam* (Keralasiṅgavaḷanāḍu Aruvimāṇagaram *alias* Kulaśekarappaṭṭinam *nagarattom*), *ūr* (Tuvarāpatināḍu Eripadainallūr-Vaḍamaṭṭai *nagarattōm*, Tirukkoṭṭiyūr Maṇiyambalam *nagarattōm*), *puram* (Keralasiṅgavaḷanāḍu Alahāpuram *alias* Ceḷiyanārāyanpuram *nagarattōm*, Puṟamalaināḍu Puṭatteru *alias* Cēranārāyanapuram *nagarattōm*, Aiyapoḷilvaḷanaḍu Kaḷvayalnāḍu Sundarapāṇḍiyapuram *nagarattōm*), or *perunderu* (Kaḷavaḷināḍu Aḷakaimāṇagaram *alias* Jayaṅgoṇḍacōḷapperunderu *nagarattōm*, Maṇḍalikaṇ Kembirapperunderu *nagarattōm*).[93] The ninth group was described as the

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[87] 780 of 1906 This suggests that oil was imported into this community by itinerant merchants.

[88] 21 of 1903 (SII, 8, 291).

[89] Note the involvement of the *nāḍu* in this transaction both legitimizing and encouraging the establishment of the *nagaram*. As noted in this inscription the *nāṭṭār* would normally have received "rent" from the new *nagaram*'s land.

[90] 150 of 1935-36.

[91] 13 of 1940-41.

[92] See K. Indrapala, "South Indian Mercantile Communities in Ceylon, circa 950-1250," *The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, New Series, I, No. 2, 1971, p. 108.

[93] A *paṭṭinam*, as noted above, was a hinterland trade emporia; *ūr* was a common ending to village names; the *puram* ending was associated with many *nagaram*; and *perunderu* was

Kaḍalaḍaiyātilaṅgaigoṇḍacōḷa-vaḷanāḍu Ūṟattūrkūṟṟam Koḍumballūr *māṇigrāmam nagarattōm*, a group of itinerant merchants which was apparently encompassed within the larger organization.[94] The tenth group was said to have been comprised of twelve *nagarams* "including the Jayaṅkondacōḷapuram *nagarattōm*," while the eleventh group included the Karuvūr, Kaṇṇapuram, Paṭṭāli, Talaiyūr, Rājarājapuram, Kiraṇūr, and several other *nagarams* of Koṅgu-maṇḍalam.[95]

Using this inscription and its tally to test our earlier hypotheses we may first note that only one *nagaram* per *nāḍu* unit is mentioned as each *nagaram* of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam is catalogued in association with a different *nāḍu* or *vaḷanāḍu*.[96] We have speculated above that there was a close relationship between the *nāḍu* and merchant activity, particularly in terms of controlling external commercial contact with the local community of exchange. Supporting our position is the fact that the signatures to the Pirānmalai inscription include those who are stated to have represented each of the affected *nāḍus* and whose names conspicuously end with the designation—*vēḷār*, likely indicating that they were members of the *vēḷḷāḷar* landholding elite of that area. Such an alliance between *nagaram* and members of the local landholding elite, as we have suggested above, would have reinforced the *nagaram*'s local commercial monopoly and forced itinerant merchants to trade in the *nāḍu*'s authorized market.

Thus, we have argued that it was the *nagaram* which provided the arena for local commercial contact between local and itinerant merchants. The Pirānmalai inscription's reference to the three levels of itinerant activity, the *paṭṭinam*, the coastal ports (*vaḷarpuram*), and the periodic markets (*tāvaḷam*) of the hinterland, followed by its list of the specific *nagarams* with which the itinerant organization had contact, is a detailed account of the group's commercial activities.[97] While in the coastal ports and *eṟivīrapaṭṭinam*, as we have noted, itinerant merchants enjoyed a very special status, in the hinter-

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used to identify one sector of a town. *Nagarattōm* is the first person plural of *nagaram* and may be translated "we the people of the *nagaram*."

[94] Inscriptions from Koḍumbālūr make reference to "two types of *nagarattār* (third person singular or plural of *nagaram*)" as if there was a local *nagaram* and a separate community which could be identified as the base of operations for the Koḍumbālūr-*maṇigrāmam*. See IPS, 82.

[95] Koṅgumaṇḍalam was located in the modern Coimbatore and part of Salem districts, west of Cōḷamaṇḍalam.

[96] A *vaḷanāḍu* was an artificial grouping of several *nāḍu* units. *Vaḷanāḍu* were created by the Cōḷas in an attempt to facilitate the more efficient collection of state revenues. See Hall, *op. cit.*

[97] The formula of 18, 32, and 64 is in itself ambiguous and, as with other such formulas which are frequently encountered in Indian epigraphy, probably was more symbolic than concrete.

land their position was more dependent on forming alliances with local institutions as is symbolized by the specific references in the inscription to the *nagaram* assemblies with which the group interacted.[98] It should be expected, then, that except for the single designated *paṭṭinam* the named *nagarattōm* of this inscription inhabited *tāvaḷam* which formed the marketing cycle of the itinerant organization.[99]

CONCLUSION

The existence of such a marketing system allows us to conclude that supra-village levels of social integration were important in this period of south Indian history. Local, social and economic units, as represented by the *nāḍu* and *nagaram*, did not exist in isolation but were integrated into a system which articulated the distribution of agricultural and high-order commodities throughout the hinterland.[100] Itinerant traders, we have argued, connected the externally oriented high-order market centres, identified in the inscriptions as *paṭṭinam*, to *nagaram*, regional markets which served as the downward terminus for high-order "foreign" goods and wholesaled locally produced commodities in return. While the origin of the *nagaram* may well have been due to practicality—such as a strategic geographical position—the continued prominence of the *nagaram* in Cōḷa times was reinforced by its ties to the indigenous political system, the regional unit of administration known as the *nāḍu*.

We have suggested that itinerant trade in early medieval south India was conducted under "partnership" agreements between *nagaram* and groups of merchants who periodically visited the *nagaram* to exchange high-order goods for locally produced commodities. During Cōḷa times, as the Pirānmalai inscription expresses so well, long-distance traders found it profitable to institutionalize such commitments. In the face of strong and administratively autonomous political and economic units like the *nāḍu* and *nagaram*, it was to the itinerant's advantage, we would speculate, to deal as a representative of an organized body. Membership in an itinerant merchant organization seems to have provided the basis for one's local economic status; in a similar way *nagaram* merchants were usually identified by their own *nagaram* when their activity took them elsewhere—as if this gave them an advantage in establishing a local trade relationship. The significance of a local commercial centre within this larger system depended on its ability to organize trade within its own community of exchange and to keep goods flowing to the authorized markets. Here locally produced commodities entered the commercial networks serviced by itinerant merchant associations. These itinerant organizations, in turn, kept goods flowing to the coastal ports where south Indian commodities entered the well-developed routes of Asian maritime trade.

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[98] This inscription notes that there were five 'assemblies of *ticaiyāyirattaiññūṟṟuvar* including one group which supervised or regulated the conduct of traders engaged in exports and imports who were settled principally in coastal ports and another group who engaged in trade with *nāḍu* and *nagaram*.

[99] This interpretation is supported by another inscription of the *ticaiyāyirattaiññūṟṟuvar* from Kōvilpaṭṭi, Tiruchirapalli, in which it is stated that the organization's local representatives were the *nagaram* of Sundaracōḷapuram *alias* Dēśiyugandappaṭṭinam, the Koḍumbāḷur *maṇigrāmam*, and the *nagaram* of Teliṅgakulakālapuram *alias* Kulōttuṅgacōḷapaṭṭinam and Koṉṟaiyūr *alias* Uttamacōḷapuram (286 of 1964-65).

[100] Re-emphasizing our opening statements, the incomplete and fragmentary nature of our sources does not allow us to prove the existence of a Skinner style system of high-order and low-order markets, although it is our belief that the presented evidence certainly suggests such patterns. The available inscriptions have not, for instance, allowed us to follow the exchange of specific commodities from their point of origin to the coastal ports.

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Illegal Extortions from Peasants, Artisans and Menials in Eighteenth Century Eastern Rajasthan*

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In the context of increasing attention being paid by historians to problems of medieval Indian rural society, an attempt has been made in this paper to examine the illegal extortions made from the peasants, village menials and artisans by the dominant groups with whom they come into immediate contact, viz., the jagirdars, the zamindars, the *ijaradars* (revenue-farmers) and state officials like the *amils*, the *faujdars*, etc. The term "illegal" denotes such extortions as were made in contravention of the custom accepted by the victims as well as by the state; and "extortions" might be in the form of forced labour (*begar*), carrying away of peasants' bullocks in lieu of labour or taking away the goods manufactured by the artisans without payment and in various other forms. Incidentally, light is also thrown on the "legal" forms of forced labour and other obligations owed by the lower sections of village society to the dominant groups.

The evidence on which this paper is based is in the form of copies of *chithis* (letters) preserved in the Jaipur Records section, *Daftar Diwan Huzuri*, Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner. The *chithis* were written by the *Diwan* of the Jaipur state to its officials, particularly the *amils*; each *chithi* contains the substance of a complaint received by the *Diwan* and his instructions thereon.

We were able to trace 48 *chithis* pertaining to extortions after a fairly intensive search. Our evidence, therefore, does not constitute a selected sample; this is all the evidence we could lay our hands upon for our region and period.

This paper has been divided into two sections. In Section I the evidence has been arranged and presented without much comment. However, notice has been taken of the widening scope and increasing intensity of illegal extortions from peasants, artisans and menials from about the middle of the eighteenth century. In Section II an attempt has been made to explain the causes of this intensification in terms of changes in the agrarian economy as well as the devolution of administrative authority from the state's capital to the parganas.

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I am deeply obliged to the Director and the staff of the Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner, for extending the maximum co-operation for my work there.

I

While the phenomenon of extortions, legal as well as illegal, was widespread within the region, its exact forms had considerable sub-regional variations. Our documents clearly indicate that extortions considered customary in one pargana faced resistance for being illegal in another.[1] Incidentally, this fact limits the utility of single documents to a certain degree, for each document reflects at best the conditions in the pargana from which it had originated and therefore no wider generalization regarding the prevalence of specific forms of extortions can be based on individual *chithis*.

Some degree of forced labour, or *begar*, and some other extortions were sanctioned by custom and recognized by the state (of Jaipur) in the territories directly or indirectly under its control as well as by those subjected to such extortions. Custom subjected the village menials, socially and economically the most depressed section in the village,[2] to the largest burden of extortions particularly in the form of *begar*. Whereas the artisans were usually exempt from any form of extortion[3] and the cultivators were subject to rendering a few specified services like providing milk and curds to the jagirdar at the time of harvest or for entertaining his guests,[4] or inviting the zamindar and his family to a feast on the occasion of a wedding in a peasant house[5] or paying him a cess for permission for such a marriage[6] or providing cots and beds for his guests or on the occasion of a wedding in his family[7] or in some areas rendering *begar* to the jagirdar at sowing and harvest times.[8] the menials were required to render it to all dominant sections of the village society gratis. Their readiness to flee their villages on a number of occasions owing to excessive *begar* also suggests its high incidence.[9]

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[1] Thus, for example, while the peasants were obliged to render *begar* to the jagirdar at harvest time in village Chatrpura, pargana Chatsu, *Chithi* dt Chaitra Sudi 6, Vikrami Samvat (V.S.) 1825/A.D. 1768, the jagirdar at village Khuruala, pargana Ghazi ka Thana was denied such *begar chithi* dt. Magh Sudi 1, V.S. 1811/1754. Similarly, while the zamindar was entitled to *kotri ki begar*, (forced labour at the harvest-time and sundry other services) in the area settled by him in some regions, *chithi* dt. Chaitra sudi 15, V.S. 1825/1768 addressed to the *amil*, pargana Ghazi ka Thana, in others he had no such entitlement *chithi* dt. Sawan Vadi 12, V.S. 1811/1754 pertaining to village Khuruala, pargana Mauzabad. Indeed, even within the same pargana, Mauzabad in this case, *kotri ki begar* was not allowed in some villages, *ibid*, and allowed in some others, *chithi*, addressed to *amil* dt. Paush Vadi 7, V.S. 1827/1770. The instances of village-level variations in custom are, however, rare.

[2] Socially, the menials belonged to the lowest rungs of the caste-hierarchy. Economically, for rendering assistance to the peasants at sowing and harvest times, they received a paltry share of the produce. In two rare documents of 1752 and 1766 of parganas, Malarna and Tonk, their share has been estimated at 0.6 per cent and 0 9 per cent respectively. See Dilbagh Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 53. Besides they had to render *begar* to various sections of society as will be discussed below. Significantly, the menials were also known as *begaris*, *ibid*; also Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Bombay, 1963, p. 150n., and H. Fukazawa, "A Note on the Corvee System (Vethbegar) in Eighteenth Century Maratha Kingdom," *Science and Human Progress* (Essays in honour of the late Prof. D.D. Kosambi), Bombay, 1974, p. 123.

The extortions could be divided into two categories: those used for the purposes of (agricultural) production; and other non-productive forms.

Under the first category, the cultivators (indifferently called *raiyati* or *paltis* in our documents[10]) were required to render *begar* to the jagirdar in some areas,[11] though in other areas the imposition of any kind of *begar* on cultivators was disallowed by custom and therefore by the state.[12] The zamindar was entitled to the *kotri ki begar* though not everywhere, as noted earlier. It is possible that in cases where the cultivators did render *begar*, both the jagirdar and the zamindar were entitled to it. There is a large number of complaints from the village menials being harassed with demands of *begar* by the jagirdar, the zamindar, the *amil* and the *faujdar*, etc., beyond the customary limit.[13] Possibly part of the customary *begar* rendered by them might have been in the form of agricultural labour on the zamindar's and perhaps the others' lands and another part in some other forms like carting.

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[3] In all our documents pertaining to the artisans, their claim to exemption from any extortion has been upheld by the state. Only in one document the porters are required to carry water for the village watchman, *Chithi* dt. Asadh Vadi 13, V.S. 1799/1742 relating to villages Dhingraya and Bahmanvas in pargana Ghazi ka Thana.

[4] *Chithi* dt. Vaisakh Sudi 15, V.S. 1826/1769 pertaining to village Mundawari, pargana Malarna.

[5] *Chithi* dt. Sawan Sudi 1, V.S. 1811/1754 pertaining to pargana Mauzabad, quoted in Dilbagh Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[6] *Chithi* dt. Paush Sudi 14, V.S. 1820/1763 pertaining to pargana Chatsu.

[7] *Chithi* dt. Sawan Vadi 12, V.S. 1811/1754 pertaining to village Khuranala, pargana Mauzabad.

[8] *Chithi* dt. Chaitra Sudi 6, V.S. 1825/1768 pertaining to village Chatrpura, pargana Chatsu.

[9] Five of our documents mention actual desertion by the menials and artisans and in nine others the threat of flight by various groups is implied in their declarations that "they cannot carry on any longer" on account of the burden of extortions. The menials complained only of *begar*; at any rate they had nothing else to give.

[10] For a discussion of these terms, see Dilbagh Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-43.

[11] *Chithi* dt. Chaitra Sudi 6, V.S. 1825/1768 pertaining to village Chatrpura, pargana Chatsu.

[12] *Chithi* dt. Magh Sudi 1, V.S. 1811/1754 partaining to village Khurnala, pargana Ghazi ka Thana.

[13] The evidence for this will be cited below.

We have earlier noted the non-productive forms of extortions like the provision of milk and curds, cots and beddings, etc. The village menials were *inter alia* required to carry the jagirdar's and possibly the others' belongings up to a distance of 5 *kos* (about 10 miles) from the village.[14]

Besides, almost anybody could be compelled by the *amils* to purchase agricultural products collected by them as revenue in kind.[15] Refusal to buy these could result in the imposition of a tax or a cess. Another minor form of extortion was forcing the barbers of the village to supply *pattal* (a kind of plate made by joining together large leaves on which food is served), *datun* (twigs to serve as tooth-brushes) and earthen lamps to the *amil* and other officials.[16]

The eighteenth century witnessed an attempt by the officials as well as other dominant sections in the village to extend the scope and intensity of extortions. Whether such an attempt is exclusive to that century or is a continuation of earlier efforts, it is difficult to say categorically. However, the number of complaints begins to grow considerably from the 1730s and particularly rapidly from around the middle of the century as the following table would show:

Period	*Number of Complaints*
1700-10	Nil
1711-20	1
1721-30	2
1731-40	6
1741-50	17
1751-60	6
1761-70	16

NOTE: Our documents do not go beyond 1770.

The peasants and village menials increasingly complain of transgression of the customary limits by almost all dominant sections in almost all forms of extortions. Apart from excessive *begar*, they complain of other undefined forms referred to as "different kinds of harassment" (*tarah tarah ki khechal*).

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[14] *Chithi* dt. Magh Vadi, V.S. 1820/1763 pertaining to *qasba* Baswa, pargana Bahatri. Also Irfan Habib, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

[15] For a definition of such forced sale, known as *padna*, see *chithi* dt. Asoj Sudi 6, V.S. 1794/1737 addressed to the *amil*, pargana Niwai. The agent of the jagirdar of village Sakarkhawda, pargana Chastu, complained in 1749 that the *amil* was imposing *padna* (probably on the village), *chithi* dt. Maghshri Vadi 5, V.S. 1806; the tailors of *qasba* Toda Rai Singh lodged a similar complaint against their *amil* in 1764, *chithi* dt. Jeth Sudi 6, V.S. 1821.

[16] *Chithi* dt. Asoj Vadi 7, V S. 1783/1726 pertaining to *qasba* Phagi and villages in pargana Phagi; *chithi* dt. Paush Sudi 13, V.S. 1799/1742 pertaining to *qasba* Toda Rai Singh, pargana of the same name.

Thus, the zamindar in village Niworo, pargana Chatsu, was forcing the peasants to render *begar* in 1753, even though the village custom did not entitle him to it.[17] The peasants of village Khurnala, pargana Mauzabad, complained in 1754 that whereas custom required them to provide cots and beddings for the zamindar's guests or on the occasion of a wedding in his family, he was forcing them to render *begar* and was carrying away their bullocks in lieu of it presumably for cultivating his own land.[18] The same zamindar was also trying to extort *kotri ki begar* from the village to which he was not entitled.[19] A complaint against the extortion of *begar* from the cultivators by the zamindar in village Kheri Ram ki, pargana Mauzabad, is recorded in 1770.[20] Apparently, the zamindar was committing serious enough violation of the custom to be ordered to give an undertaking that he would not resort to it in future. In another instance the local zamindar also began to harass the peasants in an indirect way: by extorting *begar* from the menials who were supposed to serve only the peasants.[21] His own customary entitlement to the menials' *begar* extended only to the area settled by him. His attempt to stretch this right had resulted in the flight of the menials from the village and the complaint by the *patel*, the *raiyat* and the *mahajan* was followed by orders to the *amil* to reassure the menials and bring them back.

The jagirdar on his part was also trying to extend his right to customary extortions in various petty ways. Apart from his attempt to extort *begar* from groups like the peasants and even *mahajans* to which he was clearly not entitled,[22] he tried to force the village menials to render *begar* to him round the year, though he was entitled to it only for specific jobs on specific occasions.[23] He also tried to ensure regular supply of milk and curds throughout the year from the peasants though they were required to provide him with these only at the time of harvesting or to entertain his guests.[24] Even in areas where the jagirdar was entitled to *begar* from the peasants at harvest-time, he was making an effort to convert it into a constant feature the year round.[25] And whereas the zamindar, in one case, mentioned earlier, had carried away the peasants' bullocks, the jagirdar in village Kherla, pargana Paonta, carried away some of the peasants themselves and held them in captivity to extort *begar* from them.[26] In another case the jagirdar forced the *chamars* to carry his belongings beyond the customary limits of 5 *kos*.[27]

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[17] *Chithi* dt. Maghshri Sudi 3, V.S. 1810.

[18] *Chithi* dt. Sawan Vadi 12, V.S. 1811.

[19] *Chithi* dt. Sawan Sudi 1, V.S. 1811.

[20] *Chithi* dt. Paush Vadi 7, V. S. 1827.

[21] *Chithi* dt. Jeth Sudi 7, V.S. 1825/1768. The complaint pertains to village Todah, pargana Ghazi ka Thana.

[22] *Chithi* dt. Magh Sudi 5, V.S. 1819/1762 relating to village Khurnala, pargana Mauzabad.

[23] *Chithi* dt. Vaisakh Sudi 15, V.S. 1826/1769 pertaining to village Mundawari, pargana Malarna.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Chithi* dt. Chaitra Sudi 6, V.S. 1825/1768 pertaining to village Chatrpura, pargana Chatsu.

The *amil* was entitled to "customary" *begar* from the village menials.[28] But when in one case he forced the *chamars* to go to the neighbouring village and render *begar* there, they took to flight. The *amil*, with supreme indifference to the finer points of caste-status, forced the Brahmins, the Mahajans and the Meenas to substitute for them.[29]

Besides the *amil*, the *faujdar* also had a right to the menials' "customary" *begar*.[30] But these officials, taking advantage of what might have been their general entitlement to *begar* from the *menials*, were trying to extend it to areas which had been specifically exempted from it. Thus in 1762 when the menials had fled the village Kherli, pargana Bahatri, due to famine, and others from some neighbouring villages had migrated there, the *amil* and the *faujdar* tried to extort *begar* from them even though the menials of that village had been exempted from it as per *sanad* given to them.[31]

Even the *ijaradar* (revenue-farmer), whose official position allowed him only the right to collect revenue on a short- or long-term contract with the state,[32] felt confident enough in *qasba* Pahari in the pargana of the same name, to carry away the peasants' carts and bullocks in *begar*.[33]

Among the village menials, the barbers as a caste appear to have been the greatest sufferers from illegal demands of *begar* made by almost everyone in a position to dominate over them. Thus in 1726 the barbers of *qasba* Phagi and (some) villages of pargana Phagi lodged a complaint against "all officials" who were forcing them to provide *pattal*, *datun*, and earthen lamps to a limit that they found unbearable.[34] Similarly in 1742 the barbers of villages Dhigraya and Bahmanvas in pargana Ghazi ka Thana complained against the jagirdar and the *patel* for making them carry water for them and against government officials for extorting *begar*.[35] In the same year the *amil* of *qasba* Toda Rai Singh in the pargana of the same name was accused of extorting excessive *begar* from the barbers apart from coercing them to provide *pattals* to him so much so that they threatened to desert the *qasba*.[36] The *amil* was instructed by the *Diwan* of the state to desist from making such demands. In 1751 the same complaint was repeated against the *amil* on the plea that the barbers of the *qasba* had never rendered *begar* and the *sanad* to that effect notwithstanding, the *amil* was persisting with his demands.[37] Possibly sometime between 1742 and 1751 they had acquired a *sanad* of exemption from *begar* as a counterpoint against the *amil*'s persisting extortion. Interestingly, the agents of the Marāthas, who were in possession of *qasba* Toda Rai Singh in the middle of the eighteenth century, had extended similar claims to *begar* from the barbers as the *amils* under the Rajput rulers had done.[38] In all probability the Marathas' demands were in addition to those of the *amil*, for the instruction given to him on the barbers' complaint required him not only to refrain from demanding *begar* for himself but also to prevent the Marathas from doing so. Even so, the barbers of that *qasba* appear to have got no respite, for there is still another repetition of the complaint four years later, with similar instructions again being sent down to the *amil*.[39]

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[26] *Chithi* dt. Vaisakh Sudi 15, V.S 1821/1764.

[27] *Chithi* dt. Magh Vadi 7, V.S. 1820/1763.

[28] *Chithi* dt. Jeth Sudi 13, V.S. 1820/1763, pertaining to village Abhaneri, pargana Lalsot.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] This is implied in the specific exemption granted to the menials of village Kherli, pargana Bahatri from rendering *begar* to the *amil* and the *faujdar*, *chithi* dt. Bhadon Vadi 6, V.S. 1819/1762.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] See Dilbagh Singh, "Ijara System in Eastern Rajasthan (1750-1800)," *Proceedings of Rajasthan History Congress*, vol. VI, 1973, pp. 60-69.

[33] *Chithi*, dt Sawan Sudi 3, V.S. 1817/1760.

[34] *Chithi* dt. Asoj Vadi 7, V.S. 1783.

[35] *Chithi* dt. Asadh Vadi 13, V.S. 1799.

It is vis-a-vis the artisans that the extension of the scope of extortions is the most spectacular, perhaps because this category of village inhabitants had been by custom exempt from such extortions with a few minor exceptions like the potters who were required to carry water for the village watchman.[40] Significantly over one third of the complaints in our documents originate from the class of artisans. Whereas in the case of the peasants and menials (except the barbers) an established custom was being stretched here and there, groups like the artisans faced an utterly new phenomenon likely to turn into "custom" unless resisted at the outset. For the absence of customary obligations of any kind, apart, of course, from the payment of taxes, on the part of the artisans, might precisely have been the reason why almost every local official—the *amil*, the *faujdar*, the *kotwal* and "all officials"[41]—made an attempt to lay claim to the artisans' goods and services gratis whenever an opportunity arose. They also tried to extend their hold over practically every group among the artisans in one way or another—goldsmiths, calico-printers, tailors, oil-pressers, cotton-carders, carpenters, tanners, blacksmiths, potters, etc.

The extortions from the artisans were either in the form of *begar* or of coercing them into parting with their products without payment; quite often it was both. *Begar*, again, could be either in the form of service rendered by them according to their profession, or a different kind of service altogether.

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[36] *Chithi* dt. Paush Sudi 13, V.S. 1799.

[37] *Chithi* dt. Sawan Sudi 2, V.S. 1808.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] *Chithi* dt. Phagun Sudi 8, V.S. 1811/1754.

[40] *Chithi* dt. Magh Sudi 5, V.S. 1789/1732 relating to *qasba* Niwai, pargana Niwai.

[41] The potters referred to in the preceding footnote complained against "all officials" who were forcing them to carry water whereas custom required them to carry water only for the village watchman.

Thus in 1737 the oil-pressers, the carpenters, and the potters along with the barbers of *qasba* Gijgarh, pargana Gijgarh, lodged a complaint against the local *kotwal*.[42] While the oil-pressers were being forced to supply 10 *sers* of oil every month without being paid for it, the others found the burden of *begar* having "now become unbearable." The *amil* was accordingly instructed to prevent the *kotwal* from extorting any *begar* and for paying the artisans both for their goods as well as services. In 1739 the goldsmiths of *qasba* Niwai, pargana Niwai, reported that the *faujdar* had issued a warning that anyone wishing to get ornaments made should do so with his prior permission.[43] No reason for this extraordinary order has been mentioned. However, since the state refused to uphold the order, it had presumably been issued on the *faujdar*'s own initiative possibly to punish the goldsmiths for refusing to accept some of his unreasonable demands or to pressurize them into acceding to such demands

The *faujdar* of pargana Pidani was, however, a little more circumspect in making demands on his *qasba*'s calico-printers and tailors for rendering him *begar* and supplying him with chintz gratis: he first falsely charged them with committing rape.[44]

In 1741 the tailors of *qasba* Chatsu were being forced by the *amil* of the pargana to clean the fortress and the local pond, besides rendering other kinds of *begar*.[45] At the same time the oil-pressers of the *qasba* were being subjected to rendering *begar* to an unbearable degree.[46] The oil-pressers, besides carrying on their caste-profession, were also engaged in the privileged *gharuhala* cultivation[47] and were on both counts exempt from *begar*. Complaints of excessive *begar* were also received from the oil-pressers of *qasba* Phagi, similarly engaged in *gharuhala* cultivation (1741),[48] cotton-carders of pargana Phagi (1741),[49] both against the *amils*; two carpenters of village

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[42] *Chithi* dt. Phagun Sudi 12, V.S. 1794.

[43] *Chithi* dt. Magh Sudi 12, V.S. 1796.

[44] *Chithi* dt. Chaitra Sudi 9, V S. 1798/1741.

[45] *Chithi* dt. Paush Vadi 2, V.S 1798.

[46] *Chithi* dt. Asadh Sudi 8, V.S. 1798/1741.

[47] The *gharuhala* cultivators, also known as *riyayatis* or those allowed concessions, paid substantially less revenue to the state than the ordinary cultivators, the *raiyati*. See Dilbagh Singh, "Local and Land Revenue Administration," pp 16-17. His statement that the *gharuhala* concessions were confined to the higher castes such as the Brahmins, the Rajputs and the Vaisyas (Mahajans, taken as a caste not as a profession) and holders of superior rights such as the *patels*, the zamindars, etc., when engaged in agriculture, *ibid.*, pp. 11-12, needs to be slightly qualified in view of two of our documents' reference to oil-pressers being *gharuhala* cultivators Of course, the available evidence still overwhelmingly supports Dilbagh Singh's conclusion.

[48] *Chithi* dt. Sawan Sudi 3, V.S. 1798.

[49] *Chithi* dt. Sawan Sudi 6, V.S. 1798,

Choru of the same pargana against the *faujdar* and the *amil* (1743)[60]; carpenters of *qasba* Toda Rai Singh against the *amil* (1742)[61]; tailors and calico-printers of village Manoharpur, pargana Sawai Jaipur against the *amil* (1742)[52]; carpenters, blacksmiths and potters of *qasba* Ghazi ka Thana and some neighbouring villages against the *faujdar* and the *amil* (1742)[53]; and the *panchas* of the caste-panchayat of the calico-printers of *qasba* Pidayan against the *faujdar* and the *amil* (1743).[54] The last mentioned complainants also reported that their cots and beddings were being carried away by the *walahis*[55] presumably on orders from the *faujdar* and the *amil.* Similarly there are cases of harassment of artisans on other counts A goldsmith of *qasba* Amer, pargana Amer, complained of a cess being imposed on him in 1740 which no one in his family had paid during the past four generations.[56] The tailors and calico-printers of village Manoharpur, pargana Sawai Jaipur, were being forced by the *amil* to pay tax on their huts along with having to render *begar* in 1742 though they had never been subject to either.[57] The tailors of *qasba* Toda Rai Singh were compelled in 1764 to purchase agricultural goods by the *amil* who had collected these as revenue in kind.[58] This in addition to their cots and beddings being carried away.

An interesting indication of carting as a form of illegal *begar* is given in an early document of 1726. The *chithi* to the *amil* of pargana Sanganer instructs him to arrange carts for transporting bricks and lime for constructing a fort there. "The charge for transport," it says, "must be settled with the cart-drivers with their full consent; no compulsion should be used, though you should try to save the government's money."[59] Obviously, the *amils* were a little less likely to be so considerate to the cartmen when their own goods were to be transported.

These extortions often led to a conflict of interest not only between the victims and the dominant groups but even amongst members of the dominant groups themselves, for extortion by one would lead to denial of it to another; in the case of a jagirdar or *ijaradar* it may even cause a decline in his revenue. In the process some of them would appear to champion the cause of the peasants, artisans and menials against exploitation by other groups. Thus in 1741 one Abhai Singh Naruka, who was jagirdar of a large part of a village

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[50] *Chithi* dt. Chaitra Vadi 12, V.S. 1800.
[51] *Chithi* dt. Asadh Vadi 7, V.S. 1799.
[52] *Chithi* dt. Asoj Sudi 5, V.S. 1799.
[53] *Chithi* dt. Kartik Sudi 14, V.S. 1799.
[54] *Chithi* dt. Phagun Sudi 8, V.S. 1800.
[55] "Walahis" skinned the dead animals.
[56] *Chithi* dt. Sawan Sudi 9, V.S. 1797.
[57] *Chithi* dt. Asoj Sudi 5, V.S 1799.
[58] *Chithi* dt. Jeth Sudi 6, V.S. 1821.
[59] *Chithi* dt. Phagun Sudi 9, V S. 1783.

and *ijaradar* of the remaining part, complained that the *amil* was causing him harassment by extorting illegal *begar* from his village.[60] Similarly the jagirdar of village Niworo in pargana Chatsu complained against the zamindar's extorting *begar* from the cultivators in 1753.[61] The jagirdar of village Kherli in pargana Bahatri reported that the menials of his village having fled due to famine, their brethren from some other villages had migrated there. The *faujdar* and the *amil* were trying to extort *begar* from them, from which the menials of that village had been exempt[62] Obviously, the *amil* and the *faujdar* were interpreting the exemption to apply to particular persons belonging to menial professions, whereas the jagirdar felt that the exemption was granted to the village as such. The state upheld the latter's interpretatian. Interestingly, the *patel* almost invariably sided with his village in the complaints against extortions.

The conflict of interests among the dominant groups could at times bring some relief to those subjected to extortions. In an interesting case the zamindar in village Subrai, pargana Ghazi ka Thana, complained in 1765 that the *ijaradar* of his village had threatened to impose fine on any menial who rendered *begar* to the former.[63] His complaint was, however, admitted by the state and *begar* was resumed. The respite to the menials was, therefore, short-lived.

II

Irfan Habib mentions that the zamindars and the state officials in the Mughal empire were entitled to *begar* rendered by the menials in the form of carrying their goods and acting as guides, besides assisting the *madad-i-maash* grantees during their *shikar* expeditions.[64] It was, however, "as a rule an exceptional form of labour imposed upon some inhabitants by the authorities, rather than a regular part of productive work."[65] In our region and period, however, there is both a slightly greater variety as well as greater intensity even in the "customary" *begar*, for not only the peasants, besides the menials, are subject to it in some areas but the participation in agricultural production is also a form of forced labour. It is not possible to determine the share of forced labour relative to hired, family or tenant labour in agricultural production and it is likely that this share was not decisive. But as a phenomenon it did exist.

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[60] *Chithi* dt. Phagun Vadi 1, V.S. 1798, relating to village Rudaheli, pargana Paunkhar.

[61] *Chithi* dt. Magh Sudi 3, V.S. 1810.

[62] *Chithi* dt. Bhadon Vadi 6, V.S. 1819/1762.

[63] *Chithi* dt. Jeth Vadi 6, V.S. 1822.

[64] Irfan Habib, *op. cit.*, pp. 150 and 248.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 239; H. Fukazawa, *op. cit.*, p. 121, for similar nature of *begar* in the Maratha kingdom during the eighteenth century.

The complaints, particularly of *begar*, originate from territories under almost every form of administration in eastern Rajasthan—territories that formed the *watan* of Jaipur's rulers, those given in *jagir* to them and those taken by them from the imperial *jagirdars* on *ijara*. This fact, along with some variation in the forms and incidence of extortions compared to the Mughal empire (as well as the Maratha kingdom), would perhaps suggest that such extortions had preceded as well as survived the integration of the Jaipur state with the empire. The state in its turn appears to have accepted the local custom in this regard instead of formulating a uniform law for all its territories.

Once the extortions in the form of forced labour and other forms were built into the social and administrative structure to ensure the predominance of the dominant sections of society, an attempt by them to extend the "customary" limits became almost inevitable. A study at the level of political and administrative institutions and policies is likely to ignore this aspect, for the extension of the limits takes place primarily at the local or village level where the peasants, artisans and menials as the producers of society's wealth come into immediate contact with those who appropriated their surplus.

As we have seen above, some degree of *begar* and a few other minor extortions like the supply of milk and curds and cots and beddings on specific occasions were sanctioned by custom. The scope and intensity of these extortions registered an upward trend as the century advanced. It is likely that the actual incidence of this developing trend was far greater than has been recorded. For, it may perhaps be assumed that the number of complaints made, on which this paper is based, would be considerably smaller than the actual number of cases of illegal extortions. One may also assume that the complaints would be made by and large in cases of gross violation of the custom; the milder violations would have gone unreported.

It is important to note that the intensification of exploitation of the peasants, artisans and the menials in these forms of extortions took place at the hands of almost everyone in a position to make a demand whether he was the *amil*, the *faujdar*, the jagirdar or the zamindar or even the *ijaradar* at the local level. However, the largest share in this process of intensification was taken by the state officials. Two-thirds of the complaints are against the *amil* and other officials whose responsibility it was to check any excesses on the inhabitants within their jurisdiction. The attitude of the state was at best lukewarm except where actual flight of peasants, artisans or menials, or even a threat of such flight, occurred. In a case of flight of peasants or artisans the revenues of the state declined directly, and when the menials fled, the decline was indirect on account of fall in production owing to the non-availability of their labour. However, in no case is there any punishment mentioned against illegal extortions. It may be suggested that the state policy was likely to have been to control the exploitation of the peasants, etc., by any one socially and politically dominant section in the interests of the entire ruling class. Whether the state was actually able to exercise this control would depend on a number of factors at any give time, primarily on the state of the economy and the degree of political and administrative control.

The agrarian economy of eastern Rajasthan appears to have witnessed two phases from c. 1650 to the end of the eighteenth century. The first phase covers nearly a century and the second roughly half that period.

The first century of this period registers a degree of advance both in terms of agricultural production as well as of an upward price mobility.[66] There is a certain increase in the production of cash crops in the *kharif* (summer) season; but the proportion of crops of the *rabi* (winter) harvest grows as compared to the *kharif* harvest as a whole. The *rabi* crops in this region require a considerable scale of investment. The availability of additional investible surplus would thus be indicated. The price-rise, similarly, tended to benefit the peasantry, though the benefits would naturally be shared unequally by its different sections. The preference of the cultivators to pay the revenue in cash during the first century of our period (by shifting to *zabti* crops, the revenue from which was collected in cash)[67] and the substitution of kind for cash (and a shift back to *jinsi* crops for which revenue was paid in kind) during the latter half of the eighteenth century when prices were on the decline[68] is an interesting testimony to the additional surplus left with them by the price-rise.

The second phase of the agrarian economy saw a reversal of these happy trends. Both the scale of agricultural production and the prices suffered a decline. The prices register a downward trend from the 1740s.[69] The decline in production is slightly harder to pinpoint in the time-sequence, but the trend is unmistakable during the second half of the eighteenth century.[70] The decline in the production of commercial crops in the *qasbas* is particularly marked and this in turn would adversely affect the artisans.[71]

The change in the economy must have affected the entire countryside in this region, though, once again, the impact on various classes, and sections within each class, would be quite differential, the worst shock falling on those who were in the least position to absorb it. For this half century bears unmistakable testimony to growing poverty in the countryside and increasing indebtedness of the small peasants and possibly other poorer sections.[72] A preliminary analysis of the innumerable documents of this period also suggests that famines began to make their appearance with greater frequency during the latter half of the eighteenth century in our region.[73] It is significant to note, however, that the decline in prices accompanies an overall decline in agricultural production including food grains.[74] This would indicate a fall in demand owing to a fall in the purchasing power even as the goods were becoming scarcer. It should not be far-fetched to assume that the first to suffer from the fall in purchasing power were those who needed it most for their sheer survival.[75]

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[66] See S. Nurul Hasan, K.N. Hasan and S.P. Gupta, "The Pattern of Agricultural Production in the Territories of Amber (c. 1650-1750)," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 28th Session at Mysore, Aligarh, 1966, pp. 244-64; S. Nurul Hasan and S.P. Gupta, "Price of Food Grains in the Territories of Amber (c 1650-1750)," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 29th Session at Patiala, Patna. 1968, pp 345-68. A summary of S.P. Gupta's conclusion to the same effect in his 'unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Land Revenue System in Eastern Rajasthan" is also given in Dilbagh Singh, *Local and Land Revenue Administration*, p. 161.

[67] S. Nurul Hasan, K.N. Hasan and S.P. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

[68] Dilbagh Singh, *Local and Land Revenue Administration*, p. 151.

[69] S. Nurul Hasan and S.P. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 353 and *passim*; Dilbagh Singh, *Local and Land Revenue Administration*, p. 154.

[70] Dilbagh Singh, *Local and Land Revenue Administration*, pp. 106, 110-11, 113, 161.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

Consequent to these developments, the relationship between the various classes and between their sections in the countryside would have been considerably altered leading to a greater independence of the small peasants, artisans and the menials on those who could provide them the means of subsistence.

This was perhaps the setting to the attempt by almost all the socially and politically dominant groups to extend the "customary" limits of extortions. To this the decline of the state's control over its administrative apparatus also contributed.

Even as the Mughal empire was declining, some of its constituent units showed remarkable tenacity in retaining intact, in varying degrees and for varying periods of time, the administrative system they had inherited from the empire. The Jaipur state was one of these units. During the reign of Sawai Jai Singh (1700-43), the state extended the territory under its jurisdiction by various means, attained great cultural heights and retained a degree of control over its administrative machinery.[76] After his reign, however, the state declined steeply. The successful Maratha raids into this territory were both a reflection and a partial cause of this decline.

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[72] *Ibid.*, p. 113. Also, Dilbagh Singh, "Rural Indebtedness in Eastern Rajasthan during the Eighteenth Century," *Proceedings of Rajasthan History Congress*, vol. VII, 1974, pp. 83-89.

[73] S.P. Gupta and Dilbagh Singh, "Famines in the Territories of Amber (c. 1660-1770)," *Proceedings of Rajasthan History Congress*, vol. VIII, 1975.

[74] Dilbagh Singh, *Local and Land Revenue Administration*, p 161.

[75] It is not necessary to go into the causes of this development in the economy, for we are here concerned merely with the fact of economic decline in the countryside. Dilbagh Singh has, however, attributed it to the Maratha invasions and consequent disinclination on the part of the peasants to invest in the *rabi* season; see his *Local and Land Revenue Administration*, p. 111.

[76] For a detailed and competent, though a little biased, study of this reign, see V.S. Bhatnagar, *Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, 1688-1743*, Delhi, 1974.

The consequent laxity in central control within the state led to a localization of administrative authority. It is perhaps a reflection of such localization of authority that the *Diwan*'s instructions to the *amils* on complaints of excessive extortions from peasants, etc., were at times disregarded and complaints had to be repeated.[77] Even in the normal course the local officials would not scrupulously refrain from taking advantage of the growing vulnerability of the peasants, artisans and menials accompained by the officials' growing autonomy; a further temptation was added by the frequent transfers, particularly of the *amils*. On an average the *amil* stayed in one pargana for three years.[78] The *amils*, who mostly belonged to the caste of *sah* (*sahu*, moneylender), possessed an additional influence on the higher echelons of administrative authority on account of money lent to many of the local nobles.[79] It would therefore have required a man of exceptional integrity not to take advantage of his brief stay in a pargana in every way including stretching the limits of extortions which custom had sanctioned him. It is to be expected that the gains from illegal extortions would be shared unequally among the various strata of the dominant sections, the most influential getting the largest share. Of the 48 complaints, 32 are against the *amils* and other officials like the *faujdar* and the *kotwal*; of these 32, twenty had originated from the artisans in *qasbas* where the *amils* usually resided. The *amils*, and to an extent his junior colleagues, the *faujdars* and the *kotwals*, were most admirably situated to derive full advantage from the growing dependence of peasants, artisans and menials and their own increasing authority.

The nature of the economy also perhaps favoured the *amils* and other officials as far as the distribution of additional extortions among the various dominant sections was concerned. The agrarian economy of medieval India was essentially a free peasant economy[80] and the use of forced labour for agricultural production was perhaps marginal at best. It is possible that labour-scarcity was not a crucial problem in medieval Indian agriculture which might have necessitated the institutionalization of forced labour; such labour as was required could be obtained from the class of menials—among them the landless agricultural workers such as the *chamars*—in return for meagre payment in kind. The primary form of enhanced extortions could therefore be in using forced labour for unproductive purposes and taking away of goods without payment. And the *amils* and other officials, being in possession of administrative authority, and with rare direct involvement in agricultural production, were most favoured by the situation to take the major share of illegal extortions, though the other groups also benefited from these.

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[77] Among our documents there is only one case of actual repetition of a complaint, that by the barbers of *qasba* Toda Rai Singh against the *amils*; extortion of *begar*, referred to earlier. But eight other documents give a warning against such repetition suggesting that the incidence of repetition was considerable.

[78] See Dilbagh Singh, *Local and Land Revenue Administration*, pp. 416, 464-69.

[79] Dilbagh Singh, "The Role of the Mahajan in the Rural Economy of Eastern Rajasthan during the 18th Century," *Social Scientist*, May 1974.

[80] Irfan Habib, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-15; S. Nurul Hasan, *Thoughts on Agrarian Relations in Mughal India*, Delhi, 1973, p. 18.

The growing inability of the state to check its officials from making illegal demands left the peasants, artisans and menials with their own capacity of passive or active resistance to put a brake on these demands. The resistance could take the form of either actual flight from the village or a threat to that effect. It is interesting that in case of flight, the *Diwan* invariably issued stiff instructions to the officials to bring the fleeing groups back obviously by accepting their conditions. The humiliation of its officials implied in this was of little concern to the state where its basic economic interests were involved; in the bargain it could appear as the defender of its underprivileged subjects.

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Marriages among the Christians of Goa—A Study Based on Parish Registers*

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The importance and feasibility of conducting scientific investigations of ecclesiastical records in the field of historical demography has now been fully accepted, and valuable research work is being done in several European countries utilizing such data. So far no attempt has been made to utilize Indian ecclesiastical records for highlighting demographic and social characteristics of the past. This is due to difficulties in obtaining records comparable to those maintained by church authorities in Europe.

Goa, ruled by the Portuguese from 1510 to 1961, is one place in India where ecclesiastical records are available. These records are very useful for demographers and social scientists seeking to study the long-term trends in Goa's population.[1] The parish records on marriage can be utilized to determine marriage patterns and other associated social characteristics of the Catholics of Goa.[2]

The present paper attempts to use data obtained from parish registers of marriage to shed light on the demographic and social characteristics of the Goan Catholics in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many analysts have used marriage registers as a data source. Buckatzach[3] used parish registers of marriages to find out the occupations of most of the bridegrooms and fathers recorded between 1665 and 1719 in Sheffield. By comparing the occupation of the bridegroom with that of the bride's father, he established the predominance of the cutlery trade in Sheffield during the period 1665-1719. Similarly Smith,[4] Peter Walne,[5] Knodel,[6] etc., have made use of parish registers of marriage.

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[1] Harish C. Srivastava, "Registration of Vital Events in Goa—A Study of the Current System in Retrospect," *Artha Vijnana*, Vol. 13, No. 4, December 1971, Poona, pp. 450-68.

[2] For details see Harish C. Srivastava, "Birth and Death Rates in Goa—An Appraisal of Parish Registers," International Institute for Population Studies, Bombay (Mimeographed), 1972, pp. 1-46.

[3] E.J. Buchatzach, "Occupations in the Parish Registers of Sheffield, 1655-1719," *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, I, 1949, pp. 145-50.

The parish of Taleigao, nearly five kilometres south-west of the city of Panjim, the capital of Goa, Daman and Diu, was selected for the study. It is situated within Goa which occupies almost the centre of India's western coast line, about 368 kms to the south of Bombay and is sandwiched between the ranges of the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. Several considerations were taken into account in the selection of the parish. The parish should be inhabited mainly by Christians; it must be an area of reasonable size and, as far as possible, should be a parish of Catholics so that under-registration is minimum. In addition some other factors have also been taken into account, e.g., the parish should be one for which registers of marriage are available for all the years under study.

The parish of Taleigao is believed to be an ancient one with fairly complete eccelesiastical registers. However, a few gaps in the availability of data have been observed. Prior to 1830, marriage records are highly disparate both in physical completeness and in comprehensiveness. Therefore, the study is restricted to the period 1830-1909.

Relevant details pertaining to the marriage partners available in the marriage records, viz., names, date, year and place of marriage, age, profession, residence, native place, place of baptism, marital status, etc., were noted down on forms specially designed for the purpose. The place of baptism of the brides and the bridegrooms was recorded under three heads: (*a*) baptized in the same parish (the parish in question); (*b*) baptized in the adjacent parish (any other parish situated at a distance of five kilometres from the parish of Taleigao); and (*c*) baptized in a distant parish (any other parish situated at a distance of more than five kilometres from the parish of Taleigao). In order to highlight changes in the demographic and social characteristics of marriages, the whole time span for the study has been divided into decades.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

In all 1971 entries were collected for the period 1830 to 1909 from the marriage registers. A linear function was fitted to the observed data on the number of marriages in each year and the figures were estimated for the years for which the data were not available. These estimated figures have also been employed for plotting the graph which shows an increasing trend. The 1860s, 1870s and 1890s had fewer marriages. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, it may have been due partly to political disturbances in Goa. During this period there were a number of revolts: Custoba's revolt in 1869, the army revolt of Volpoi Matasheli in 1870 and Dada Rane's revolt in 1895.[7]

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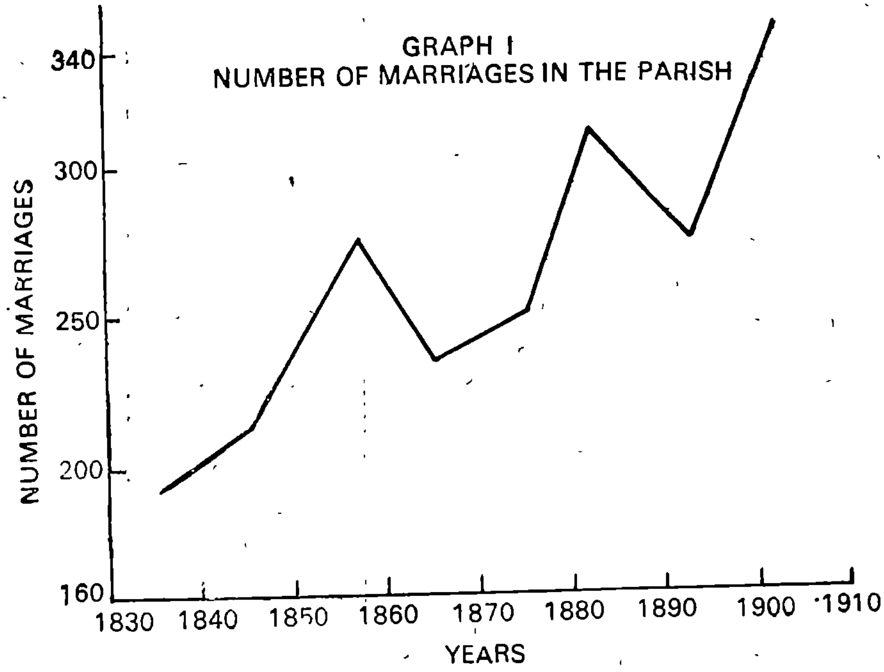
[4] T.E Smith, "Cocos—Keling Islands: A Demographic Laboratory," *Population Studies*, Vol. XIV. 1960-61, pp. 94-129.

[5] Peter Walne, "Parish Registers and Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths in England and Wales," *Archivum*, VIII, 1958, pp. 79-87.

[6] J. Knodel, "Infant Mortality and Fertility in Three Bavarian Villages: An Analysis of Family Histories from 19th Century," *Population Studies*, Vol. 22, 1968, pp. 297-318.


GRAPH I
NUMBER OF MARRIAGES IN THE PARISH

Measures of the age at marriage of brides and bridegrooms in different decades have been given in Table 1. It is only for the post-1860 period that information regarding the age at marriage could be obtained from the old records. Even after 1860, age at marriage is not recorded for all the couples in the parish records. Hence, the measures have been calculated only for those whose age at marriage could be obtained. This affects the pre-1890 estimates; after 1800 there was a reasonably good coverage of age of marriage parties.

The mean age at marriage for brides and bridegrooms are virtually constant over time. While girls were marrying at about 18 or 19, boys were marrying

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[7] For details see Antonia De Figueirede, *Portugal and its Empire: The Truth*, London, 1961; B.K. Boman-Behram, *Goa and Overselves*, Bombay, 1955; C.P. Saldana, *A Short History of Goa*, Goa, 1957; A.K. Priolkar, *Goa: Facts Versus Fiction*, Bombay, 1962.

TABLE 1

AGE AT MARRIAGE OF BRIDES AND BRIDEGROOMS IN DIFFERENT DECADES

Years	*Mean Age at Marriage*		*Median Age at Marriage*		*Modal Age at Marriage*		*Variance*		*Number of Brides and Bridegrooms whose Age is Available.*		*Number of Brides and Bridegrooms whose Age is not Available*		*Total*
	Brides	*Bride-grooms*	*Brides*	*Bride-grooms*	*Brides*	*Bride-grooms*	*Brides*	*Bride-grooms*	*Brides*	*Bride-grooms*	*Brides*	*Bride-grooms*	
1860-69	18.84	30.46	17.90	28.75	17.39	27.86	29.45	68.99	108	108	130	130	238
1870-79	18.90	27.27	15.32	26.92	17.62	26.36	23.42	34.65	204	220	147	131	251
1880-89	19.44	26.65	19.05	25.64	20.24	23.93	35.51	37.14	165	212	147	100	312
1890-99	17.80	25.87	17.35	24.63	17.07	23.52	21.19	41.44	235	242	33	26	263
1900-1909	18.34	25.95	17.92	25.57	17.50	24.09	25.00	38.77	279	299	27	7	206

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF SPOUSES BY THEIR MARITAL STATUS

Years	Brides				Bridegrooms			
	Spinster (%)	*Widow* (%)	*N.A.* (%)	*Total*	*Bachelor* (%)	*Widower* (%)	*N.A.* (%)	*Total*
1830-39	184 (97.87)	—	4 (2.13)	188	186 (28.94)	1 (0.53)	1 (0.53)	188
1840-49	129 (100.00)	—	—	129	129 (100.00)	—	—	129
1850-59	280 (100.00)	—	—	280	280 (100.00)	—	—	280
1860-69	232 (97.48)	6 (2.52)	—	238	224 (94.12)	14 (5.88)	—	238
1870-79	247 (98.41)	4 (1.59)	—	251	238 (94.82)	13 (5.18)	—	251
1880-89	312 (100 00)	—	—	312	310 (99 36)	2 (0 64)	—	312
1890-99	268 (100.00)	—	—	268	265 (98.88)	3 (1.12)	—	268
1900-1909	305 (99 67)	1 (0.33)	—	306	294 (96 08)	12 (3.92)	—	306
1830-1909	1957 (99.24)	11 (0.56)	4 (0.20)	1972	1926 (97.67)	45 (2.28)	1 (0.05)	1972

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF SPOUSES BY THEIR PLACE OF BAPTISM

Years	*Brides*					*Bridegrooms*				
	Same Parish (%)	*Adjacent Parish* (%)	*Distant Parish*	*N.A.*	*Total*	*Same Parish* (%)	*Adjacent Parish* (%)	*Distant Parish*	*N.A.*	*Total*
1830-39	144 (76.5)	18 (9.57)	25 (13.30)	1 (0.53)	188	184 (97.88)	1 (0.53)	2 (1.06)	1	188
1840-49	89 (68.99)	2 (1.55)	35 (27.13)	3 (2.33)	129	129 (100.00)	—	—	—	129
1850-59	161 (57.50)	26 (9.29)	93 (33.21)	—	280	279 (99.64)	—	1 (0.36)	—	280
1860-69	121 (50.84)	25 (10.50)	92 (38.66)	—	238	226 (94.96)	1 (0 42)	11 (4.62)	—	238
1870-79	151 (60.16)	24 (9.56)	76 (30.28)	—	251	224 (89.24)	6 (2.39)	21 (8.37)	—	251
1880-89	270 (86.53)	19 (6.09)	23 (7.38)	—	312	292 (93.59)	7 (2.24)	13 (4.17)	—	312
1890-99	194 (72.39)	20 (7.46)	53 (19.78)	1 (0.37)	268	242 (90.30)	—	26 (9.70)	—	268
1900-1909	212 (69.28)	23 (4.79)	68 (22.22)	3 (0.98)	306	216 (70 59)	19 (6.21)	71 (23.20)	—	306
	1342 (68.05)	157 (7.96)	465 (23.58)	8 (0.41)	1972	1792 (90.88)	34 (1.72)	145 (7.35)	1 (0 05)	1972

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF SPOUSES ACCORDING TO THE MARITAL STATUS OF THE BRIDEGROOMS AND BRIDES AT THE TIME OF CURRENT MARRIAGE FOR DIFFERENT DECADES

Year	*Bridegroom Bachelor*			*Bridegroom Widower*			*Grand Total*
	Bride Spinster	*Bride Widow*	*Total*	*Bride Spinster*	*Bride Widow*	*Total*	
1830-39	182	—	182	1	—	1	183*
1840-49	129	—	129	—	—	—	129
1850-59	280	—	280	—	—	—	280
1860-69	221	3	224	11	3	14	238
1870-79	237	1	238	10	3	13	251
1880-89	310	—	310	2	—	2	312
1890-99	265	—	265	3	—	3	268
1900-1909	294	—	294	11	1	12	206
	1918 (97.51%)	4 (0.20%)	1922 (97.71%)	38 (1.93%)	7 (0 36%)	45 (2.29%)	1967

*Information for five couples was not available in the decades 1930-39; therefore, these cases have been excluded from the grand total which is 183.

on an average, at 26 or 27. The mean age at marriage for boys declined from 30.46 in the 1860s to 25.95 during 1900-09. Median and model ages at marriage along with their variance are also provided (see Table 1).

It is evident from Table 2 that almost all the brides were marrying for the first time and widow remarriages were rare. Most of the bridegrooms were also marrying for the first time. A remarkable feature was that not even one case of remarriage of a divorced person could be found during the whole period of study. Divorce was not sanctioned by the Catholic Church, and cases, if any, are unlikely to have been reported to, or recorded by, the parish.

While most of the couples were baptized in the parish of Taleigao (Table 3), the proportion of bridegrooms baptized within the parish was higher than of brides. It appears to have been the social practice that the bridegroom's parish was generally the one where wedding took place. Of course, some brides and bridegrooms had been baptized in other parishes, the number being higher for brides than for grooms.

Results reported in Table 4 indicate that out of 1967 marriages considered, 97.51 per cent were between never-married persons, i.e., these marriages were contracted between the spouses who were bachelors and spinsters. Widow remarriages appear to have been mainly in the 1860s and 1870s, while widower remarriage was concentrated not only in these two decades but in the 1900-09 decade as well.

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A Note on the Malayali Origins of Anti-Brahminism in South India

ROBIN JEFFREY

Two schools of argument have developed about the nature of anti-Brahminism in south India in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first has seen south Indian politics in terms of social conflict between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. It has been argued that between 1916 and 1919

> nationalist politicians—largely Brahmans . . . were challenged by a group of non-Brahmans who had recently begun to take an active part in the politics of Madras. . . .The conflict that developed between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans in south India at this time was the articulation of pre-existing social rivalry.[1]

On the other hand, a second school has contended that by the late 1920s "the communal issue was finally obvious for the hoax it had always been."[2] According to this school, politics in the south was about factional rivalry among magnates and their clients for the patronage available within British-created institutions.

The aim of this paper is a very modest one: to add to our knowledge of anti-Brahminism in south India a few details that have hitherto been overlooked. At the same time, I would like to suggest that the process taking place in the south was perhaps not so "very novel" as has been contended.[3] Educated elites seeking to mobilize wider support—whether to take part in electoral politics or simply to extract recognition from governments or reigning cliques—often employ "ethnic" rallying cries. They turn to a "pool of symbols" and choose the symbol they deem most appropriate for the time and situation.[4] This is part of a process by which "ethnic groups"—groups which are "objectively distinct but whose members do not *necessarily* attach subjective importance or political significance to that fact"—are "transformed into subjectively conscious and politically oriented communities."[5] This process has gone on not merely elsewhere in India but throughout the world, and seems to me to be closely related to the decay of traditional political and social organization. In south India, once the "little kingdom" or "locality," in which men's lives were regulated by the nature of their relations with their local land-controller, began to break down—once the land-controller's authority began to be undermined regularly from outside, once men began to travel regularly and freely over a wide area, once new market forces began to govern the sorts of crops men planted and what they did with them, once western-style education began to make men aware of possibilities beyond the "little kingdom"—men were forced to look for new ways to aggregate. Where previously they had lived in interdependence within a small circle of caste superiors and inferiors and had married within a small group of caste-fellows, they now began to see that there were other men similar to themselves—sometimes even sharing the same caste name—in "little kingdoms" distant from their own Possibilities opened up for marrying with the daughters of such men or combining with them for political or social purposes. There was nothing hard and fast about these potential new groups. The choice of symbols made by the elites who first transcended the boundaries of the "little kingdom" was often crucial in shaping—or failing to shape—group identity.[6]

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[1] Eugene F. Irschick, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India*, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1961, p. xiv. S. Saraswathi, *Minorities in Madras State*, Delhi, Impex India, 1974, pp. 38-39.

[2] D. A Washbrook, *The Emergence of Provincial Politics. The Madras Presidency, 1870-1920*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 323. See also C. J. Baker, *The Politics of South India, 1920-1937*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1976 and Baker and Washbrook, *South India: Political Institutions and Political Change, 1880-1940*, Delhi, Macmillan, 1975.

[3] Washbrook, *Provincial Politics*, p. 287.

The gist of this paper may be briefly summarized. On the Kerala coast, non-Malayali Brahmins—Tamils and Marathas—had appeared in increasing numbers from the early eighteenth century. Working as administrators for centralizing rulers, they had often usurped the position of Malayalis, particularly of Nayars (Malayali Sudras), and had used their ritual status to take advantage of the privileges previously reserved for the revered Malayali Brahmins. From the eighteenth century, there is evidence of Malayali resentment against the interloper. By the 1880s, a small western-educated elite of

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[4] Bernard S. Cohn, "Regions Subjective and Objective: Their Relation to the Study of Modern Indian History and Society" in Thomas R. Metcalf, ed., *Modern India*, London, Macmillan, 1971, p 49.

[5] Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974, p. 6.

[6] Brass has made his view clear: "Political organizations and voluntary associations do not arise spontaneously to reflect the demands of a 'natural' ethnic group. They often precede the existence of a widespread sense of group identity and they play a critical role in shaping or failing to shape it." *Ibid.*, p. 38. Anthony Low has often suggested the importance for the rise of "communalism or "tribalism" of the breakdown of localized, traditional social and political organization, both in South Asia and in Africa.

Nayars had emerged in Travancore, but found itself excluded by non-Malayali Brahmins from the influence it thought it deserved, both in the Maharaja's palace and in the administration. A campaign against Brahmin dominance was conducted in the press of Madras city and through public meetings and petitions in Travancore. The Nayar elite made its point, and by the 1890s had reached a comfortable accommodation with official Brahmins. The tone of the agitation, however, remained and was to be revived by other groups at the turn of the century and thereafter. The young Nayars of the 1880s were friends and relatives of other Nayars who were to use the anti-Brahmin war-cry in similar circumstances in Madras city in the decade of the First World War. These men were making use of objective social differences that they had already seen successfully exploited in Travancore 25 years before.

G. PARAMESWARAN PILLAI

The career of G. Parameswaran Pillai (1864-1903), a Travancore Nayar, illustrates the nature of anti-Brahmin feeling in Kerala, the way in which that feeling was used in an elite-organized political campaign and how that feeling became a useful symbol in the elite politics of Madras city.

Parameswaran Pillai was born in Trivandrum, the son—and this point cannot be too strongly emphasized—of a Tamil Brahmin. Nayars were matrilineal, and many families until well into the twentieth century considered it an honour to have their young women visited by men of higher Malayali castes. Tamil Brahmins were also able to take advantage of this hypergamy, though there was always some Malayali resentment against the practice. "If there is none [to wed]," a Malayalam proverb advised, "then a Pattar [Tamil Brahmin]; if there is nothing [to eat], then greens."[7] Even in the eighteenth century, when they began to enter Travancore in large numbers as servants of a conquering Maharaja, Tamil Brahmins were regarded with a mixture of awe and derision.[8] Their appearance was clearly distinct from most Malayalis: they wore the sacred thread; they tied their *kudumi* (tuft of hair) at the back of the head, not in front; they spoke Tamil, not Malayalam. Malayalam proverbs concerning their cupidity were common:

> If there be want in the Brahmin's house, you must not expect to find anything in the king's palace.
>
> The Pattar who hears of a rice feast and the pig of a chase run equally fast.[9]

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[7] *Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission*, Madras, Government Press, 1891, Appendix III, p. 4.

[8] Krishna Chaitanya, *A History of Malayalam Literature*, Bombay, Orient Longmans, 1971, p. 120.

[9] *Madras Mail*, 5 July 1894, p. 4.

They took advantage of many institutions that were closed to non-Brahmins.[10]

Parameswaran Pillai's father was—according to Parameswaran Pillai's son —"an orthodox Brahmin, meticulous in the observance or [of] all caste conventions. It was therefore but natural that young Parameswaran found himself in the caste-ridden atmosphere of social inequalities even in his own hearth and home. . . ."[11] It was not uncommon for a Brahmin, once a young Nayar girl had conceived, to give up all interest in her; in a matrilineal system, the child was the responsibility of the mother's house.[12] In any event, after his mother died while he was still a child, Parameswaran Pillai was brought up by his mother's aunt. He had no brothers or sisters, and seems to have had no further connection with his father.[13]

The Travancore into which Parameswaran Pillai was born presented a rapidly changing scene as a result of a series of administrative and educational innovations vigorously prosecuted from the 1860s.[14] A first-grade college, affiliated to Madras University, granted degrees in Trivandrum from 1870, and Parameswaran Pillai entered it in the late 1870s to study for a B.A. In the 1870s the college produced 60 graduates, 31 of whom were non-Malayali Brahmins; from 1880-89 it turned out 157 graduates, 77 of them non-Malayali Brahmins.[15] In the 1870s virtually all these graduates were easily absorbed into the expanding government service, where they found the administrative careers they considered worthy and respectable. Parameswaran Pillai's teachers included a number of the earlier graduates, among them P. S. Sundaram Pillai (1855-97), whose theories about the ancient history of south India were to be taken up for political purposes. Sundaram Pillai attacked the *Ramayana* as a story distorted by Brahmins to explain their unjust domination of south India and suggested a counter-version in which Ravana emerged as the hero, the beleaguered defender of Dravidian civilization against north Indian hordes.[16] For nearly 20 years, Sundaram Pillai influenced the students who passed through the college and provided an overlay of scholarly legitimacy to a view that was to have growing political utility.

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[10] The institution that rankled most with Malayalis was that of the free feeding house attached to temples where Brahmins were able to dine once or twice a day.

[11] G.P. Sekhar, ed., *Select Writings and Speeches of G. P. Pillai*, Trivandrum, Radh-Ind Publications, 1964, p. 175.

[12] Mannath Padmanabhan, *ente jivitasmaranakal*, Trivandrum, NSS Press, n.d. (c. 1957), p. 2. *Hindu*, 8 August 1905, p. 3 and *Madras Mail*, 1 November 1911, p. 3, for cases in which Nayar women sued Brahmins for child support.

[13] Sekhar, *Writings*, p. 175.

[14] Robin Jeffrey, *The Decline of Nayar Dominance: Society and Politics in Travancore, 1847-1908*, London, Sussex University Press, 1976, pp. 70-103.

[15] Jeffrey, *Nayar Dominance*, p. 110.

[16] Irschick, *Politics and Social Conflict*, pp. 282-83. T. Ponnambalam Pillai, "The Morality of the Ramayana," *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (June 1909), pp. 83-88. *Madras Mail*, 14 May 1894, p. 5; 4 May 1897, p. 5. Jeffrey, *Nayar Dominance*, p. 345.

There was a third element—in addition to Sundaram Pillai's theories and the long-held Malayali resentment of non-Malayali Brahmins—in Parameswaran Pillai's early experience that brought home the potential usefulness of an anti Brahmin symbol. Since the 1850s, European Protestant missionaries had proselytized vigorously in Travancore. In their endeavours to acquire caste-Hindu converts, they had adopted two stratagems. In conversations with Nayars, they had dwelt on "the cunning of the Brahmins in imposing upon the Nairs laws that are favourable to the Brahmins and disadvantageous to the Nairs...." More specifically, they had ridiculed the matrilineal system, the absence of marriage among Nayars and the way in which this system was exploited by Brahmins. The jibe was increasingly heard: "No Nayar knows his father"[17] The matrilineal system was in consonance neither with western notions nor ideas of classical Hinduism; the continuance of the system was increasingly linked to "the cunning of the Brahmins."

From 1817 to 1914, with one three-year exception, the Dewans of Travancore were non-Malayali Brahmins, and throughout Parameswaran Pillai's youth, non-Malayali Brahmins held between 25 and 30 per cent of the positions worth Rs 10 or more a month in the government service. The rulers of Travancore, and other Kshatriyas in Kerala, were deeply reverential towards Brahmins. As one Maharaja wrote, "Travancore is perhaps the most priest-ridden Native State in the whole of India . . . the ruler himself is not his own master in religious matters. Certain heavy expenses have *inevitably* to be incurred in the performance of appointed ceremonies, besides the current one of feeding *gratis all* Brahmans *all the year round.*"[18] In Parameswaran Pillai's youth, there were more than 40 free feeding houses exclusively for Brahmins and costing four lakhs of rupees a year to maintain. As another Nayar of a later generation wrote, " . . . the Brahmin boys in our school [c. 1905] were not particularly liked by the others . . . every day they could get a free meal in the *uttupura* [feeding house] attached to the temple."[19]

In the 1870s, while the bureaucracy was expanding steadily and the college in Trivandrum was producing graduates at the rate of only a dozen or so a year, the aspirations of the young graduates could be met, and there was little reason for the western-educated Nayar elite to object to the influx of non-Malayali Brahmins. By the 1880s, however, this situation had begun to change. Increasingly, young Nayars were capable of—as has been written of similar circumstances in north India—"identifying oppressors and cultivating a sense of grievance against them."[20]

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[17] Rev. Jacob Chandy, "Journal," 13 June 1850, London Missionary Society Archives. See also "Journal," 2 March 1853, 12 May 1853, 28 January 1859. Chandy recorded that his attacks on Brahmins got ready agreement from Nayars. See also *Madras Mail*, 28 March 1882, p. 3.

[18] [Vishakham Tirunal], "A Native Statesman," *Calcutta Review*, Vol. LV, 1872, p. 251.

[19] K.P S. Menon, *Many Worlds*, London, Oxford University Press, 1965, p. 24.

In 1882, while still a student in the college of Trivandrum, Parameswaran Pillai began to give vent to such grievances. Doubtless influenced by his teachers and immediate seniors who had formed a Malayali Social Union and then a Malayali Sabha to discuss the problems of Nayars, Parameswaran Pillai began to attack the Brahmin Dewan, V. Ramiengar, and his alleged policy of employing non-Malayali Brahmins at the expense of Malayalis. The articles, published anonymously in English in the *Cochin Argus* and *Western Star*, appear to have been subtle and revealing. The complaint was not put in terms of Nayars vs. Brahmins. If the appeal was to have any hope of gaining its aims, it was essential that it have the approval of the Maharaja, and his reverence for Brahmins was well known. Instead, the grievance was stated in terms of Malayalis vs. Foreigners.[21] Parameswaran Pillai and his contemporaries were choosing their symbol carefully.

In spite of their apparent caution, however, the Dewan was enraged. Inquiries revealed Parameswaran Pillai to be the author of the offending articles. He and two college mates were expelled, and Parameswaran Pillai had to flee to Madras city to avoid arrest[22] He was befriended in Madras by Malayali students, and eventually graduated from Presidency College in 1888. In the meantime, he took up various jobs to support himself and began to contribute regularly to the Madras press.

A CAMPAIGN FROM MADRAS CITY

We need, I think, to know much more of the Madras city of the 1880s in which Parameswaran Pillai arrived. Its importance as a focal point for the western-educated of the Madras Presidency has perhaps been understated.[23] Although it did not compare to Calcutta or Bombay as a burgeoning industrial city, it was the administrative, legal, educational, journalistic and railway centre of the presidency. It had a significant western-educated elite, drawn from every district of the presidency, and was developing a modest cosmopolitanism and perhaps a distinctive south Indian cultural synthesis.[24] For a young, ambitious writer like Parameswaran Pillai, the city had a striking attraction: it supported four daily or tri-weekly newspapers.[25] There were also hostels run by Malayali students from all parts of Kerala, and regular weekly social gatherings and debating clubs, at which such heroes of the Madras bar as Eardley Norton occasionally appeared.[26]

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[20] Brass, *Language*, p. 414.

[21] *Kerala Mitram*, 28 May 1881 and (?) October 1812, in *Reports on Native Newspapers, Madras*, Malayalam. The files of neither the *Cochin Argus* nor the *Western Star* have survived.

[22] Sekhar, *Writings*, pp. 177-79.

[23] Baker, *Politics of South India*, pp. 22-23, places the growth of the Madras city as an important focal point for the presidency only in the 1890s.

[24] Dr Susan Lewandowski, Amherst College, was working on these lines and exploring the notion of a cultural synthesis.

By 1891, there were more than 1,500 Malayalis in Madras city.[27] The majority of them were Nayars, and most of them came from backgrounds similar to Parameswaran Pillai's. This is not to say that Malayalis set the intellectual tone in Madras, but merely to suggest that they were well-represented among the city's educated elite and that their ideas were widely ventilated. Among the rising young Nayars in Madras at the time were C. Sankaran Nair (1857-1934), M. Krishnan Nair (1870-1938), K. P. Raman Menon (1866-1942) and T. M Nair (1869-1919), the initiator of the "Non-Brahmin Manifesto" of 1916. T. M. Nair and Parameswaran Pillai became close friends.

A new Maharaja had come to the *gaddi* in Travancore in 1885, and Parameswaran Pillai's old college mates and teachers in Trivandrum soon saw the new ruler as a mere tool of his Tamil Brahmin favourite, an illiterate former cook. The favourite was said to sell his influence, and generally he was thought to work against aspiring, western-educated Nayars. From August 1887, Parameswaran Pillai began a campaign of stinging attacks on the Travancore government in the *Madras Standard.* He was kept well-informed of events in the state by this friends. These attacks culminated in the so-called Malayali Memorial of 1891, which bore 10,000 signatures and was presented to the Maharaja.[28]

An analysis of the attacks on the Travancore government and the wording of the Memorial is illuminating, for it shows how—perhaps for the first time in the Madras Presidency—members of a western-educated elite sought the most appropriate symbols with which to attempt to mobilize larger numbers for a political campaign. The process involved trial and error. There were three considerations dictating the choice of symbols. First, they had to exclude the group—in this case, non-Malayali Brahmins in the Travancore government—against which the campaign was directed. Second, they had to reflect objective social differences clearly evident in Travancore. Third, they had to be in consonance with the accepted attitudes and conduct of the groups that held power—the Maharaja of Travancore and the British government in Madras, with which Travancore was in direct relations.

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[25] *Hindu, Madras Times, Madras Mail* and *Madras Standard.*

[26] P. K. Parameswaran Nair, *C. V. Raman Pilla,* Kottayam, National Book Stall, 1959; first published, 1948, pp. 133-34n. R. Suntharalingam, *Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India, 1852-91,* Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1974, p. 213.

[27] *Census of India, 1891,* Vol. XIV, *Madras,* p. 149, gives 1,765 Kerala-born residents of Madras, though on p. 138 Malayalam-speakers are given as only 553.

[28] The discussion of the Malayali Memorial is based on Jeffrey, *Nayar Dominance,* pp. 157-76.

To comply with the first criterion, the campaign could be directed against either "foreigners" or "Brahmins." To aim it at "foreigners," i.e., non-Travancoreans, gave it legitimacy with the Maharaja and the British government in Madras.[29] "Foreigner" too could be made to reflect social conditions: a person not born in Travancore. But here a problem arose: many non-Malayali Brahmins *had* been born in Travancore or had lived there from childhood. Similarly, to define "Travancorean" as someone who spoke Malayalam as his mother-tongue would have excluded the Tamil area in the south of the state from which the original Travancore had sprung in the eighteenth century. Such a definition would not have squared with the position of the Maharaja as ruler of a united Travancore.

By the first two criteria, the most useful form in which to present the campaign was as an anti-Brahmin crusade. Brahmins were exclusive, identifiable; there was widespread feeling against them, dating from the eighteenth century; and they clearly held jobs in the administration vastly out of proportion to their numbers, jobs that members of the English-educated Nayar elite coveted. In all this, however, there was one difficulty: neither the Maharaja nor the British government in Madras would look with favour on a campaign waged explicitly against Brahmins. The Maharaja was devoted to his Brahmin favourite and to the traditional hierarchy; British officials, yet to be confronted by the threat of Tilak and his followers in Maharashtra in the late 1890s, were not ready to encourage systematic assaults on Brahmins or other groups.

The Malayali Memorial, as the popular name implies, was finally developed around a "Travancorean" theme; but the anti-Brahmin aspect—because it was so close to the hearts of so many Malayalis—continued to intrude, even into the wording of the Memorial itself. That the organizers of the Memorial managed to mute the anti-Brahmin theme as much as they did demonstrates the importance of leadership in determining the way in which an ostensibly spontaneous social grievance is formulated.

The Memorial, circulated throughout Travancore in 1890 and presented to the Maharaja early in 1891, set out to inform the ruler of "the grievance which affects the most important classes of your Highness's subjects." That grievance was "the denial to them of a fair share in the government of their country and their systematic exclusion from the higher grades of its services." To eliminate the major competitors, the Memorial divided the population of Travancore into three categories: (*i*) Malayali Hindus, "meaning thereby all

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[29] In spite of Irschick, *Politics and Social Conflict*, pp. 280-81, I would argue that it was only at the turn of the century, after the rise of Tilak's influence in the Bombay Presidency, that Indian Civil Servants in Madras became generally suspicious of Brahmins. It was 1903 before there was any doubt about approving the appointment of Brahmins as Dewans of Travancore. R. S. Lepper to Curzon, 29 June 1903, India Office Library, Ampthill Papers, E/233/17.

Hindus who follow the Marumakkatayam [matrilineal] system of inheritance or a mixed system of Makkatayam and Marumakkatayam and whose *kudumi* or tuft of hair is in the front." They were said to amount to 60 per cent of the population; (*ii*) "Foreign Hindus," who included "the foreigners who have settled and domiciled in Travancore" (13 per cent); and (*iii*) Christians (21 per cent). The Memorial's preamble excluded Muslims, Jews and Europeans from consideration. Statistics were introduced to show the stranglehold of "Foreign Hindus" on the government service and the meagre representation of "Malayali Hindus" and Christians.

Towards the end of the Memorial, however, there was a glaring change: the problem was stated in clear, Nayar-vs.-Brahmin terms. Brahmin Dewans, it was claimed, had "not only introduced their relations, castemen and friends into the State, but tried their best to oust the Nairs and prevent them from filling any of the higher appointments." Brahmins were the sole beneficiaries of the free feeding houses and the charity of Malayali rulers, "yet Travancore certainly cannot be said to have been conquered by the foreign Brahmins; and they are in no way entitled to play the Englishmen in this state."

The organizers of the Memorial saw that there were weaknesses and dangers in the "non-Travancorean" angle of attack and had attempted to overcome these by including explicit charges against Brahmins. "The agitation is chiefly and mainly against these Tamilian Brahmins," concluded a correspondent of the *Hindu*. The *Madras Times* decided that " 'save us from the Foreign Brahmins' is the burden of the cry. . . ." Moreover, a letter writer to the *Hindu* pointed out, if Travancore was to be soley for the Travancoreans, then Madras city should be only for non-Malayalis and the Travancoreans there should pack their bags and go home.[30]

THE LEGACY OF THE MEMORIAL IN TRAVANCORE

The immediate outcome of the Memorial agitation appeared to be anti-climactic. Delegations met the Dewan in June 1891 and were fobbed off with the ritual promise that due consideration would be given to their representations. Officially, the agitation seemed ended. But it lived in the memories of thousands of individuals. In 1892 the elderly Dewan retired and was replaced by a Tamil Brahmin from the Travancore government service. This man immediately arrived at an accommodation with the official Nayars who had inspired the Memorial, and under him they advanced rapidly in the service. With this happy denouement, the Malayali Sabha of official Nayars dissolved and its newspaper ceased to publish.

The Memorial, however, had an important legacy in Travancore, one that tends to confirm the contention that "political organizations . . . shape their environments and the identities of group members" as well reflecting those environments and identities.[31] The English-educated elite of other social groups began in the 1890s to see the Memorial as a petition of "over 10,000 Nairs."[32] They also began to see the potential of such campaigns. The Memorial, men reasoned, had ultimately worked well for those Nayars; why could such a technique not be made to work for them too? In the next 10 years members of the Syrian Christian and Irava elites attempted to organize similar petitions. The fact that these did not command the attention of the Malayali Memorial demonstrated, in part, the shrewdness of the Malayali Memorialists in choosing a "Travancorean" focus for their agitation. The Irava and Syrian Christian petitions could be dismissed as simply self-interested grievances.

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[30] *Hindu*, 24 February 1891, p. 3 and 28 May 1891, p. 3. *Madras Times*, 20 January 1891, p. 3.

There was, too, a crucial difference between the Nayar elite in 1890 and the Syrian Christian and Irava elites in the years to follow. Nayars were caste-Hindus and already held most of the positions in the government service. It took only the desultory volley of the Malayali Memorial to induce non-Malayali Brahmin officials to reach an understanding with their Nayar contemporaries. Syrian Christians and Iravas, however, were virtually excluded from the administration; members of their elites were seeking an initial entry, and this was much harder to effect. What was to be required for elites of non-*savarna*-Hindu groups was an alliance based on the symbol of caste-Hindu domination; but this did not begin to form until the end of the First World War.[33] In the meantime, however, the efforts of elites to mobilize their co-religionists and castemen on communal lines—with the example of 1891 clearly before them—went on apace.

Nor did anti-Brahmin feeling die in Travancore or in Kerala generally. The social differences between non-Malayali Brahmins and various groups of Malayalis were too evident and longstanding—and coincided too well with the immediate concerns of various elites. (Brahmins, after all, *did* have a huge stake in the government service.) *Malayala Manorama*, a Syrian Christian newspaper that found occasional satisfaction in setting a Nayar cat among Brahmin pigeons, summed up the situation in 1898:

> For a long time in the past we have all been watching the progress of the strife between Brahmins and Malayali Sudras. This strife in itself is a product of modern times. . . .

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[31] Brass, *Language*, p. 367.

[32] *Madras Mail*, 16 November 1816, p. 3.

[33] By the end of the First World War, the non-caste-Hindu elites, which had prospered through growing economic opportunities, numbered in the thousands. See Jeffrey, "Travancore: Status, Class and the Growth of Radical Politics, 1860-1940" in Jeffrey, ed., *People, Princes and Paramount Power: Society and Politics in the Indian Princely States*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

> . . . the leaven of English education has brought about a vast change. Though people in the country parts still retain the old notions [of deference to Brahmins] . . . the educated portion of the Sudra community in Travancore hate the whole body of Brahmins with a hatred that ever burns like a steady core of white fire within their breasts.[34]

The journalistic clashes in Trivandrum at the turn of the century were fierce. Non-Malayali Brahmins by then had their own paper, whose only object, claimed one Nayar, was the "persecution of the Nair."[35] Brahmins were holding an annual festival to coincide and compete with the Malayalis' *Onam* celebrations.[36] "A Brahmin," another correspondent concluded, "strinks in the nostrils if [of] a Nair nowadays. . . ."[37] By the time of the First World War, however, elite Brahmins and Nayars were beginning to be seen and categorized by others as "caste Hindus." The elites of other groups, taking their lead from the tone already set, began to state their key grievance as the "caste Hindu" domination of the Travancore government.

THE LEGACY IN MADRAS

G. Parameswaran Pillai and others[38] had made known in Madras city the intensity of long-standing anti-Brahmin feeling in Kerala and its utility for elites seeking wider political support. His "friend, physician and guide,"[39] Dr T. M. Nair, with whom he travelled to Britain for the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897, was to be the leading protagonist in the "non-Brahmin movement" initiated in Madras city in 1916. Parameswaran Pillai's brother-in-law, S. K. Nair, a veteran lecturer with anti-Brahmin views, was the likely author of *Non-Brahmin Letters*, a booklet published in 1915 that enjoyed some popularity among elite non-Brahmins in Madras and expressed grievances that many felt.[40]

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[34] *Malayala Manorama*, 19 March 1898.

[35] *Madras Mail*, 2 November 1903, p. 5.

[36] *Ibid.*, and *Madras Mail*, 26 August 1905, p. 5.

[37] *Madras Times*, 21 March 1905, p. 3.

[38] C. V. Raman Pillai, the Malayalam novelist and Travancore government servant, was a close friend of Parameswaran Pillai and C. Karunakara Menon. Raman Pillai wrote for both the *Madras Standard* in the 1890s and Karunakara Menon's *Indian Patriot* after he established it in 1905. Karunakara Menon had been with the *Hindu* from about 1889; he was its editor from 1898-1905. P.K. Parameswaran Nair, *Raman Pilla*, pp. 277-80. V. K. Narasimhan, *Kasturi Ranga Iyengar*, Delhi, Publications Division, 1963, pp. 34 and 37.

[39] G. Parameswaran Pillai, *London and Paris through Indian Spectacles*, Madras, Vaijayanti Press, 1897, p. i.

[40] For S K. Nair and *Non-Brahmin Letters*, Madras, Indian Patriot Press, 1915, see Menon, *Many Worlds*, pp. 35-36, *Madras Mail*, 20 September 1960, p. 5; Irschick, *Politics and Social Conflict*, pp. 46-47; Baker, *Politics of South India*, p. 31; Washbrook, *Emergence of Provincial Politics*, p. 281; Sekhar, *Writings*, p. 205. I have found no explanation for the Indian

Parameswaran Pillai's later career did little to alter his earlier views about Brahmin dominance. In 1892 he took the *Madras Standard* on a ten-year lease, and in 1895 he converted it from a tri-weekly to a daily. It is unlikely we shall ever know what views Parameswaran Pillai was expounding in the 1890s, at a time when his newspaper briefly rivalled the three other Madras dailies (*Hindu, Times* and *Mail*) and had among its regular contributors Eardley Norton, Dinshaw Wacha, W. S. Caine and, on occasion, M. K. Gandhi.[41] His career as a daily newspaper editor was short. In 1898, he was convicted of plagiarism in connection with his two books, *Representative Men of South India* and *Representative Indians*; in 1899 he was convicted of defamation. In both cases, the plaintiffs were Tamil Brahmins. It had been a Tamil Brahmin who had earned Parameswaran Pillai's rebukes in 1882 and who had ultimately forced the young Nayar to flee Travancore for Madras. Parameswaran Pillai's own father, who appears to have taken no interest in the offspring of his liaison with a Nayar girl, was also a Tamil Brahmin. Brought up in the ambivalent Kerala atmosphere of reverence and ridicule for such Brahmins, Parameswaran Pillai held anti-Brahmin views. No doubt he could work with Brahmins in Madras city when it suited his purposes; but in the Madras of those days, he had to do so if he wished to earn a living That condition merely heightened the feeling of grievance: the Brahmin grip was difficult to escape.[42] In the right circumstances, the resentment and suspicion of Brahmins could be an effective rallying point for a political campaign—as it had been in Travancore in the years before 1891. Malayalis felt such resentment more keenly than Tamils, for in the Malayali case a language difference reinforced the status cleavage between Nayars and non-Malayali Brahmins. But as has been pointed out elsewhere, there was similar resentment against Brahmins in a number of the districts of the Madras Presidency.[43] The cleavage between Brahmins and people who were not Brahmins was noticeable in varying degrees throughout the presidency. It was

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Office Library catalogue's attributing authorship of *Non-Brahmin Letters* to "S. Ranga Ayyar."

[41] Sekhar, *Writings*, pp. 185, 191. The India Office Library holds back numbers of the *Standard* up to 1889, but for the years thereafter, no set of back numbers appears to have survived.

[42] *The Copyright Case*, Madras, Lawrence Asylum Press, 1898; *Madras Mail*, 7 July 1899, p. 6. Parameswaran Pillai was fined Rs 200 in the first case and Rs 500 in the second. Washbrook, *Emergence of Provincial Politics*, p. 281, makes the point that men can work with people they do not like, though he draws a somewhat different conclusion.

[43] Baker, *Politics of South India*, pp. 28-29. Nor was social conflict unknown in south India in the early nineteeth century. See Brenda E. F. Beck, "The Right-Left Division of South Indian Society," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4, August 1970, pp. 790-91: J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972, reprint of 3rd edn., 1906, pp. 24-27.

a symbol capable of being picked up and used in elite politics, just as religion was used in north India.

At the same time, as Brass has argued, elites, in choosing certain symbols, are shaping group identities. Thus Dr T. M. Nair's "Non-Brahmin Manifesto" of December 1916 was partly no doubt played as a card in the game of elite, factional politics centred in Madras city. But the objective social differences had alway been there, and among Malayalis they had been perceived, and grievances articulated, even in the eighteenth century. Moreover, once these categories popularized by T. M. Nair and his associates became an accepted part of political rhetoric, they began to become self-fulfilling: group identities hardened in response to the appeals and organizational efforts of elite leaders. For T. M. Nair and other Malayalis, the anti-Brahmin rhetoric had a clear and widespread reality in Kerala. Its importance in the Tamil country was to grow steadily in the 1930s and 1940s.[44]

Why did the "Non-Brahmin Manifesto" appear when it did and capture the imagination of a large section of elite politicians? In the wake of Tilak's campaigns in Maharashtra in the 1890s, anti-Brahminism had become fashionable among British administrators, and this was one reason for the appropriateness of the anti-Brahmin cry in 1916. As we have seen, anti-Brahminism was not respectable in 1880s, and the young Nayars in Travancore had had to wage their campaign against "foreigners." However, the precise timing of the "Non-Brahmin Manifesto" appears to owe a good deal to the effect of Annie Besant's Home Rule League in Madras and her evocation of Brahminic glories. The "Non-Brahmin Manifesto" was published on 20 December 1916 —*before* the Lucknow session of the Congress and Muslim League that was to produce the Lucknow Pact. For elite politicians looking for ways to tilt balances, prudence would have dictated waiting until the Lucknow session had made clear the possibilities national politics held for Madras city politicians.[45] Resentment, anger and emotion were, I think, as important for the production of the "Manifesto" as political calculation.

The Malayali connection in all this was striking. T. M. Nair and Parameswaran Pillai had been close friends and travelling companions. S. K. Nair was Parameswaran Pillai's brother-in-law. "S.K.N.'s" *Non-Brahmin Letters* was published from the press of C. Karunakara Menon's *Indian Patriot*. Though a Malabar man, Karunakara Menon had studied for a time in Trivandrum, was a close friend of C. V. Raman Pillai, the Travancore writer and government servant (who had, incidentally, been among the few friends to attend the last rites for Parameswaran Pillai) and had presided over a major meeting of Kerala Nayars in Trivandrum in 1911.[46] Although in Madras city politics Karunakara Menon was a foe not only of Mrs Besant but also of T. M. Nair, the dislike of Mrs Besant, her successful newspaper *New India* and her glorification of classical, Brahmin-oriented Hinduism briefly put Karunakara Menon and T. M. Nair on the same side of the fence. The pair well appreciated the depth of anti-Brahmin feeling in Kerala and the uses to which such feelings had been put in Travancore.

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[44] See, for example, E.S. Viswanathan, "The Political Career of E.V. Ramasami Naicker: A Study in the Politics of Tamilnad, 1920-1949," unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Australian National University, 1973, p. 100, which points out that the anti-Brahmin Self-Respect Movement had more than 60 flourishing branches within a year of its founding in 1928.

[45] Irschick, *Politics and Social Conflict*, pp. 45-54; Baker, *Politics of South India*, pp. 27-31; Hugh F. Owen, "Negotiating the Lucknow Pact," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3, May 1972, pp. 561-87.

CONCLUSION

Elites seeking the support of wider followings have found it useful to take up ethnic rallying cries. In doing so, they have aimed to convert objective social differences into subjective awareness—the creation of a political community. In selecting particular symbols, elite leaders influence the development of ethnic identities (though obviously they do not create these identities from nothing). The case of the anti-Brahmin movement in the Madras Presidency appears to lend support to this thesis.

Within the arena of the polyglot, disparate Madras Presidency, appropriate symbols were difficult to find. There was, however, a noticeable cleavage between Brahmins and people who were not Brahmins. This was felt in varying degrees in different localities. It was most intense in Kerala, where resentment against non-Malayali Brahmins went back to the eighteenth century and where this resentment had become a major issue for the western-educated Nayar elite in Travancore from the 1880s At that time, the anti-Brahmin symbol was not respectable either with British government or the Travancore Maharaja, and Nayar leaders had had to mute it. However, when Nayars in Madras city, aware of events in Travancore in the 1880s and 1890s, found themselves in a somewhat similar situation in the decade after 1910, anti-Brahminism had acquired respectability among British officials. The anti-Brahmin symbol could be invoked without reticence. It was a symbol for which Nayars could feel much sympathy, and it was they who demonstrated its utility to other politicians in Madras city.

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[46] See Footnote 38. Saraswati, *Minorities*, pp. 59-60, 67.

BOOK REVIEWS

IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, Academic Press, New York, 1974, Pp. 409.

This book represents a new trend in the historiography of the early modern period which is generally taken to begin around the end of the fourteenth century and to last until the middle of the eighteenth. However, it deals only with the earlier century and it is the first of a series of volumes that promises to cover the subsequent historical development. The present volume touches only marginally with Europe's early contacts with Asia and its subject-matter is largely concerned with either Europe itself or the Hispanic expansion in the New World. Nevertheless, there is much in the book that is of interest and relevance to the historians of South Asia. The major work of interpretation and synthesis which is attempted here in the context of Western history derives its distinctive character from a very sharp analytical cutting-edge, expressed in the single-minded and at times relentless pursuit of the unitary theme, the evolution of a world economic system. The precise value of an intense intellectual and methodological preoccupation with the study of "systems," "structures" or other abstract forms of human activities may be questioned by some historians and even dismissed as an exercise in obfuscation. But few will deny that the proof of refutation enlivens the critic's awareness and feel for historical facts. Furthermore, the central thesis presented in Wallerstein's study of sixteenth-century Europe can be easily abstracted from its geography and chronology and used as a testable hypothesis for other areas and periods, including of course South Asia. Historians of pre-British India, with some notable exceptions, have directed their attention to political, administrative, or religious life of the country and the resulting empiricism has produced works that pay insufficient attention to the role of economic systems in the formation of political empires and other entities.

The overseas expansion of European people and the exploitation of global economic resources by them are unquestionably two interrelated phenomena that have played a critical part in world history during the last four hundred years. But so far only their nineteenth-century manifestation, imperialism, has been investigated in depth from a theoretical standpoint. For Marxist historians in particular imperialism as a special and advanced stage of capitalism was a later development. Although theories on economic imperialism are crucial to any Marxist analysis of contemporary political order, its historical origins or roots stretching back to the period before the Industrial Revolution probably only evoke academic interests. In many ways Marx's own interest in pre-capitalist modes of production and distribution as a social system was not actively sustained by later writers. But during the last two and a half decades the detailed studies undertaken by many European historians, sometimes described as the *Annales* School, have begun to shift the balance of interest to the earlier period. The most notable and spectacular landmark of this new historical tradition was the publication in 1947 of Fernand Braudel's *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen a l'époque de Philippe II.* As he acknowledges in the Preface, Wallerstein's own thinking and reading on sixteenth-century European history was profoundly influenced by Braudel's concept of "total history" and his book draws heavily on the research undertaken by Braudel's disciples and followers.

However, in spite of the wealth of details in the book and the vast ground covered in it, Wallerstein is concerned with a single problem, the identification and explanation of a world-economy in sixteenth-century Europe and the New World. The main part of the argument is set out in Chapter 2, entitled "The New European Division of Labour, c. 1450-1640." But it is characteristic of his methods that he cannot resist reducing long stretches of history into elegant trend analysis with its monotonic progress checked by periods of crisis. According to him, the medieval prelude was marked by an expansion in economic activities within a feudal system of production which lasted from 1150 to around 1300. During the next century and a half there was a contraction. The feudal system of extracting the economic surplus was running out of steam, and existing frontiers of technology were being increasingly circumscribed by a climatological change that affected both agricultural productivity and demographic health. The methodology used here relies on detecting and summing the positive and negative components of a secular trend, the phase A and B, made familiar by French historians. Having set out the feudal background, Wallerstein next turns to the conditions that are necessary for the creation of a world-economy based on capitalism. The essential requirements were an expansion on the area of capitalist operations, a system of controlling the primary producers of different kinds of commodities in various parts of the world, and the formation of political-administrative machinery strong enough to support and encourage the extractive mechanism.

The assumption of an expanding market area and sources of supplies provides the key to the whole argument of the book. The great political and demographic movements overseas, which began with the Portuguese exploratory voyages of the fourteenth century and culminated in the Spanish conquests of South America, enable the analysis to be developed in terms of central and peripheral relationships in a differentiated economic system. This was a point which Adam Smith strongly emphasized both in his theory of economic gain following from commercial exchange and the effects of the

European discovery of the West and East Indies. But Wallerstein's reasoning is very different from that of Adam Smith, and it has a much more specific historical construct. While the *Wealth of Nations* concerned itself mainly with the question of an increase in productivity resulting from economic specialization, the *Modern World-System* sees the division of labour as a process of social control over the means of production. The immense geographical expansion of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth century created a highly favourable land-labour ratio which in its turn gave rise to a higher rate of capital accumulation and increased efficiency in agricultural production. The influx of bullion from the New World and its possible effect on the secular inflation in prices is discussed in detail, and the conclusion is that where it did not raise prices bullion at least prevented their fall. Combined with lagging wages, the sixteenth-century "Price Revolution" provided the means for a redistribution of income, favouring the landlords and stimulating private investment. The second part of the argument concerning the effects of inflation is that, as the author puts it:

> there emerged within the world-economy a division of labour not only between agricultural and industrial tasks but among agricultural tasks as well. And along with this specialization went differing forms of labour control and differing pattern of stratification which in turn had different political consequences for the "states," that is, the arenas of *political* action. (p. 84)

The stratification among the producers in the world-economy was a tripartite one. The slaves working in the sugar plantations or the mines enjoyed the least share in the fruits of their own labour. European "serfs" were also part of the coercive system of labour employment. But the greater majority of the peasantry in Europe fell in the category of tenant farmers or wage labourers with a new class of yeomen producing cash crops. These three categories of workers in agriculture or the extractive industries are identified with three geographical zones. The slaves worked at the periphery together with the serfs, the remnants of a feudal order; wage labour was to be found in the centre states, while sharecropping prevailed in the semiperiphery. The economic surplus extracted through this geographical division of labour provided the main basis for the future development of capitalism.

The most difficult task for any historian who tries to apply such a model to sixteenth-century Europe is to explain the failure of the Spanish Empire to evolve into a capitalist economy. For whereas it was Spain who mined the silver in America and had the first claim on Europe's increased money supply, the full expression of commercial capitalism occurred in Holland and in England. Wallerstein's answer is that a world-empire is a weaker organization than a world-economy. The vast imperial possessions of Spain and her imperfect bureaucratic control over them explain partly the Spanish failure to take full advantage of the opportunities available to her. The revolt of the Netherlands, on the other hand, not only set free Dutch resources from an excessive involvement with Spanish imperial preoccupations, it also gave an active encouragement to the development of Dutch shipping and maritime trade with the Baltic and southern Europe. Holland was independent of the political control of Spain but the Dutch remained a part of the economic system of the former Habsburg Empire. This gave her a massive advantage over other core states of Europe, and it was not until the seventeenth century that England and France were in a position to challenge the economic supremacy of Amsterdam. The new division of labour, the failure of an empire, and the gradual emergence of the north-western European states as leaders of a commercial capitalism, these are the principal themes in Wallerstein's abstract model of a world-system. The role of the New World, eastern Europe, and the core states of Western Europe provides the design for a vast historical canvas.

The book is not a product of detailed original research into primary sources. The author instead makes an exhaustive use of secondary works, most of them products of great scholarship by noted historians. The methodology is a novel one. Wallerstein has constructed an elaborate theoretical framework from his reading, but he does not present it as a unitary construct. Even the term "world-economy" does not receive any formal definition, and the reader is left free to gather its full attributes as the exposition proceeds through complex arguments and manipulation of details. When a particular theoretical or interpretative point is made, Wallerstein supports his arguments by direct quotations from the relevant secondary works. Controversial viewpoints are then discussed in detail, and the final balance-sheet is closed with a summary of the main conclusions. The question that is open to debate is whether we are justified in treating historical facts as intellectual building blocks to be constructed into the metaphorical images of the Pentagon or the Kremlin according to our own view of world history. To historians who have spent long years in archives in search of source material the book is bound to appear unreal. For he knows only too well the accidents, the disappointments, and the good luck which bring historical events to the light of day. He also knows that what he has to say must be qualified by the limitations of the evidence available to him. More than anyone else the historian has the least claim to infallibility. In this respect the *Modern World-System* suffers from an excessive use of other people's interpretation of primary material, and what is missing is a sensitive treatment of the actual processes of history, the mechanism through which historical events interact over the passage of time. But these are fundamental criticisms which can be levelled at any work that aims to extract the main components of historical trends. The problem of dealing with the deviations, the multitude of contradictory exceptions to the general movements, is still a very difficult one for historians to tackle. It is a great strength of Wallerstein's methodology that one is forced to think about such questions, and after reading through the book his view of historical issues will not be the same as before.

K. N. CHAUDHURI

SARVEPALLI GOPAL, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography*, Volume One: 1889-1947, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1976 (first published in Great Britain by Jonathan Cape, 1975), Pp. 398, Rs 100.

Sarvepalli Gopal's biography of Jawaharlal Nehru, of which only the first volume covering his life up to 1947 has seen the light of day, has already provoked widely diverging reactions ranging from bitter denunciation to effusive admiration. It has been summarily dismissed, in the *Times Literary Supplement*, as "neither a biography of Nehru, nor an adequate history of the nationalist movement from 1919 to 1947." The eminent litterateur who made the above observation describes Nehru's life as a tragedy and then adds, in a pointless quibble : "And now we have another tragedy—the present biography." Altogether different is the reaction of a professional historian who has compared the merits of this volume to Isaac Deutscher's biography of Trotsky. Deutscher's work of genius is identified as "one of the probable creative influences on Gopal's historical style" and it is also observed: "Gopal consciously emulates the quick simplicity and Anglo-Saxon straightforwardness of Christopher Hill's biography of Oliver Cromwell, God's Englishman, as well as the political emphasis and rich psychological elucidation of Issac Deutscher's three volume biography of Trotsky—*The Prophet Armed, The Prophet Unarmed*, and *The Prophet Outcast*."

As will thus be evident, the book has aroused wide interest, and justly so. It is by far the most authentic biography of Nehru, the product of truly massive research and painstaking and far-reaching investigation. But nowhere is the prose heavy-going or ponderous. There are flashes of inspiration, but on the whole the book lacks the sort of magical touch that would justify a comparison with Deutscher's Trotsky. After all, Nehru was no Trotsky. The subject imposes limitations; and Gopal has wisely opted for producing an authentic biography rather than a literary masterpiece. That sort of inspiration which characterizes Deutscher's Trotsky is the product of a deep passion and a life-long commitment which is not at all appropriate to a professional historian's investigation into the life of Nehru, officially financed by a constituted fund.

The most impressive feature of Gopal's biography is his immense command over sources. Gopal's earlier works on British policy were well-researched pieces of writing. As in his earlier works, Gopal is good and detailed in explaining official policies and motivations in so far as they affected Nehru and the Congress. What is more, he now shows himself to be equally good in explaining the policy of the nationalists, a natural ability that is exhibited, for instance, in his account of the Congress deliberations leading to the decision to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930. Gopal has delved deep into official records as well as private correspondence and, unlike other biographers of Indian national leaders, has also described how it looked from the point of view of the officials. This has enriched the portrait of Jawaharlal Nehru. In his use of sources, moreover, Gopal shows himself to be scrupulous. His writing, except in those portions where he deals with Nehru's opponents, is fair and balanced. He is critical and appreciative of Nehru at the same time.

Yet the book fails in the early stages to bring Nehru and his environment alive. In spite of the evident mastery over all sources, the book is curiously abstract. With regard to the social environs of Allahabad, the inner life of the Kashmiri Brahmin community, the personal relationships that bound Nehru to his father and Bapu, this biography brushes over lightly, without really going deep into the stuff of real, everyday, concrete happenings. These are areas in which a biography should score over a general history. Gopal's forte, it is evident, is political history, not biography. The book swings into pace only as Nehru enters a political career. Gopal maintains this pace, and the narrative is gripping, half way through the book. Thereafter, it tends to lose momentum and the decade that led to independence and partition is dealt with rather unsatisfactorily. Here Gopal is often unfair to individual British statesmen, to Subhas Bose, and to the Congress Old Guard, especially C. Rajagopalachari. As the book wears on, he becomes increasingly apologetic over those actions of Nehru which were criticized by contemporaries, tries to explain every doubtful action in the most favourable light, and in the process becomes distinctly uncharitable to his opponents.

It is not that Gopal is uncritical of Nehru himself. Indeed, in the earlier chapters he is sometimes harsh and biting, as on p. 69 where, describing Nehru's early political activities in the Non-Cooperation Movement, he comments: "Jawaharlal was so excited by the situation in which he found himself, so much in love with sacrifice and hardship, so self-conscious about the immediate context that he gave no thought to the way or the goal. He had made a cradle of emotional nationalism and rocked himself in it." In his desire to be an impartial and even critical biographer, Gopal falls into a somewhat hasty and predictably radical line, criticizing Nehru for not always living up to his professed principles In the historical context, it would have been more appropriate to investigate why this was so—why genuine sentiments could not be translated into practical politics. It must be borne in mind that more uncompromising radicals, socialists and communists got nowhere at all. The easy assumption of an alternative to what actually happened—the assumption of a more satisfactorily revolutionary alternative—needs examination. Whether any other strategy could have been adopted than the one put into application by Gandhi and the Congress High Command, needs to be objectively explored in terms of the then realities of practical politics. Where exactly the adopted strategy was at fault—where the Congress through its moderation failed to seize opportunities—needs to be convincingly demonstrated. An objective analysis on these lines might well show that at every point the Indian national movement advanced as far as possible within the constraints of existing realities—no further but never stopping short of that furthest practicable point. Arguably, this was a more effective, a more successful, a more advanced and organized colonial liberation struggle than any other contemporary movement in Asia and Africa before the Second World War.

Accepting that premise, the charge against Nehru would not be inability to practise what he preached, but a proneness to preach what could not be practised, that is to say, unpractical, visionary idealism. But even that does not go deep. In his actions Jawaharlal seldom failed to show a sense of what was practical, and even his rhetoric had a practical significance. For it kept up the radical, youthful image of the Congress—an image that Gandhi valued so much as to keep him on his side in spite of fundamental differences. If as a biographer Gopal does not give sufficiently concrete details to bring Nehru alive, as a historian he makes no serious attempt to place his characteristic radicalism in the context of its inherent constraints and its practical functions. From Gandhi's point of view, an assertion of independence by Nehru would certainly have resulted in the emergence of a dangerous focus of all the dissidences that were continually cropping up within the ranks of the huge, sprawling Congress organization. On the other hand, Nehru's radicalism, kept within the limits of party discipline, could serve as a useful political asset for disarming and defeating these unpredictable dissidences. In his treatment of the revolt led by Subhas Bose, Gopal emphasizes the honourable intentions of Nehru in not countenancing the rebels. No doubt he is right. In objective historical terms, however, what is more important is that through the ensuing purge the Congress, with Nehru's support, emerged as a tightly knit, firmly led, almost monolithic organization. Without Nehru's participation, the tight discipline, unity of leadership and controlled energy of the Congress would certainly not have been possible. The purged Congress of 1938 was fundamentally different from the emasculated Congress of 1908 in that it retained its youthful radical image, its potential revolutionary appeal.[1]

The standard radical criticism of the Indian national movement is that it was not sufficiently militant. Those among the leaders who adopted the most militant tone—such as Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose—were further criticized for failing to translate rhetoric into reality. What is often not realized is that a national movement could not have been run on the lines of pure militancy for so long a time in so many diverse circumstances. To adjust to these changing and diverse circumstances, the leadership evolved a triple strategy—mass agitation against the Raj, participation in its Legislative Councils, and constructive social work for the upliftment of the depressed. In consequence the movement was rarely at a loss as to what to do next– to each new and difficult situation it had a ready response. If the mood of the people was not favourable for a campaign of civil disobedience, then the Congress might fight in the elections and try to obstruct the Councils from within or to capture the provincial ministries. If such a programme stood in discredit for the moment, it was always possible to work among the Harijans, to try to improve Hindu-Muslim relations, to undertake sanitary improvements in villages, and generally to retain the moral initiative that would put the rulers at a disadvantage. Each technique was essential to the long-term unfolding of the underlying strategy; and none implied, in any sense whatsoever, "collaboration" with the rulers. Gopal, although at some points he shows appreciation of this overall strategy, does not firmly resist the temptation to indulge in stock criticism on predictable lines. After all, what is most striking about the movement on a long-term view is that, by a combination of different techniques, it maintained an unrelenting pressure on the British under Gandhi's inspired leadership. At one point Gopal does say: "Gandhi was no different from the Moderates in his basic strategy of negotiating with the British for concessions: he only sought to build up greater mass pressures in his favour." But this significant comment is not woven into his analysis; indeed, it stands at odds with that analysis.

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[1] On this point, see B.R. Tomlinson, *The Indian National Congress and the Raj, 1929-1942* (London, 1976), published after Gopal's biography of Nehru came out.

For instance, Gopal is critical of the instructions of the Congress to the Kisans during agrarian disturbances in UP in course of the Non-Cooperation Movement. "These instructions, far from being revolutionary, were to the benefit of the authorities." "Whether Jawaharlal was aware of it or not, his attitudes at this time implied informal collaboration with the Government in the maintenance of law and order." Now it is true that in trying to bring the peasant movement under control, the Congress acted as a moderating influence on the spontaneous outburst of potentially violent, localized dissidences. The emphasis was on organization and restraint. That does not mean that Congress direction was "to the benefit of the authorities," except in a narrow, immediate sense Certainly it was not so if we take a long-term view of the steady growth of Congress influence and apparatus—and surely the authorities did not regard it in that light The officials had in fact got the heart of the matter: they were not there to increase Nehru's—and Congress'—prestige. Far from implying informal collaboration, the moderating role played by the Congress was making for a controlled, purposeful peasant movement that fitted in with broader nationalist objectives. It might not have led to the radical solution of a social and economic problem; but the Congress was irresistibly emerging as the commonly acceptable, potential supplanter of the Raj—in fact, the sole representative of the Indian nation as such, a status that no other organization could claim. Such a thing could only happen by consensus; and necessarily radical aspirations had to be subordinated to the needs of maintaining unity. That, however, is not the view which Gopal seems to take of the matter. He compares unfavourably the Kisan Sabhas of the Conress with Mao's peasant associations in China; and goes on to quote Fanon's dictum that nationalist parties make no attempt to raise the level of the struggle of the country people against imperial oppression Now surely the conditions in India and China—and the possibilities of peasant mobilization in a colony and a nominally sovereign country—are not to be assessed in comparable terms. Indian society was a deeply unjust and divided society, and the only way in which it could be held together under the banner of a national struggle was to emphasize the one injustice—foreign rule—which affected them all. Gandhi and other Congress leaders knew these limitations, and sought to bring the uncoordinated and often contradictory forces under a single control and to push them forward with definite sense of direction.

It was only after prolonged hesitation that Gandhi launched the Civil Disobedience Movement, holding out to the last minute the offer of cooperation with the rulers in return for a reciprocating gesture (the so-called Delhi manifesto). Having launched the movement, he halted it at the first sign of a willingness on the part of Irwin to come to an understanding (the so-called Gandhi-Irwin Pact). Predictably, Gopal calls the Delhi manifesto "a retreat by the Congress," and the Gandhi-Irwin Pact a "loss of ground." This does not agree with what he himself had to say on Gandhi's compromises: "By giving some rope to those who favoured a compromise the ground for the coming struggle was being better prepared." Gandhi did not move hurriedly to Civil Disobedience, as Nehru desired. Strength lay in holding the hand, in being able to negotiate at the psychological moment. Pressure and compromise were the twin inseparable aspects of a single strategy. During its long march to independence, the Congress under Gandhi's leadership moved exactly as far[2] as it was strategic at any point to move. This was a game of power, as Nehru himself had pronounced in his Presidential speech at the Lahore Congress. Gandhi and his conservative lieutenants—Patel, Prasad and Rajagopalachari—were masters of that game. The Congress was so effective as a power because of its many-sided strategy under their leadership—satyagraha, working the reforms, constructive activity. By applying the technique which suited the moment, they retained the initiative, and never gave any true respite to the British.

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[2] Except in 1942 when they went too far.

Irwin, it is true, was to claim in 1931 that by striking a compromise with the Congress Old Guard, he had built a break-water against the great agrarian forces which were being harnessed by Nehru. But where is the evidence for this? In the event, the agrarian disturbances of 1932 in UP were effectively suppressed by the police on their own and the British did not even have to call in the army for pacification of the countryside. When Gandhi called off the Civil Disobedience Movement, he merely recognized the reality that it was no longer there. Despite the agrarian crisis in UP and Nehru's rhetoric, the British could still hold India without resort to the ultimate weapon—the army. In what sense then, in calling off the Civil Disobedience Movement, did the Congress, "with Gandhi's assistance," succeed "in tying itself up into knots"? Wishfully thinking to carry on the struggle, Nehru refused to be distracted by such side shows as village uplift and the Harijan movement. "This kind of safe and pious activity can well be left to old ladies." But there he was mistaken. What was the Congress to do now that it had failed to sustain the satyagraha? Constructive work was the means by which Gandhi led the way out of the morass, until the Congress as a whole became ready to fight in the elections and capture the provincial ministries. Gopal, it seems, holds the contrary view: "The concentration on non-political issues and the personal and self-created entanglements which led Gandhi to desert his comrades in the middle of the struggle were amazingly casual and likely to be fatal to the movement." But if there was a radical, socialist alternative in the mid-30s, why was it that so few people were convinced of it? Why was it that "the socialists had no support among the people," and why did Nehru give the newly formed Congress Socialist Party such a wide berth?

From around 1936, Gopal in his account becomes increasingly defensive about Nehru and critical of his opponents. Although Nehru was the President of that year's Congress session at Lucknow, it was the Old Guard's policy which prevailed. The reactions of those who rejoiced in the defeat of his policy are described by Gopal in unflattering terms. Satyamurti "gloated"; G. D. Birla "crowed" with delight. To Nehru the price of office acceptance under the 1935 Act was surrender. In describing the 1937 elections as the "mimic war of elections," Gopal seems to adhere to that judgement. Gopal paints Nehru as an anti-capitalist Galahad leading the socialist forces against big business and his Congress opponents are portrayed as champions of capitalism. The real point at issue, however, was not whether the Congress was to be capitalist or socialist in its thinking; it was whether the Congress was to take advantage of the 1935 Act or to abstain from participating in the new constitutional structure set up by the Raj. By deciding to get hold of the new machinery, the Congress managed ultimately to defeat the objectives with which the British had set it up. Certainly the Congress leadership did not opt for contesting the 1937 elections with an eye on "the spoils of office."

They were not to know beforehand that the Congress would win in seven provinces outright; least of all did the British expect it. Of course the desire for office was there, in all ranks of the Congress. But the High Command opted for electoral contest for the over-riding motive which had always guided their various actions in various circumstances—to hold the Congress together and to keep it moving. This was certainly true with regard to Vallabhbhai Patel and Rajendra Prasad, but it was also true in the case of Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, about whom, with a southerner's bitterness for a southerner, Gopal has to say: "A self-proclaimed political ascetic . . . Rajagopalachari had now quietly put himself in the line for the Chief Ministership in Madras and was determined to take office." As he puts it, "in sight of the prize," Rajagopalachari and the right wing (here Gopal is extending the judgement on Rajagopalachari implicitly to other leaders as well) were not to be deterred by Nehru's arguments against office acceptance.

But is was no sophistry that Rajagopalachari was uttering when he told the convention of legislators that office acceptance was a means of wrecking the Act. As B. R. Tomlinson has recently pointed out in his incisive study of the subject, by taking office the Congress secured a stranglehold over the working of the 1935 Act, which had been specially designed to cut the ground from under the Congress and to mobilize the other political forces in India under the banner of the Raj. The British had extended the franchise to include the small landlords and the rich peasants in the hope of defeating the town-based Congress, but it was the Congress which captured this newly enfranchised element. Therein, indeed, lies the historical significance of the Civil Disobedience Movement. Outwardly it had failed in its professed objective of making it impossible for the British to carry on. Implicitly, however, it attained that objective by bringing the countryside into the Congress orbit. The electoral victory of 1937 was implicit in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-32. By ensuring Congress victory in the elections, that movement had in the long run made the British position in India untenable. The Congress was now the effective spokesman of the nation as a whole, dealing on equal terms with the Râj. No longer was it conceivable for the British to negotiate without the Congress, as they had done in 1930. Nowhere does Gopal's analysis bring out the significance of the stunning Congress victory of 1937 which upset all British calculations.

In accepting office the Congress did not become "a responsivist, constitutional organization avid for minor loaves and fishes of office." Within two years the Congress resigned from office when war broke out. It resigned as a united body, without casting wishful glances back. It did so because basically it had remained an opposition movement. It was Nehru, the radical, who showed the only hesitation on this occasion. He talked of preparing to resign from office; the High Command ordered the provincial ministries to resign at once. In Gandhi, Gopal concedes "a steely determination to press for India's freedom." But that "steely determination" was characteristic of the entire Old Guard and of the High Command as a whole. On the other hand, as masters of the struggle for power, the Old Guard were acutely aware of the dangers of being out of office. Accordingly Rajagopalachari made "persistent suggestions" for a settlement, so as to make as much political progress as possible during the war. These "persistent suggestions" were, indeed, the only chance of a united India before the Muslim League became too strong, taking advantage of the Congress absence from office.

Indeed, the evidence presented by Gopal tends to show, although he does not draw this conclusion, that opposition by the Congress at this stage did not serve the national cause well. Had the Congress been a constitutional organization it would have derived crucial advantages from that fact. As Gopal has pointed out, in 1938-39 the British were having "a semi-honeymoon with the right wing of the Congress" and paid little heed to Jinnah. This in turn had made Jinnah anxious to reach an understanding with the Congress on the pattern of the Lucknow Pact, providing the Congress adopted a liberal moderate programme after his own heart and agreed to share office with the League in the provincial ministries. Naturally he lost interest after the Congress resigned from office; and the "semi-honeymoon" between the Congress and the Raj also came to an abrupt end. But had the Congress been a constitutional party and not an opposition movement, a pattern of cooperation between the Raj, the Congress and the League might well have been possible on the basis of a common war effort directed by British authorities with the help of Congress and League ministers. The pure logic of power demanded such a course of action on the part of the Congress. After some time, right wing leaders like Rajagopalachari realized this and started making those "persistent suggestions" which Gopal has condemned.

In this last stage of the struggle for freedom, more than ever before, it was (as Nehru had put it earlier) a struggle for the conquest of power. However, he showed no practical grasp of this theoretical point at this crucial hour. For the leadership of the Muslim League this was no less than a struggle for survival and they were bound to exploit the religious appeal to mobilize support. This attempt to play on the divisions of Indian society could not be dealt with by the Congress upon any basis other than a retention of control over the real levers of power and a wise agreement to share the control with those political elements who would not rest until they had got a share to their satisfaction. To repeat a point that cannot be too often made, this was a struggle for power and it could not be fought with economics—it could not be won by mass contacts on the basis of class issues. Rajagopalachari could appreciate this, but not Nehru. The result was disastrous: the League's "mass contacts" on the basis of religion made rapid headway while the Congress "mass contacts" on the basis of economics got nowhere at all inside the Muslim community. In response to the Congress call to the British to quit

India, the British ruthlessly suppressed its organization, giving the League all the opportunity that it needed to entrench its position within the Muslim community. After that there was no solution other than an agreement with the League. Gandhi and Rajagopalachari were clear-sighted enough to see this. Accordingly, Rajagopalachari canvassed for an agreement between the League and the Congress and Gandhi after his release held talks with Jinnah. Gopal has found evidence in these negotiations of the "short-sightedness" of the Congress leaders. But what chance remained of a united India but an agreed formula between the League and the Congress defining a loose federation with a grouping of Muslim states?

Nehru showed no appreciation, during the negotiations after the war, of the need to reach a negotiated settlement by satisfying Jinnah's aspirations for power within a framework of Indian Union. He stood too much on principle and frequently put his colleagues in difficulty, as Patel testified in a letter to D.P. Mishra, by "acts of emotional insanity." Gopal gives a confused account of these negotiations, nowhere clearly outlining the "historical forces" which, rather than Nehru's mistakes, he holds responsible for the partition. As in most other accounts, personalities are drawn in some detail, but not the long-term objective factors, nor the shifting moods of the population. It is not the ghastly Calcutta killing of 1946, but Wavell's reaction to it which finds greater prominence in Gopal's account of the moves that led to the partition. At this hour of history, the masses were more influential in shaping politics than ever before, and it is especially important to examine how the popular mood was shifting in each of the Muslim-majority provinces between 1945-47. An account of the negotiations would be impossible to interpret meaningfully without this background to the negotiations. The eventual outcome of the negotiations brought disappointment to all patriotic Indians. But the real gains which the Congress High Command secured in these negotiations should not be overlooked. Practitioners of power politics, the Old Guard had proved a match for Jinnah in the strenuous negotiations. The truncated Pakistan which emerged from the negotiations was a keener disappointment for Jinnah than was the divided India to Patel. Large portions of territory desired by Jinnah were awarded to India. If the League secured its demand for Pakistan, the Congress, too, secured a victory of sorts in the partition.

On the evidence presented by Gopal, it is possible—and it has been attempted here—to give a somewhat different interpretation of Nehru's pre-independence career and the Indian struggle for freedom. All historians, however, would be grateful to Gopal for finally presenting an authoritative biography of Nehru which has summed up a great quantity of evidence on the subject. No research on this scale has been attempted before on Nehru's life; and the first volume of this biography has incorporated an immense amount of fresh material, meticulously checked and examined, which constitutes a considerable advance on our knowledge of the subject. If Gopal sustains the same standards of research and objectivity through the next two volumes, his biography of Nehru will come to be considered as a major biographical and historical work of contemporary India.

RAJAT RAY

GEOFFREY BOLTON, *Britain's Legacy Overseas*, Oxford University Press, London, 1973, Pp. 168, £ 0.65.

Professor Bolton has written a concise account of Britain's relations with her former colonies, from the beginnings of her empire until its end. What a pity it is that not more historians confine themselves to the ample limitations of 168 pages! He has tried to break from the tradition of seeing the development of the British empire in legal and constitutional terms, and instead argues that in the long run the exact political and legal formula which the former dependences inherited will be less important than the spirit with which these institutions are adjusted to suit local conditions. That justice, democracy and fairness should be maintained will be more important than the preservation of the precise detail of the Westminster system. He also suggests that the lasting effect of the British imperial experience will be the fact that it linked numerous different cultures into the network of western culture, thereby bridging the insularity of both local and western tradition. This message obviously contains some truth, but the author's concentration on political, legal and artistic themes leads him to neglect to some extent economic and social issues. For the empire also harnessed many diverse cultures to the Juggernaut of capitalistic economic development, with its attendant social individualism, which will also have long lasting effects. Nor does the author reflect upon that penultimate dismemberment of empire, the devolution of Scotland and Wales, leaving only the final separation to come in England itself, between Saxon and Dane.

A. J. H. LATHAM

BURTON STEIN (Ed.), *Essays on South India*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1976, Pp. 213, Rs 60.

If in the past South India has not received the scholarly attention it deserves, this slim volume of essays edited by Burton Stein will do much to correct the situation. Written by American scholars, these essays were originally presented to the second conference of the Society for South Indian Studies held in

Madison, Wisconsin in 1970. The stated purpose of the conference was the preparation of papers summarizing the current state of research and suggesting directions for future study. Represented are the fields of archaeology, history, geography, anthropology and linguistics Coherence in such a collection is usually sacrificed to comprehensiveness, but the concern of the contributors to raise interdisciplinary questions gives these essays surprising unity of character.

If the first of three essays devoted to what may be broadly described as historical studies, Clarence Maloney examines the progress of South Indian archaeology in recent years. After a brief account of Stone Age, Chalcolithic and Iron Age sites, Maloney gives more extended attention to the archaeological evidence for the civilization of the *Sangam* period (1st-3rd centuries A.D.). The rapid transition from the pre-civilized Iron Age culture of the Tamil region to the *Sangam* civilization requires explanation, and the problem is made no easier by the skimpy archaeological record. Maloney makes a strong case, based in part on the excavations at Anuradhapura, that Sri Lanka was the source of formative influences on the civilization of the Tamil Coast. Given the slow rate at which excavation reports are published, Maloney's inclusion of information taken from his personal notes of conversations with archaeologists is particularly welcome.

Sangam society reveals itself more fully in its literature than in its material record. George Hart's examination of ancient Tamil literature shows just how valuable the *Sangam* poems are to the historian, for in contrast to the idealization of Sanskrit literature, the *Sangam* poems are concrete, vivid and realistic. Hart argues that since the *Sangam* poems show little Sanskritic influence and refer to many cultural and religious practices found in later post-Vedic literature but not in Vedic literature, these practices (e.g., tonsure of widows, *puja*, temple worship, and the pollution attached to the lower castes) must be considered originally Dravidian. The cultural dynamic of the first centuries A.D. did not possess a North to South direction as generally believed but rather a South to North direction. Deccan culture we know from archaeological finds to be particularly ancient. Thus it is of interest that Hart finds certain literary conventions and techniques shared by ancient Tamil and Maharashtrian, suggestive of a common antecedent in a pre-literate Deccan. It was only in the writings of the late fourth century Kalidasa that these conventions entered the Sanskritic tradition.

Burton Stein, in his essay, "The State and the Agrarian Order in Medieval South India: A Historiographical Critique," challenges the widely prevalent view of an earlier generation of historians that the medieval South Indian state was centralized and bureaucratic. Such a view is possible, he writes, only if the historian ignores "what is known of the social and cultural elements of the medieval agrarian order of South India" (p. 66). Symptomatic of this kind of historical writing is the isolation of subject areas into separate compartments; polity and administration are discussed apart from society, religion and economy. Few historians today would quarrel with Stein's critique of the use of the centralized state as a model for medieval India. More difficult, as he realizes, is the replacement of this model by one which better fits all the evidence. Stein considers feudalism but finds that as the feudal model has been refined to apply more broadly to varying cultures and societies it has lost its explanatory power. Stein hints at still another alternative but this he saves for another forum.

A special merit of this collection is its inclusion of two articles on disciplines of value to social scientists generally but often overlooked: Brian Murton's "Geography and the Study of South India" and Franklyn Southworth's "Sociolinguistics Research in South India: Achievements and Prospects." Both are straightforward summaries of current work in their respective fields. Murton, who has done work in historical geography and is a colleague of Burton Stein's at the University of Hawaii, provides a real service in reviewing the large and highly specialized bibliography of the various geographical sciences, especially as he draws contrasts, where appropriate, between outdated methodology in Indian geographic studies and recent developments abroad.

Two essays treat South Indian anthropology. Both in their own way show the pitfalls which lie in wait for the writer of a bibliographic or historiographic essay. In his "Approaches to Changes in Caste Ideology in South India," Stephen Barnett reviews anthropological theory as it has been applied to the study of changes in South Indian caste ideology. He argues that increasing diversity and freedom in caste ideological formulations has arisen from a changing perception of blood—that potent symbol governing human relationships in South India—from a substance requiring purity for the maintenance of a caste code of conduct to the narrower question of the transmission of ancestry. Thus Barnett writes "as castes are substantialized, as blood purity becomes primarily a matter of natural identity, the ideological floodgates open" (p. 159). Barnett admits the difficulty of attempting theoretical revisionism in a bibliographic survey, but it is just here that his essay fails. While he is to be commended for his willingness to engage with serious theoretical problems, he must be criticized for attempting too much within the scope of a single essay. These difficulties are probably responsible for the occasional lapses in Barnett's prose and his tendency to resort to the shorthand expressions familiar only to those already read in anthropological literature. The second essay on South Indian anthropology, a review of literature concerning Kerala by Joan Mencher and K. Raman Unni, while a competent survey, does not display the imaginative grasp of the relevant issues characteristic of the other essays in this volume. If Barnett attempts too much, Mencher and Unni attempt too little.

These criticisms aside, the essays in this collection perform a valuable function. They are to be recommended especially for advanced students who should be acquiring knowledge of the literature in their field and in associated fields and should be considering promising areas for their own research.

JOSEPH J. BRENNIG

HUGH TINKER, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830-1920*, Oxford University Press, London, 1974, Pp. xvi+432, £ 5.75.

This book contains some excellent photographs, but few statistics. It is a curiously old-fashioned work, wordy and over-detailed in its narrative, and lacking any serious attempt at analysis. Its methodology is based upon the subjective selection of documents which dwell long and lovingly on the horrors and abuses of the system of migration of indentured Indian labourers. It outlines the history of this important movement of manpower to the Carribean Mauritius, Fiji, Ceylon, Assam, Burma, Malaya, and East Africa, so essential to the development of tropical plantation agriculture in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Essentially Professor Tinker takes the view that these indentured labourers not noly replaced the West African slaves who preceded them, but also inherited the conditions under which the slaves had worked. Scotsmen come in for particular abuse as their masters. The author stresses that not many Indians saved anything from their wages, although the repatriation of funds to India would question this. He also argues that few returned, and that those who did, came only as worn-out shells to die. Certainly many did die on the outward voyage or in service, but these statements rather conflict with the figures for emigration and return quoted by Kingsley Davis in the standard work on Indian population and migration which is nowhere cited by the author. According to Davis, of the 30 million Indians who emigrated between 1834 and 1937, nearly 24 million returned. Furthermore, although the author does not examine the "push" factors behind the migration in much depth, he does accept that emigration increased in years of famine. So this reviewer finds it difficult to accept the overall implication of the book that the labourers in question would have been better off remaining in India to starve.

A.J.H. LATHAM

JOHN C.B. WEBSTER, *The Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India*, Macmillan India, Delhi, 1976, Pp. 293, Rs 65.00.

This impressive study of the American Presbyterian Mission in the Punjab and the United Provinces is something of a pioneering work. Too much earlier writing on the history of Christianity in India has been adulatory and uncritical, or has treated the Christian community in almost total isolation, as if it interacted hardly at all with its social, religious and economic context and scarcely counted as part of the history of India. Some interesting work on the influence of Christian ideas in India has tended to treat these ideas as if they were free-floating rather than emerging from specifiable western origins and rooted in India in specific institutions and the life of small, but perhaps none the less important, communities. Dr Webster avoids such pitfalls and his book may be added to the short but growing list of sound historical monographs on Christianity in India.

The historical significance of a community is not merely a factor of its size or rate of growth. The particular Christian community with which Dr Webster is concerned grew, at times quite rapidly, but numerically never became a large element of the population. But he is right to examine it as a focus of cultural and religious interchange and meeting, and as presenting a new and inherently interesting avenue of social mobility. By studying the composition, leadership, and patterns of growth of the community alongside a careful account of the sources, modification, and impact of its theological and social ideas he is able to provide a detailed, balanced and informative study of its interaction over time with other social groups, and its influence on the broader society.

The early American Presbyterian missionaries, unlike most of the English missionaries of the same period, were solidly middle class and brought with them a rigid biblically-based theology which was only very slowly and partially modified in a liberal direction to accommodate Indian reality. But although the missionaries fought hard and on the whole successfully to maintain control over the church, the converts who gathered around them and shared in their work often called for changes of practice or theology which were unacceptable to the missionaries. Early leaders such as Gopi Nath Nundy and Kali Charan Chatterjee, both high caste converts from Alexander Duff's Institution in Calcutta, and other leaders of local origin, disputed with the missionaries mainly over the question whether the missionaries should have exclusive control over the church. Despite missionary intransigence, there was a gradual liberalization of theology and loosening of missionary dominance, particularly when the "mass movement" conversions from the ranks of the depressed class produced a rate of growth too fast for detailed missionary superintendence. Simultaneously the spontaneous springing up of Christian or quasi-Christian sects which were not formally part of the church raised the question of the boundaries of the community. Dr Webster notes that mass movement converts came in on their own conditions, facing the Presbyterians with the choice of rejecting the converts or accepting them on their own terms. In consequence there was a modification of the individualism of the missionaries and the acceptance of the inevitability, or even desirability, of group decisions and collective action. Even caste, so long regarded as a bugbear, was seen as having its uses in evangelism. Within a few decades the church had become as a result of the mass movements a community of the economically and socially depressed, with a continuing attraction to such groups as a way of escape from degradation. This led to a variety of reactions in the broader society. As threat, challenge or example the Church had now to be reckoned with.

Dr Webster traces in detail the Christian community's complex and variable attitude to nationalism, a discussion which is of particular value as demonstrating that it is an oversimplification to portary the Indian Christians, or the missionaries for that matter, as unswerving and unquestioning loyalists to the British Raj throughout the nineteenth century. He also discusses the manifold implications of the integration of the American Presbyterian mission into broader Christian circles through the movement for church unity.

Granted that Christian ideas were in many ways influential in contributing to or sparking off movements of reform and renaissance in the nineteenth century, did a Christian community such as that with which Dr Webster is concerned have a distinct role in inducing change? Dr Webster's conclusion is that although the Christian community had a negligible direct role in changing political, social and economic structures it did have a measurable impact on "the primary structures of social and political life" through its relation to the emerging educated elite, particularly in the earlier part of the century, and through the direct and indirect effects of the significant accessions to the church from the depressed classes in the latter part of the century.

Dr Webster has made punctilious and comprehensive use of the abundant source materials for mission history available in India, Britain and the U.S.A. Further studies of other Christian communities of an equally scholarly sort are required if we are to test the more general validity of the patterns of influence and interaction which he describes. It is to be hoped that this book will both stimulate such studies and serve as a model for them.

DUNCAN B. FORRESTER

PRABHA DIXIT, *Communalism—A Struggle for Power*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1974, Pp. xi+236, Rs 20 (Paperback).

Miss Dixit presents an arresting argument in this book which is neatly summed up in the title. She challenges the somewhat uncritical popular notion that communalism is a product of religious and cultural differences between the two major communities in India, Hindu and Muslim. She also challenges the view that communalism is a distorted version of class conflict, a thesis that was argued with great ability in the forties by W.C. Smith. In her view communalism was a consciously conceived political doctrine propagated by one section of the traditional elities to counteract the forces of nationalism and democracy. That doctrine made use of religious and cultural differences to attain strictly political aims, that is to say, the maintenance or capture of a share in power.

Miss Dixit points out that the two communities were not monoliths and that the social solidarity of each should not be taken for granted, divided as they were by numerous divisions of caste, language and race. A monistic explanation in terms of religious antagonism not only restricts our vision of the present but produces a distorted view of the medieval past. The political conflicts of that period are then wrongly viewed as communal conflicts and the contemporary communal problem is explained away as an extension of a longstanding antagonism of medieval times. Drawing on the findings of some Aligarh scholars, she states: "Cross-community political alliances between the elite formed the most important feature of pre-British Indian history." The politics of the elite was motivated and governed by self-interest and ambition, not by religious sentiments of solidarity and antagonism.

It was the emergence of an electoral and representative framework of governance that led in the twentieth century to the emergence of an entirely new kind of politics, i.e., parties formed on the basis of religion. For within the new framework of governance, *sharif* or well-born Muslims who had hitherto enjoyed a privileged position were threatened with loss of their position, since they belonged to a minority community. A struggle for power in these altered conditions bred communalism as a new political phenomenon. "Communalism had thus emerged as a political phenomenon in India under the growing pressure of nationalism and democracy. It was not the result of religious hostility between the Muslims and the Hindus, but was evolved as a political doctrine and was closely tied up with the struggle for power."

The argument is both fresh and interesting and deserves close and critical attention. However, Miss Dixit makes little use of archival materials to sustain her argument. Drawing heavily as she does on secondary sources, she yet fails to take note of recent work on the subject by Seal, Hardy and Robinson. In some respects her argument bears a close resemblance to that of F.C.R. Robinson who starts from the permise that the Muslim community as such was hardly a political entity in the beginning and goes on to show that basically the communal movement arose from the pursuit of power by influential magnates for whom the community was simply a convenient constituency within a representative framework of governance and for whom British administrative and constitutional arrangements pointed a way to power through exploitation of that constituency by modern political means and tactics. Accordingly Robinson explains the marked shifts in the movement for Muslim separatism by major changes in the administrative and constitutional conditions in which power was exercised. Miss Dixit's explanation of the stages in Muslim political strategy is rather more uncertain. As she puts it, communalism is a struggle for power. As such, the evolving tactics in this ceaseless pursuit of power were of course determined by changes in the conditions in which Muslim leaders sought to capture power. In the beginning they were with the British and against the Congress, then they were with Congress and against the Raj, finally they were against both the Congress and the Raj. These changes need to be more adequately explained in terms of the changing political equations of the struggle for power which Miss Dixit seeks to emphasize.

Miss Dixit has consciously made a choice for a "rigid unidimensional approach to Indian communalism," in full awareness that this is bound to invite criticism from all those readers who are firmly convinced that the true nature of this phenomenon can be understood only by viewing it in its multi-dimensional complexity. But in terms of her own analysis, the question remains: why did the Muslim political leadership succeed in mobilizing the masses of their own community behind the demand for separatism, since according to her formulation the Muslim community was by no means a monolithic political entity that was united behind its leaders? If at the level of leadership there was an increasingly desperate struggle for power, at the mass level there was an increasing awareness of communal identity that would go some way towards explaining the success of the leaders in mobilizing the masses. Miss Dixit makes the very significant point that the Khilafat movement in the twenties "heightened the sense of Muslim identity which proved a great psychological asset for the Muslim leaders in popularising their separatist ideology." What was the psychological process which gave birth to growing mass awareness of communal identity, making possible the mobilization of the Muslims as a community behind the issue of Khilafat? Forthcoming work by Miss Dixit may throw important light on the origins of the Khilafat Movement. The points at issue are rather complex and touch upon the changing role of the ulema. Faruqi's study of the Deoband ulema has indicated that many centres of Islamic learning were in fact opposed to the League's demands. If after 1937 the League succeeded in recruiting important sections of the ulema for its slogan of Pakistan, as Miss Dixit states, then a more painstaking study of the entire position of the ulema in Indo-Muslim society and the evolution of their political thinking is obviously needed. Why were the ulema in general aloof from the League and why did they in the last stages bring important support behind the demand for Pakistan? Why did the Congress, which included in its ranks outstanding doctors of Islamic learning, fail to hold the support which it had won from the ulema during the heady days of the Khilafat movement? What finally moved the masses of the Muslim community behind the banner of Pakistan and what imbued them with a consciousness of common destiny in spite of the many differences of caste, race and language emphasized by Dixit?

These issues require a multi-dimensional approach to the study of communalism, combining the logic of the struggle for power with the dynamics of mass awareness of communal identity. The possibilities of such an approach have been demonstrated by the recent work on Calcutta Muslims between 1918 and 1935 by Kenneth Macpherson. His close study of the growth of communalism in Calcutta clearly exhibits two processes at work: the raising of the stakes in the struggle for power during the process of constitutional reforms and the widening of the social horizons of parochial groups under the pressure of various social, economic and ideological factors. Miss Dixit's approach, while capable of giving important insight into the nature of communalism, will not explain all the facets of the communal problem. It will explain the political strategies of the Muslim communal leadership, but not the response of the Muslim masses to these strategies.

Regarding the communal situation in India today, Miss Dixit reaches the eminently sensible conclusion that communalism is based on political factors and will not vanish overnight by the expression of pious platitudes. "Political wisdom lies in treating communalism as a political problem needing a political solution." Miss Dixit has succeeded in the aim which she has set for herself in the Preface—her work should stimulate "new and more serious thought on Indian Communalism, beyond the existing cliches and naive explanations."

RAJAT RAY

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Class and Community in India: The Madras Labour Union, 1918-21*

E.D. MURPHY

On 27 April 1918—a year of widespread industrial and political unrest throughout India—the Madras Labour Union was formed among the textile workers of Madras city. The union was one of the first in India and has had a unique history—unlike other Indian trade unions, the Madras Labour Union has functioned almost continuously since its formation and has not had to face a serious threat from rival unions to its hold over the Madras workers. Yet four years after its formation the union was temporarily crushed by Binnys, the British firm which employed most of the union members. Binnys' efforts to defeat the union were assisted by the British administration in Madras which mobilized the state's resources against the young union. The efforts of Binnys and the Madras bureaucrats were only successful, however, in 1921 when the workers divided along communal lines with the Hindus and Muslims opposed to the *adi-Dravidas* (Untouchables) whom the British utilized as strike-breakers. The dispute between strikers and *adi-Dravidas* led to prolonged and bitter violence in the mill neighbourhood before the strikers surrendered.

The major theme of the paper is, therefore, how and to what extent did ascriptive differences divide the Madras textile workers in their first attempt to organize and run a trade union. Subsumed in the question is the more general question of the nature of Indian trade unionism and the degree to which social influences of caste and community can inhibit the growth of class unity among an Indian industrial work force. Before proceeding with the discussion, it is necessary, however, to define the key concepts of class, class consciousness and community as used in the paper.

Class is considered in two ways It is argued that structurally at least the Madras textile work force had many class attributes. The industrialization of Madras city concentrated much of the urban work force in two huge mills situated in close proximity to each other. The attempts of the mills' management to build up a rationalized industry also helped create an environment which encouraged collective action by the workers. In the industrial suburbs of Madras city by 1918 a proletariat was emerging, in that the majority of the workers were either totally dependent upon their power for survival, or at least drew the bulk of their income from mill labour. Thus, from the early stages of industrialization, the Madras work force was, in Marxian definitions, virtually a class in itself.[1]

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*I am grateful to my colleagues in the Department of Social Sciences, Western Australian Institute of Technology who criticized earlier drafts of this paper. My thanks also to the executive of the Madras Labour Union and to Sadagopan and the management of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills.

Class consciousness—class for itself—is used in a limited sense. From the establishment of the first mills in Madras city, the mill hands were prepared to take united action to achieve economic aims such as increased wages, better working conditions, and more considerate treatment from senior supervisory staff. These aims were to be won through forms of class action, such as representations and petitions by groups of workers to the management, strikes, sit-in strikes and occasional violence against senior mill personnel. This class consciousness took organizational expression in the formation of the Madras Labour Union in 1918. It is argued, therefore, that the factory system of production in Madras city created a consciousness of common economic interests among the workers which was most pronounced during periods of great economic hardship and which, temporarily at least, overcame occupational, status, income and religious differences among the workers. The use of class consciousness as used in this paper, therefore, is synonymous with Lenin's concept of trade union consciousness by which workers take united action to achieve economic aims—a process also termed economic unionism.[2]

The third concept, community, can be defined as the perception of individuals in society that they belong to a distinctive group with specific needs and interests which may have to be advanced or safeguarded through united or communal action. Class action, therefore, is one form of communal action, but, for convenience, the terms communal and community will be restricted to that of the needs, interests and actions of the major groups among the Madras workers—caste Hindus, Untouchables and Muslims—who, to some extent, were marked off from each other by their place of habitation, their status within south Indian society, their economic resources, religious and social practices, lifestyles and political loyalties.

To restate the major theme of the paper, therefore: how and to what extent did the class interests of the workers—especially their attempts to run a trade union—conflict with the communal interests of groups within the work force? Other important factors which influenced the early unionization of the

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[1] Jordan, Z.A. (Ed.), *Karl Marx: Economy, Class and Social Revolution*, London, Thomas Nelson, 1971, p. 159.

[2] Lenin, V.I., *What Is to Be Done? Burning Questions of Our Movement*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1967, p. 31.

Madras workers must also be taken into consideration. The most important were the attitude of the employer towards the attempted unionization of the workers, the technology of the industry under which the workers operated and the quality of union leadership—all of which operated in wider political and economic environment.

THE EMPLOYER

The initial development of the cotton spinning and weaving industry in south India was primarily the result of British initiative. This contrasts with Bombav and Ahmedabad where Indian capital predominated. In 1876 one of the oldest and most reputable Madras business houses, Messrs Binny and Company, promoted the Buckingham Mill Company with the object of buying cotton, working a spinning and weaving mill and marketing the finished product. In return for organizing the company, setting the mill in operation and carrying out general administration, Binnys received a commission based on the production of cloth and yarn. The new mill company was dominated by British capital while the majority of the directors and senior administrative and technical staff were also British.[3]

In 1878 the mill began working in an old military area known as Perambur Barracks (see map). In 1885 a sister mill, the Carnatic Mill, also promoted by Binnys, was established alongside the original mill and separated from it by a sluggish malodorous stream, the Otteri Nullah, which provided water for the two mills. Although the two mills were managed by the same company and amalgamated into one company in 1920, each was staffed and run as a separate unit.[4] There was, however, a close relationship between workers and managerial staff in both mills.

In 1918 the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills were among the largest, most efficiently run and financially successful mills in India. The most up-to-date textile techniques and machinery were employed, while strict controls were kept on the quality of the yarn and cloth. Binnys' cloth earned a high reputation in India and overseas and they were one of the world's major producers of khaki cloth and supplied much of the khaki used by the British army during the First World War. Although the mills made consistently high profits, company policy was to pay moderate dividends ranging from 10 to 20 per cent even during boom periods,[5] so that the dividend rates could be maintained during slacker periods. With large financial resources the mills were not subject to the same economic pressures as their competitors who paid

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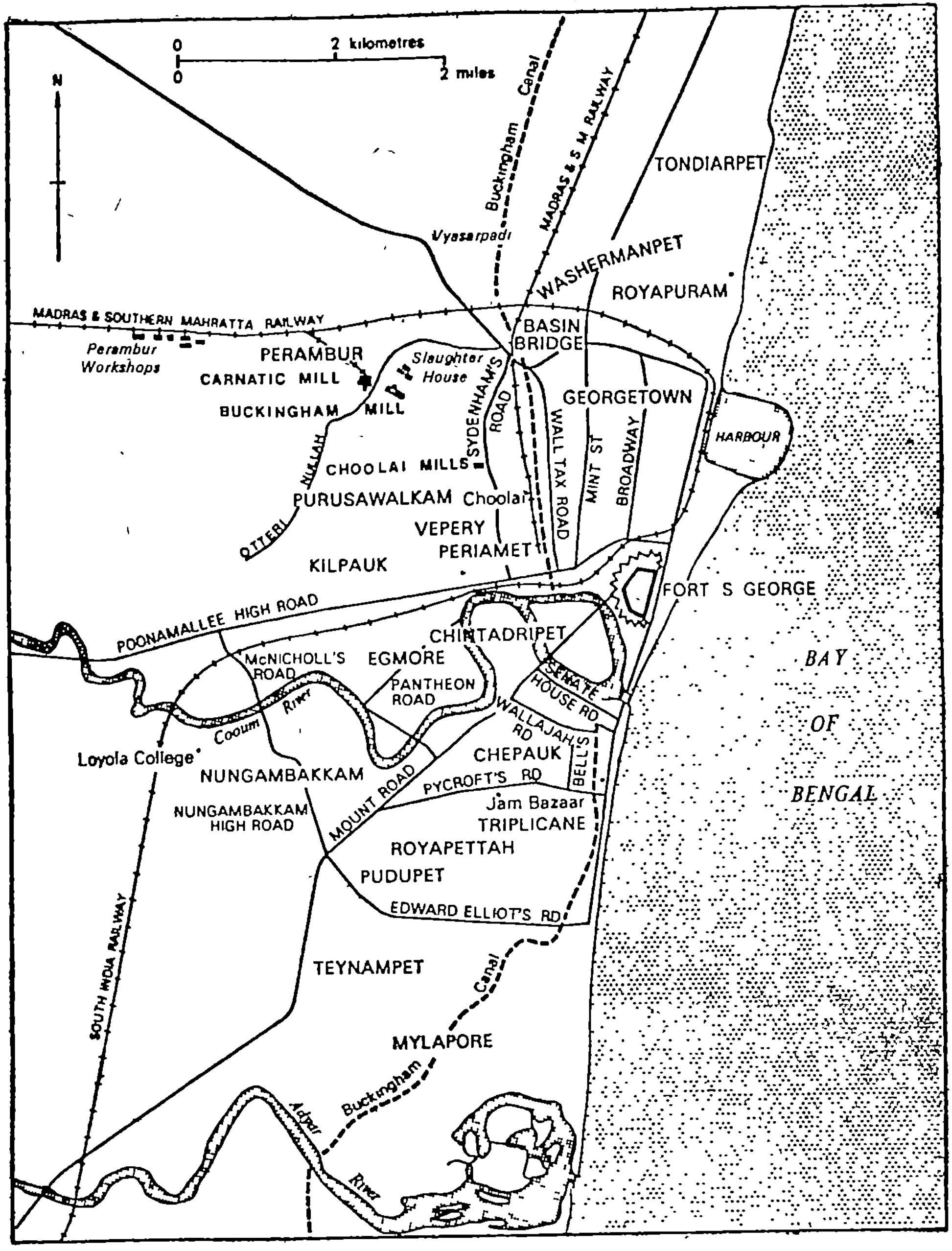
[3] For a history of Binnys see F. De Souza, *The House of Binny* (no details), esp. pp. 84-90.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 192.

[5] N.C. Bhogendranath, *Development of the Textile Industry in Madras (up to 1950)*, Madras, University of Madras, 1957, p. 34.


0 2 kilometres
0 2 miles
N
Buckingham Canal
MADRAS & S M RAILWAY
TONDIARPET
Vyasarpadi
WASHERMANPET
ROYAPURAM
MADRAS & SOUTHERN MAHRATTA RAILWAY
Perambur Workshops
PERAMBUR
BASIN BRIDGE
Slaughter House
CARNATIC MILL
BUCKINGHAM MILL
SYDENHAM'S ROAD
GEORGETOWN
WALL TAX ROAD
MINT ST
BROADWAY
HARBOUR
NULLAH
CHOOLAI MILLS
PURUSAWALKAM
Choolai
OTTERI
VEPERY
PERIAMET
KILPAUK
FORT S GEORGE
POONAMALLEE HIGH ROAD
CHINTADRIPET
McNICHOLL'S ROAD
EGMORE
PANTHEON ROAD
SENATE HOUSE RD
BAY OF BENGAL
Cooum River
WALLAJAH'S RD
Loyola College
CHEPAUK
BELL'S RD
NUNGAMBAKKAM
PYCROFT'S RD
MOUNT ROAD
Jam Bazaar
NUNGAMBAKKAM HIGH ROAD
TRIPLICANE
ROYAPETTAH
PUDUPET
EDWARD ELLIOT'S RD
SOUTH INDIA RAILWAY
TEYNAMPET
Canal
MYLAPORE
Buckingham
Adyar River

MADRAS CITY.

Note the location of mills close to the main transport outlets—the railway which brought the raw cotton from the Madras countryside and the harbour through which much of the finished cloth was exported.

high dividends during boom periods but who ran into difficulties during economic depressions. Their financial reserves enabled the mills to pay higher wages and to provide a far wider range of welfare benefits than other south Indian mills such as the smaller, less efficient Indian-managed Choolai Mills situated nearby.

Binnys prided themselves on the efficient management of their commercial enterprises. Great emphasis was placed on the Victorian virtues of hard work, efficiency and discipline. British mill officers were expected to reach a high standard in their work and in their loyalty to the firm and they, in turn, demanded a high performance from their Indian subordinates. This occasionally created tensions between British officers and Indian workers aggravated by the racial arrogance displayed by some of the British.[6]

Binnys' mills provided working conditions which were probably unequalled in India or Britain in that period. The sprawling mill buildings, whose huge size dominated Perambur, were airy and well lit. The Buckingham and Carnatic workers were not particularly well paid as the management reasoned that this would encourage absenteeism, but they benefited from a remarkable welfare scheme. Binnys directed much of the funds that could have been used to increase wages into providing a wide range of welfare facilities, including a provident fund, medical services, subsidized food and clothing, workers' housing and recreational activities such as drama groups, an orchestra, a reading room and sports clubs. In addition, the company provided an eating hall, a place for workers to relax when not on duty and temporary accommodation for new recruits from the countryside.[7] In 1906 a joint school for the two mills was set up for the sons of workers and for workers who wished to further their education through night school. The workers' sons were taught basic skills of reading, writing, mathematics and technical skills to make them efficient mill hands. Usually the boys joined the mills as half-timers at the age of ten or twelve, spending half their day at school and the remainder gaining practical experience in one of the mills.[8]

By 1918 Binnys had gone a long way in achieving their expressed aim of building up an efficient work force in a rationalized industry which would maximize productivity and profitability. Like many other foreign capitalists operating in a colonial environment, Binnys' attitude towards their employees was one of paternalistic authoritarianism. The company regarded strikes and attempts by their workers to organize as a betrayal of the company and victimized workers who expressed dissent. The rigidity of Binnys towards their workers' attempts to organize was one of the main sources of conflict between workers and management in the period 1918-21. This contrasts with the more flexible attitude of the Choolai Mills which did not experience nearly the same degree of unrest among the workers, despite the fact that the wages and working conditions were inferior to those in the British mills.

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[6] Interview, mill hands of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras, 16 January 1975.

[7] Submission by Binny and Co., Royal Commission on Labour in India, *Evidence*, VII, part I, London, H.M.S.O., 1931, pp. 138-40.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41.

THE WORK FORCE

Much of the literature on the Indian industrial worker has portrayed him as illiterate, indisciplined, an unwilling and uncommitted member of the industrial work force, divided by ascriptive differences of caste, religion or language and the easy victim for the unscrupulous, politically motivated and self-seeking trade union organizer. This view has been challenged in a number of recent studies[9] and the picture of the Madras workers in 1918 supports the criticisms.

When Binnys erected the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Perambur, a sparsely inhabited region to the west of Madras city, they initially had problems in recruiting and maintaining a supply of labour. Social factors probably inhibited the recruitment of labour as mill work was considered degrading and mill hands had trouble in arranging marriages for their children.[10] The hard discipline, long hours of work—over 80 hours a week reduced to 72 by 1911—the working to a daily routine governed by the clock and the boring, often physically demanding, repetitious work discouraged many. Binnys embarked on a long-term campaign to build up a stable work force by paying a little more than the prevailing rate for labour in the countryside and by concentrating on building up their welfare programmes.[11]

In their early campaigns to recruit labour Binnys relied on the jobber, a key figure in the early recruitment of labour throughout India. The jobber was an Indian worker who acted both as supervisor and as labour recruiter. He provided the vital link between men and management, saw that decisions taken at the senior level were maintained and provided the vital link between men and management in handling the new technology. In the Bombay mills, for example, the jobber recruited workers from the villages, organized their accommodation and generally enabled them to make a smoother transition from village to urban life.[12] Consequently, in Indian mills a patron-client relationship developed between the jobber and workers which was exploited by the former.

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[9] For a discussion which challenges many of the generalizations made about the Indian industrial worker see B.R. Sharma, "The Indian Industrial Worker: Some Myths and Realities," *Economic and Political Weekly*, V, no. 22 (30 May 1970), pp. 857-58. See also E A. Ramaswamy, "Trade Unionism and Caste in South India," *Modern Asian Studies*, 10, 3 (1976), pp. 361-62; "Politics and Organized Labour in India" *Asian Survey*, XIII, no. 10 (October 1973), pp. 914-27 and "The Role of the Trade Union Leader in India," *Human Organization*, XXXIII, no. 2 (Summer 1974), pp. 163-72.

[10] Interview, mill hands of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras, 16 January, 1975.

[11] The minimum daily rate for an unskilled labourer in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills was 12a. 6p In addition, Binnys provided a wide range of subsidized welfare benefits. In contrast, the agricultural labourers around Madras were paid from As 6 to As 8 a day; submission by Binnys, Royal Commission on Labour, VII, part I, pp. 146-47. This suggests that the attraction of the relatively high wages drew workers to the city.

Although Binnys initially relied on the jobbers to recruit their labour, unlike most other mills in India the management took early steps to curb their powers. In their attempts to develop a rationalized industry they took away their functions as labour recruiters. By 1918 most of the labour supply was drawn from the sons of employees in the mill school, a trend accelerated from that date[13] Although the jobbers still commanded respect, were responsible for discipline and could suggest the advancement of workers, the patron-client relationship between them and the ordinary workers, which were reinforced by caste, communal or family ties in other Tamil Nadu mills, did not exist to nearly the same extent in Binnys' mills. Consequently, the jobbers could more closely identify with the other workers and did not consider the trade union a challenge to their vested interests as they did in other mills.

Binnys' work force over 9,000 was drawn from the villages around Madras. Initially the mill hands were reluctant members of the work force forced into industrial employment by poverty or lack of opportunity in the village. Some of them lived in a transitional state to full proletarization. Many, for example, still lived in their village and worked part-time on family holdings. This accounted for the higher rate of absenteeism during harvesting. The evidence suggests, however, that by 1918 Binnys had built up a committed labour force that was at least partly proletarian. For example, the average rate of absenteeism declined from 12.04 per cent in 1907 to 6.25 per cent in 1928.[14] Another indicator of commitment was the extent of literacy with 65.09 per cent literate in 1929.[15] The overcrowding in the mill neighbourhood suggests that a large proportion of the work force had moved to the city with their families and taken up residence as permanent urban dwellers. The fact that Madras was a city with large amounts of open space meant that there was not nearly the same amount of trauma involved in moving from village to city that faced migrants to other Indian industrial centres, such as Bombay and Calcutta. The evidence suggests that by 1918, the majority of Binnys employees were reconciled to a life as permanent industrial workers and were anxious to enrol their sons in the mills' school and to have them join the work force.

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[12] For a discussion of the role of the jobbers in Bombay mills see R.K. Newman, "Labour Organization in the Bombay Cotton Mills, 1918-1929" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Sussex, 1970), *passim*. For the changing status of the jobber in a rationalizing industry see N.R. Sheth, "Management of Organizational Status: A Case Study of Supervisor in a Textile Mill," *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, VIII, no. 1 (1972), pp. 97-113.

[13] Evidence, J. Hargreaves, Manager of the Carnatic Mill, Royal Commission on Labour in India, VII, part 2, p. 171. The union claimed that recruitment was still through the jobbers to whom a bribe of Rs 10 had to be paid, *ibid.*, part 1, p. 164. The union's evidence was probably collected from the older workers. An interview by the author with a number of Binnys' workers recruited between 1929 and 1941 supports the management's claims; interview, 16 January 1965. In the early stage of the mills' development the jobbers were used to recruit labour, see evidence, Sir Clement Simpson, *East India (Industrial Commission) Minutes of Evidence*, III, London, H.M.S.O., 1919, p. 108.

[14] Submission by Binny and Co., Royal Commission on Labour in India, VIII, part 1, pp. 132-34; Submission by the Madras Labour Union, *ibid.*, p 164. The evidence of Binnys in the *Report of the Indian Factory Labour Commission*, 1908, II (Simla, Government of India, 1908), p. 316 stated that a regular class of mill artisans were emerging in Madras by 1908. For a discussion of work force commitment in India see S. Kannappan, "Labour

Despite advantages over labour organizers in other parts of India, the Madras unionists faced problems in attempting to organize and run a trade union. The first problem was to try to establish organizational and communicational links between the different mill departments. Within each mill there was a wide range of tasks some of which involved only a few workers and others of which demanded the services of large groups. The majority of the workers and most of the union activists were drawn from the departments of preparation, carding, spinning and weaving.[16]

Two of the more difficult and arduous departments were the preparation and carding departments. The raw cotton received by road or rail in bales was mixed, cleaned and the cotton fibres straightened ready for spinning into yarn in these departments. Most of the work was undertaken by small groups. Because of the absence of more skilled workers and the lack of a common identity based on a common occupation, the degree of worker unity tended to be less intense than in the other key departments.

In the spinning department the treated yarn was finished ready for weaving. The workers were both skilled and unskilled with the latter predominating. As much of the work in the spinning department was of a similar nature, there was a greater feeling of group cohesiveness among the spinners than the workers in the preparation and carding departments. One of the trouble spots in the mill was in the final stage of the spinning process, the ring-frame section. The work in this section was light and unskilled, usually undertaken either by young workers or women in most Tamil Nadu mills. Binnys did not employ female labour and so the work in the ring-frame department was

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Force Commitment in Early Stages of Industrialization," *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, V, no. 3 (January 1970), pp. 290-349.

[15] The record cards of 86 weavers recruited in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills between 1929 and 1941 show the following range of education: Standard one – 1 worker, Two—5, Three—8, Four – 16, Five—13, Six – 14, Seven – 7, First Form—2, Second—3, Third—6, Fourth—3, Fifth—2. (The cards were supplied by courtesy of Buckingham and Carnatic Mills.)

[16] For a discussion of the technical operation of a spinning and weaving mill see Newman, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-68.

limited to new young entrants to the industry, usually the half-timers from the mills' school. Volatile and unruly at times, the young ring-framers were often the litmus of labour/management tensions and a worry to both the jobbers and the union during periods of unrest. Occasionally the boys and youths went on the rampage and attacked the senior mill personnel. During periods of industrial unrest the boys' actions might spark off a strike among the rest of the work force in the spinning department which would then spread to the other departments.

Many of the more prominent union activists belonged to the weaving department. The weavers were the most skilled and highly paid in the mills. They were considered experienced and reliable workers and had an unusually strong group cohesiveness both among themselves and with their jobbers. Both jobbers and weavers were on piece work and needed each other's co-operation in order to maximize their earnings

From its early history the union went out of its way to foster unity between the departments. For example, the executive always contained representatives from each department. Loyalties still tended, however, to be sectional.

One of the main problems facing the union in its early history was that of trying to overcome differences between the religious communities in the work force. The largest community was the caste Hindus who formed 2/3 of the work force in 1918 (see Table 1). The caste Hindus were drawn from the three predominant agricultural castes found in the villages around Madras city. Most numerous were the Mudaliars, an endogamous branch of the Vellalas, the dominant agricultural caste throughout much of Tamil Nadu. Although the Mudaliars were found in all departments and all occupations, they were concentrated in the prestigious weaving department. The Balija Naidus and Naickers, two other cultivating castes lower in the caste hierarchy than the Mudaliars, comprised the bulk of the caste Hindus. Although there was a slightly larger proportion of the higher Naidus in the weaving department, the Balija Naidus and the Naickers were spread almost evenly through-

TABLE 1

CASTE, COMMUNAL AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN THE BUCKINGHAM AND CARNATIC MILLS

1. *Communal Composition of the Buckingham and Carnatic Work Force, 1929*

Caste Hindus	46%
Adi-Dravidas	39%
Christians	8%
Muslims	5%

SOURCE: *Royal Commission on Labour in India*, VII, part 2, p. 173.

2. *Caste, Communal, Occupational Groups:*

Group	*Percentage of Madras Population 1921 Census*	*Preparation*	*Carding*	*Spinning*	*Weaving*	*Total*
Adi-Dravidas	11.50	43.02	53.74	41.05	18.64	38.65
Naidus	9.21	5.97	6.80	7.36	8.47	7.01
Mudaliars	13.21	6.77	9.52	8.42	16.38	10.14
Naickers	9 68	6.77	6.80	6.31	6.77	6.71
Christians	5.26	7.56	8.16	9.47	3.38	6.86
Unknown (probably caste Hindus)	—	22.70	8.16	18.94	33.33	21.79
Other Castes	—	1.59	4.76	4.21	9.03	4.62
Muslims	11.01	5.77	2.04	4.21	3.95	4.17

Calculated from a random sample of 670 record cards of workers recruited between 1929 and 1942 The cards were supplied by the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills.

NOTES: (*a*) The relatively small proportion of *adi-Dravidas* and the relatively high proportion of upper caste Mudaliars in the weaving department.

(*b*) The overall high proportion of *adi-Dravidas* is abnormal probably due to the large intake of *adi-Dravidas* strike-breakers during the 1921 strike. Before 1921 the proportion of *adi-Dravidas* was about 22½ per cent (*Madras Mail*, 31 October 1921, p. 6). By 1965 their proportion had dropped to 19.1 per cent (Figure presented to the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, by the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, 1965).

out all departments. The rest of the caste Hindus were drawn from numerically smaller castes found in the villages close to the city.[17]

Although some workers owned their own houses in Perambur or lived in a nearby village, the majority of the caste Hindus rented a room or part of a room in one of the small brick and tile houses close to the mills. The rooms in the houses were sublet and the mill neighbourhood became increasingly overcrowded as ex-villagers settled in the mill neighbourhood. A typical room had a low entrance, no windows and a floor of mud, concrete or brick. The one room was used for eating and sleeping and the family shared a communal water tap and toilet outside the house. Although conditions in Madras were nowhere near as bad as in Calcutta or Bombay, the overcrowding and poor sanitary conditions made the Madras industrial suburbs the most unhealthy in the city.

Outside the mill environment, the mill hands lived a life not very different from that of traditional village life. Religious beliefs, customs and practices played a major role in their lives. The caste Hindus remained endogamous, preferred to live in a house occupied by their caste fellows and tended to cluster in groups in certain streets.[18] It was natural for new recruits to congregate near their immediate relatives for security and assistance in making the adjustment from village to city life. It is probable also that caste influences sometimes intruded into the mills. The workers knew the caste or community to which their work mates belonged. A jobber would be expected to look after the interests of his own caste or family when selecting individuals for promotion or for transfer to the more sought after jobs. With these qualifications it appears that caste differences played little part within the mill where caste Hindus worked and ate together. In time also the caste divisions in the mill neighbourhood became increasingly blurred as population pressure assisted the breakup of caste groupings. Unlike the situation in some other Tamil Nadu mills, caste differences among the caste Hindus did not pose a serious threat to labour unity.

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[17] Submission by the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills Employees Union, Royal Commission on Labour, VII, part I, p. 213; N.N. Natarajan, "Industrial Labour in the City of Madras" (M.A. Thesis, University of Madras, 1951), *passim*.

The lines of demarcation were, however, much sharper between the caste Hindus and the other religious communities of whom the most numerous were the *adi-Dravidas* (Untouchables) who comprised about one-fifth of the mill population in 1918.[19] In the city the *adi-Dravidas* lived as a segregated community in squalid slums known as *cheris*. The *cheris* were composed of tightly packed huts built on land rented from the Madras Corporation or from private landlords. Living conditions were extremely unhealthy as the land on which the huts were constructed was low lying and subject to flooding during the monsoon season. There were few water taps or latrines and the open drains that ran through the huts were polluted with animal and human refuse through which pigs and dogs scavenged for food.[20]

As well as working in the mills, the Madras *adi-Dravidas* engaged in a variety of occupations such as slaughtering, tanning and municipal scavenging which were considered degrading in Hindu society. To some extent they brought with them the stigma attached to traditional village life into the mills. For example, the *adi-Dravidas* and other communities ate apart from the caste Hindus in the mills' dining hall.[21] They also tended to work in the harder and more demanding occupations with the smallest proportion in the weaving department.[22] Many of the *adi-Dravidas* could have afforded to live in better conditions but were prevented, partly by caste prejudice, from sub-letting a room or part of a house in the caste Hindu quarter. In addition, the *adi-Dravida* in the *cheri* was surrounded by members of his own community with whom he shared a common identity and sense of security. The *cheris* were characterized by very strong group cohesiveness, especially when threatened by outsiders.

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[18] I was able to isolate a few caste clusters in the mill neighbourhood by studying the addresses of 670 workers recruited between 1929 and 1942. In general, however, no significant patterns could be established.

[19] The division of the Madras textile work force into caste Hindus and Untouchables is very similar to Bombay: see Morris D. Morris, *The Emergence of an Industrial Labour Force in India: A Study of The Bombay Cotton Mills, 1954-1947*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1965, p. 83.

[20] Natarajan, *op cit.*, pp. 109-22 Submission by the Madras Labour Union to the Royal Commission on Labour, VII, part 1, p. 168.

[21] Submission by Binny and Co., Royal Commission on Labour in India, VII, part 1, pp. 138-40.

The third main community, the Indian Christians, represented about 1/12 of the work force in 1918. Mainly converts from low castes or Untouchables, most of them still carried the stigma of their background, despite their conversion to Christianity. They also lived in the *cheris* and their mode of life, attitudes and customs were very similar to the *adi-Dravidas.*

The fourth main community, Urdu-speaking Muslims, who comprised about 1/20 of the workers, were descendants of weavers, artisans, musicians, soldiers and other occupational groups who had accompanied Muslim conquerors to south India.[23] They were an economically depressed community in Madras city and lived in their own *cheris* or in separate sections of the *adi-Dravida cheris.* They were employed in a variety of poorly paid occupations, such as making *beedis* (native cigarettes), slaughtering and in the tanneries, as well as in the cotton mills. Because they lived in close proximity to the *adi-Dravidas*, there were sometimes conflicts between them.

Although the minority communities were not disadvantaged in the mills—many in fact were jobbers—their friends and relatives in the *cheris* were generally poorer than the caste Hindus. For example, few of the minority communities had links with traditional village life which they could utilize during periods of unemployment. The Urdu-speaking Muslims and the Indian Christians were traditionally urban dwellers, while the *adi-Dravidas* appear to have shed their ties with their native villages far more quickly than the Hindus. This is hardly surprising considering that the *adi-Dravidas* were economically and socially discriminated against in the village. Dependent upon their wages for survival, the mill hands of the minority communities were more proletarian, having nothing to sell but their labour power. Consequently, the minority communities lacked the "tactical mobility" of the caste Hindus many of whom could return to their native village for sustenance during strikes and lockouts. The economic differentiation among the communities played an important role in the early history of the Madras Labour Union.

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[22] See Table 1.

[23] Kenneth McPherson, "The Social Background and Politics of the Muslims of Tamil Nad, 1901-1937," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, VI, no. 4 (December 1969), pp. 381-402.

THE FORMATION AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE MADRAS LABOUR UNION

Although there was no union of Madras textile workers before 1918, there were a number of examples of worker militancy which suggest a degree of trade union consciousness even from the early days. This was mainly expressed over pay and service conditions and took the form of spontaneous strikes initiated by the workers. In 1878 a strike broke out in the Buckingham Mill over the demand that the mill close at noon on Sunday[24] while in 1889 there was strike in the Carnatic Mill over demands for a weekly holiday which led to a sympathetic strike in the sister mill.[25]

In September 1902 the mill hands in the Buckingham Mill rioted after the management refused to consider complaints by the weaving jobbers that flaws in the yarn and in the weaving looms made it impossible for the weavers to maintain their usual level of production, thus leading to pay cuts. After a fight broke out between the weavers and European mill officers, Binnys called in police and soldiers to evict the weavers. This action led to rioting as workers in other departments rallied to support the weavers.[26] These, and other early efforts of the Madras mill hands to improve their conditions, were crushed by Binnys who sacked the ringleaders, often imported strike-breakers from Bombay or from the nearby French territory of Pondicherry and relied on the police and army to prevent picketing and keep the mills working. The use of outside strike-breakers by Binnys, the initiatives of the weavers in initiating industrial action and the intense dislike of the Madras workers towards the police and soldiers were common themes in the labour history of Madras city.

Industrial unrest reached new heights in the city during the war years, 1914-18, and in the immediate post-war period. This was an era of rocketing inflation during which wages lagged behind the cost of living, especially food stuffs.

TABLE 2
PRICE OF COMMON RICE IN MADRAS CITY
BASE YEAR, 1873=100

1914	*1915*	*1916*	*1917*	*1918*	*1919*	*1920*	*1921*	*1922*	*1923*	*1924*
219	204	233	219	258	354	342	315	319	304	327

SOURCE: Government of India, *Statistical Abstracts for British India from 1917-18 to 1926-27*, Calcutta, 1928, p. 168. Note the very high inflation in 1919-20 when industrial unrest was at its peak in Madras.

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[24] F. De Souza, *op. cit.*, pp. 88.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 114.
[26] *The Hindu*, 15 September 1902, p. 5.

Food shortages added to the unrest which was expressed in food riots throughout urban centres of Madras presidency in which mill hands in Madras and Madura were involved. Binnys made some adjustment to their workers' wages but not sufficient to quell the unrest. The economic dissatisfaction stimulated the formation of the Madras Labour Union as it did for many unions throughout India in the immediate post-war years.

Like other Indian workers during the same period, the Madras mill hands sought the assistance of outsiders—non-workers—to help them organize. Although there were a number of individuals among the workers willing to assist in the organization of the union at the shop floor, they lacked organizational skill, education and confidence to approach directly the management on behalf of their fellow workers. Moreover, as workers they were vulnerable to victimization by the management. Initially the leadership was provided by two local cloth and rice merchants, Chelvapathy Chetti and Ramanujulu Naidu, both Balija Naidus, who ran a small religious *sabha* (organization) in the mill area. The *sabha* had been formed by Chelvapathy Chetti's father and was patronized mainly by Naidu workers who came to sing *bhajanas* (religious songs) and to hear religious discourses from guest speakers. The two social workers knew little of the mechanics of trade union organization, but at the request of the workers whom they met at the *sabha* and in their shops they drew up lists of demands relating to pay claims and sent these anonymously to Binnys. The management immediately turned these over to the police who began to spy on and harass the members of the *sabha*.[27]

Since they were unable to achieve anything by themselves, the two men approached prominent Madras politicians to advise them on how best to organize the mill hands. They received little encouragement until by accident they were able to interest a Parsee Lawyer, B.P. Wadia.[28] A prominent Madras nationalist, Wadia had been closely associated with the Irish radical, Annie Besant, a leading figure in the Indian nationalist movement. Mrs Besant had been a Fabian socialist and trade union organizer in Britain and was able to advise Wadia on the mechanics of union organization, although initially she tried to dissuade him from becoming involved in Indian labour. After Wadia had addressed a number of meetings convened by the *sabha* he announced the formation of the Madras Labour Union on 27 April 1918.

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[27] There are a number of accounts of the foundation and history of the Madras Labour Union. The most accurate and detailed for the early period is B.P. Wadia, *Labour in Madras* (Madras: Miss M. Chattapadhyay, 1921); See also G Chelvapathy Chettiar, *indiya thozhiliyakkam thonriya varalaru* [The History of the Origins of the Indian Workers' Movement], (n.p.: Papanasam Press, 1961); *The Madras Labour Union Messages and Opinions on the Silver Jubilee Celebrations* (Madras: The Madras Labour Union Press, 1943); *chennai thozhilallar sangam ponvizha malar* [Madras Labour Union Golden Jubilee] (Madras: The Madras Labour Union Press, 1968); G. *Chelavapthy Chettiar 75th Birthday Souvenir* (Madras, Anbu Press, ? 1963). There are also accounts by the Commissioner of Labour and by the Union in The Royal Commission on Labour, VII, part 1, pp..37-45, 178-87.

[28] Interview, G. Chelvapathy Chetti, Madras, 15 November 1974.

Wadia and the other outsiders organized a mass meeting of mill hands in a park near the mills which elected the executive committee. The key posts of president, treasurer and general secretaries were held by outsiders, and the bulk of the executive was drawn from the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills. The union drew up a constitution and a set of rules and the executive held regular meetings in a rented room near the mills. In order to organize more effectively and to co-ordinate the activities of its members, the union set up departmental committees within each mill. The general secretaries, Chelvapathy Chetti and Ramanujulu Naidu, provided the links between outsiders and ordinary members and ensured that the mundane work of union organization—the keeping of records, the collection of subscriptions and the building up of a strike fund—was carried on. The workers on the executive were mainly caste Hindus, Mudaliars, Naickers and Naidus, and most of the prominent leaders were from the weaving department.[29] Two of the weavers, S. Natesa, a Mudaliar, and K.M. Natesan, a Naicker, were prominent in the union from its formation. The union attempted to reduce the caste Hindu domination of the executive by appealing to the workers to vote for members of the minority communities and also held intercommunal feasts to try to break down the communal differences.[30] Their efforts, however, only had limited success and the union remained dominated by caste Hindus.

Adding to the problems of the union leadership was the hostility of Binnys and the Madras government. On 21 May Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras, sent for Wadia and told him that he disapproved of the new union which, he considered, was anti-British and designed to hamper Binnys' wartime production.[31] After some initial hesitation, Binnys refused to have anything to do with Wadia or the union and ignored the union's claims for pay rises, for an extension of the lunch hour and for European supervisors to treat the Indian worker with more respect.[32]

After Wadia had been unable to redress their grievances, the workers took matters into their own hands in October 1918 when the spinners in both mills demanded that the mill start work at 6.30 a.m., fifteen minutes later than usual and in line with the hours worked by the weavers. Binnys immediately withdrew the concession from the weavers, who as piece-workers had been allowed a more flexible working day, and demanded that all mill departments commence work at 6.00 a.m in line with factory regulations. This harassment then antagonized the weavers who refused to work, after which Binnys declared a lockout.[33] Wadia and the other union officials persuaded the weavers to return but tension simmered within both mills.

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[29] Unfortunately the names of the union executive did not always contain the caste title but those that were identified by their title or through interviews with older workers were almost all caste Hindus. There was at least one *adi-Dravida* on the executive in 1921. See *New India*, Madras, 2 July 1921, p. 5.

[30] Interview, G Chelvapathy Chetti, Madras, 15 November 1974.

[31] Wadia, *op. cit*, p. 22.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 27; Racial conflict between foreign managers and supervisors and indigenous workers is a common source of labour unrest in Third World countries; see R.D. Grillo, *Race, Class, and Militancy: An African Trade Union, 1939-1965*, New York, Chandler Publishing Company, 1974, p. 127.

On 25 November the weavers of the Carnatic Mill threw shuttles at an unpopular European spinning master. Binnys dismissed a jobber when he refused to name the culprits. On the 27th the Buckingham weavers stoned the European mill manager.[34] Binnys closed both mills and in a press communique blamed the labour unrest, indiscipline and violence on the leaders of the union.[35] The management tried to divide the workers by inviting the other departments, except the weavers, to resume work under favourable conditions.[36] Binnys also tried to persuade the *adi-Dravidas* to return to work. Neither tactic succeeded and the workers remained united.[37] Eventually on the intervention of a British philanthropist a compromise was reached in which Binnys made minor concessions, but refused to reinstate four weaving jobbers.

While Wadia was temporarily overseas in 1920 the first strike in the post-war period broke out. In that year inflation reached its peak in Madras[38] and led to widespread industrial unrest throughout the city. The new Governor of Madras, Lord Willingdon, persuaded the management to agree to a government appointed Court of Enquiry which recommended large pay increases of 20 to 30 per cent on 8 March.[39] However, after Binnys had refused to backdate the increases, the men walked out of the mills and declared a strike. Again a compromise was reached and the men returned to work.[40]

By 1920 a number of themes characteristic of the early history of the Madras Labour Union had become clear. The Madras mill workers had become increasingly restive towards their employers for failing to redress their grievances. Their anger was also expressed towards the Madras government which made only sporadic attempts to intervene on their behalf. They had also become impatient with their union which was unable, partly because of employer intransigence, to effect a settlement of disputes. The workers' impatience was expressed in spontaneous strikes initiated by them on the shop floor. At stake also was the question of trade union recognition and the company's victimization of union activists. The period of confrontation between men and management also coincided with a period of nationalist agitation which temporarily linked the struggle of labour and nationalism against a common enemy—the British employer and British administration.

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[33] Letter from Binnys to the Commissioner of Police, Madras, 31 October 1918; Tamil Nadu Archives (TNA), Government Order (G O.) 1929, Public (Confdl), 9 November 1918; Statement by Binnys in *The Hindu* (Madras), 29 October 1918, p. 5.

[34] Statement by Binnys in *The Hindu*, 10 December 1918, p. 5.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *The Hindu*, 6 December 1918, p. 5.

[37] Interview, G. Chelvapathy Chetti; Madras, 15 November 1974.

[38] See Table 2.

[39] Submission by the Commissioner of Labour to the Royal Commission on Labour, VII, part 1, p. 38.

[40] *The Hindu*, 27 March 1920, p. 5.

LABOUR UNREST AND NATIONALIST POLITICS

The labour unrest of the post-war years coincided with an apparently more militant turn in the Indian nationalist movement as Gandhi and his supporters rose to prominence in the Indian National Congress. The period was ripe for nationalist agitation as post-war inflation, food shortages and the general dislocation of economic life left many groups in Indian society restless. Congressmen attempted to utilize local grievances in order to build up a mass following and the Amritsar and Nagpur sessions of Congress, held in December 1919 and 1920 respectively, called on Congressmen to organize peasants and workers. Generally, lawyers with little knowledge, understanding or empathy towards the peasants and workers they tried to organize, the Congressmen often found that their attempts to channel unrest along non-violent lines foundered because of the militancy and initiatives of the workers and peasants.[41]

Attempts by Congressmen to take over the Madras Labour Union and affiliate it with the Madras Provincial Congress led to a factional split among the outside union leaders. The dominant faction was centred around B.P. Wadia and included Tiru. Vi. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar (known as Tiru. Vi. Ka.), a Tamil poet, teacher and journalist, and V. Chakkarai Chetti, an Indian Christian lawyer. They were supported by Chelvapathy Chetti and Ramanujulu Naidu and the majority of the worker leaders. While sympathetic towards the broad aims of the nationalists, they were reluctant to allow the union to become too closely associated with the Congress, mainly for fear of further alienating Binnys and the Madras government. The opposing faction was led by Singaravelu Chetti, a lawyer of a fisherman caste who later became a leading Communist organizer in south India, and a Brahmin lawyer, E.L. Iyer, who were supported by the Madras Provincial Congress. The initiative of the mill hands was to widen the differences between the two factions.

On October 1920 the conflict between union and management came to a head in the Buckingham Mill when one of the assistant jobbers, Natesa Mudaliar, was passed over the promotion because of his association with the union.[42] Other assistant jobbers were offered the promotion and when they refused, they were also dismissed. Later a head jobber, also a Mudaliar, and other jobbers were dismissed after they had refused to do the assistant jobber's work.[43] Next day the weavers of the looms affected by the dispute refused to work and on 20 October all the weavers sat at their machines and refused to work. After conferring among themselves, they marched in a body to the office of the European mill manager who produced a revolver which the weavers confiscated.[44] Binnys immediately declared a lockout.

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[41] For a Marxian view of Congress and its relations with workers and peasants see Gail Omvedt, "Gandhi and the Pacification of the Indian National Revolution," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, V (1975), pp. 2-8.

Wadia supported the workers, agreed that they should not accept the victimization of union leaders and congratulated them on their non-violence. He left Madras to attend a meeting of the recently formed All-India Trade Union Congress at Bombay and to seek financial support for the Madras workers. In his absence Wadia entrusted the union to Tiru. Vi. Ka. and warned him that the men should not return unless Binnys agreed to reinstate the dismissed unionists. To see that the workers did not return a Lockout Committee was formed.[45]

On 1 November Binnys again tried to break the solidarity of the workers by inviting all but the weavers to resume the next day. A union meeting attended by a large proportion of the workers again refused although a few turned up for work on the 2nd. The majority kept away either out of sympathy for the weavers or for fear of reprisals.[46] Binnys then attempted to break the resistance of the workers by bringing in strike-breakers as they had done in the pre-war years. The bulk of the strike-breakers were *adi-Dravidas* who, because of their poverty and lack of prejudice towards mill work, were readily available in large numbers. Most of the *adi-Dravidas* came from the *cheris* in the city and in nearby villages but few from the mill *cheris*. In particular, Binnys found many *adi-Dravidas* in the slums to the north of the city where the *adi-Dravidas* eked out an existence by poorly paid unskilled labour, such as working on the docks, pulling rickshaws or pulling handcarts.[47]

Binnys took the strike-breakers to the mill daily by lorries. As the *adi-Dravidas* approached the mill, they were taunted and jeered by the strikers, and rocks and other missiles were thrown at the lorries.[48]

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[42] The management claimed that there were more senior men available (Royal Commission on Labour in India, VII, part 1, p. 224); the union claimed that Natesa Mudaliar was not promoted because of his association with the union and because he had led a petition against the appointment of the mill manager's unpopular brother as weaving master (Bulletin of the Madras Labour Union published in *New India*, 27 October 1920, p. 9).

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] The union claimed that the manager kicked the weavers when they came to plead with him, *New India*, 27 October 1920, p. 9. Binnys asserted that the weavers assaulted him when he tried to leave his office, submission by the Commissioner of Labour, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[45] *New India*, 22 October 1920, p. 4.

[46] Statement by Binnys published in *The Hindu*, 8 November 1920, p. 8.

[47] Binnys' recruiting agents even entered the Theosophical Society compound at Adyar, *New India*, 6 September 1921, p. 6.

With the position deteriorating, Wadia returned from Bombay with funds to buy hand-spinning and weaving looms to provide some occupational and financial relief for the strikers. Soon after his return, however, Binnys took out a court order against him, Tiru Vi. Ka. and the rest of the Lockout Committee for a sum of Rs 75,000 on the ground that they had maliciously injured the company by inducing their workers not to resume work.[49] Because there was no trade union legislation in India at that period, Wadia and the other members of the union executive were held personally responsible for the actions of the union members. The English judge found for the company, blamed Wadia and his associates for the trouble in the mills, awarded the company Rs 75,000 damages and forbade Wadia and the other members of the Lockout Committee from having anything to do with the workers.[50]

The verdict led to further rioting during which a young worker was killed in a police firing. Binnys made an offer to re-open the mill on 6 December. The management reiterated that the dismissals of 20 October in the weaving department were to stand and that all appointments, promotions and dismissals would be at the absolute discretion of the company. In an attempt to entice the workers back and to break their solidarity, Binnys offered to pay the wages for the period 20 to 31 October to all the workers, except those in the weaving department. Binnys' offer was rejected at a union meeting organized and led by the workers. In a Tamil statement signed by 3,956 Buckingham workers and presented to Binnys on 11 December the union denied that the dispute was caused by the machinations of outside politicians, affirmed that the dismissed men were the life of the union, demanded that the union be recognized and that Binnys withdraw the court order against the union leaders.[51]

Binnys ignored the petition and stepped up the campaign to recruit strike-breakers. Violence again erupted on 7 and 8 December when lorries carrying *adi-Dravida* strike-breakers came under heavy attack from large groups of strikers supported by "lawless" elements in the mill area. On the 9th one of the lorries overheated and was forced to halt in the midst of the angry crowd. A number of policemen jumped out of the lorry and attempted to arrest some of the crowd, but, after seizing a couple of rioters, the policemen found themselves cut off and their lives in danger. In defence, the police party opened fire, killing two young mill hands and wounding a large number of the crowd.[52]

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[48] Binnys admitted that a "rowdy element" in the union, over which the union had no control, provoked the trouble. *The Hindu*, 8 November 1920, p. 8.

[49] Evidence of Binnys in their court action against Wadia, *The Hindu*, 12 November 1920, p. 6.

[50] Justice Phillip's summary in *The Hindu*, 2 December 1920, p. 5; Justice Phillip remarked that most of the workers were illiterate and of a low order of intelligence—a remark hardly likely to please the large number of workers who attended the trial!

[51] Translated and reproduced in *ibid.*, 14 December 1920, p. 5.

The nationalist press made political capital out of the shootings.[53] The funeral of the boys killed in the rioting was made an occasion to demonstrate Hindu-Muslim unity with members of both communities carrying the biers of the boys. Increasingly the textile workers became involved in nationalist demonstrations and processions, such as the Congress sponsored boycott of the Duke of Connaught. The textile workers marched from the union office to a Congress meeting carrying banners condemning the shootings.[54]

On 17 January 1921 the dispute widened when the Carnatic workers, who had continued working and financially supporting those in the Buckingham Mill, decided that they would strike on the 21st unless the Buckingham workers' demands were met. Wadia who was excluded from the meeting because of the court injunction criticized the decision as impolitic but said that their cause was just.[55]

But by January 1921 Wadia's spirit was crushed. Since his initial outburst after the shooting of 9 December 1920, he had made few statements or attended political rallies, and on 25 January he resigned from the Madras Provincial Congress Committee.[56] He saw his authority in the union being undercut by those whom he considered to be extremists among the workers and the other outside leaders. He also realized that Binnys were determining to break the strike and that they had the financial resources to lockout the workers for a considerable period. Moreover, he knew that some workers were disillusioned with the union, and that these included a number of *adi-Dravidas*. On 26 January he had secret meetings with Binnys and agreed that the men should return under Binnys' conditions. In return Binnys agreed to withdraw the court case against Wadia and the other members of the Lockout Committee and to allow the workers to form a union, provided that it excluded outsiders.[57] When the ban on his association with the workers was lifted, Wadia persuaded them to return to work but he did not fully inform them of the terms of the settlement.

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[52] Submission by the Commissioner of Labour, *op. cit*, p. 41; According to a government communique published in *The Hindu*, 11 December 1920, p.5, ten of the sixteen injured were mill hands while two worked in the railway workshops.

[53] *The Hindu*, 11 December 1920, p. 5, compared the shootings to the infamous Jallianwala Bagh massacre in the Punjab while *Navasakti*, 17 December 1920, Madras Native Newspaper Reports for the week ending 1 January 1921, p. 10 compared Lord Willingdon with the governor of the Punjab who condoned the massacre.

[54] *The Hindu*, 10 January 1921, p. 3.

[55] Statement by Wadia read at the meeting of the Carnatic Mill Workers and reproduced in *ibid.*, 24 January 1921, p. 5.

[56] See his letter of resignation reproduced in *New India*, 25 January 1921, p. 5.

[57] Fro the terms of the settlement see *The Hindu*, 27 January 1921, p. 5.

CLASS VERSUS COMMUNITY

In his attempt to end the strike in January 1921, Wadia had compromised on three fundamental principles. He had agreed to the dismissal of the union activists; he had accepted the principle that the union should be confined only to the mill workers; he had taken these decisions personally without consulting fully the executive or general body of the union. When the terms of the settlement became widely known, the workers rejected Wadia and his faction and turned to their Congress rivals for leadership.

The worker leaders who rejected Wadia's attempt to promote a settlement behind their backs approached Tiru. Vi. Ka. and Chakkarai Chetti and persuaded them to take over the union leadership along with Singaravelu Chetti and E L Iyer.[58] With Tiru. Vi. Ka. as the new president and the union executive supported by Congressmen, the union members were encouraged to participate fully in Congress-sponsored meetings and demonstrations. During union meetings, the nationalists criticized the British government for supporting the British employers and stated that only in a free India would the industrial workers be able to obtain justice. As a large, easily mobilized group the Madras textile workers provided mass support for political meetings and demonstrations. On 28 February, for example, during the *hartal* over the imprisonment of a popular Muslim nationalist, Yakub Hasan, a large number of mill labourers attended a Congress political meeting.[59]

While the Congress labour leaders found it easy to mobilize politically the Perambur mill hands, they found that it was far more difficult to control the unrest within the mills. Despite their often radical rhetoric, the union leadership was terrified at the prospect of a resurgence of labour trouble.

When the settlement with Wadia had been rejected by the men, Binnys intensified their attempts to tighten up on discipline and, if necessary, to force the workers into another strike and to bludgeon them into submission. The trouble was precipitated by the young men and boys who objected to the management's attempts to punish unauthorized absenteeism. On 1 April four boys who stayed away from work without permission were given a month's notice.[60] On 19 April, 900 boys in the Carnatic Mills struck when a young *adi-Dravida* was dismissed for going away to attend a wedding,[61] Brief strikes broke out again in May among the spinning boys in the Buckingham Mill and the carding boys in the Carnatic Mill.[62] After the Carnatic Mill refused to agree to the carding boys' claims for wage increases, an extension of leave privileges and the reinstatement of dismissed unionists, they struck once again. Binnys locked out the entire mill and on 26 May declared that the half-year bonus of all the Carnatic workers was forfeited because of indiscipline.[63] Binnys were determined to force a showdown with their workers, to break the power of the union led by outsiders and to return to pre-war discipline. With the waning of the post-war boom and with their large financial reserves, Binnys could afford to close their mills for a considerable period and starve the strikers into submission.

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[58] See Tiru. Vi. Ka.'s criticism of the settlement in *Navasakti*, Madras Native Newspaper Reports, week ending 26 February 1921, p. 250.

[59] *The Hindu*, 21 February 1921, p. 3.

[60] Letter from the union to the editor, *The Hindu*, 12 May 1921, p. 3.

[61] Statement by union representative in *ibid.*, 24 April 1921, p. 5.

[62] Letter from the union to the editor, *ibid.*, 12 May 1921, p. 3.

On 3 June the Buckingham workers met and expressed their anger at the lockout and victimization of the Carnatic Mill and decided to strike in sympathy on the 20th if the Carnatic workers' grievances were not redressed. At the meeting, Jabil Khan, one of the Muslim worker leaders, stated that Congress had promised to help them by offering them hand spinning wheels and looms.[64] Wild rumours circulated among the men that Congress had set aside a huge sum to help them.[65] Both management and the men remained obdurate and on 20 June the Buckingham workers struck. However, on the previous day a letter was received from the *adi-Dravidas* of the Buckingham Mill that they would not support the latest strike.[66]

The legend among the union, propagated by the nationalist press, was that the decision of the *adi-Dravidas* not to strike on 20 June was the consequence of the machinations of Binnys, supported by government officials and *adi-Dravida* politicians.[67] It is correct that Binnys had attempted to wean the minority groups from the union since 1918 by promising them preferential treatment and privileges. These attempts had been supported by some government officials.[68] But ironically this explanation is similar to Binnys' simplistic view that the labour unrest was merely due to the machinations of political extremists. The *adi-Dravidas* of the Buckingham Mill refused to strike because as a group they decided that it was not in their economic interest to do so. The decision taken in meetings in the *cheris* was theirs and the support and encouragement of Binnys, government officials and their communal political leaders only reinforced their decisions.

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[63] Statement by the union in *ibid.*, 28 may 1921, p. 5. For the management version see the statement by Binnys in *ibid*, 31 May 1921, p. 5. The main details are substantially the same in both accounts

[64] Statement by the union in *ibid.*, 18 June 1921, p. 5.

[65] Tiru. Vi. Ka. threatened to sue the *Madras Mail* for alleging that he had been given Rs 200,000 by Congress for the strikers; *New India*, 16 July 1921, p. 8.

[66] Statement by *adi-Dravidas* in TNA, G.O. 1912, Law (gen), 27 June 1924; Statement by M.C. Rajah, *Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Governor of Madras* (hereinafter MLCP), VII, no.1, p. 1011.

[67] See the union criticism of Moir, the Commissioner of Labour, and his subordinates in *The Hindu*, 22 June 1921, p. 5. The *adi-Dravidas'* version was given by M.C. Rajah in a letter to *ibid.*, 22 June 1921, p. 5. See also the union's rejoinder in *ibid*, 24 June 1921, p. 5.

[68] The assistant Commissioner of Labour appears to have played a very partisan role in the dispute; See MLCP, III, no.2, 15 October 1921, pp. 1293-94.

Lacking the tactical mobility of the caste Hindus, the *adi-Dravidas* of the Buckingham Mill found that their economic resources had been exhausted after the prolonged strikes in the mill during December 1920 and January 1921. Many had had to sell their clothes and their wives' jewellery in order to survive. Even their opportunity for temporary relief employment was limited as caste prejudice forbade their employment as domestic servants, except in the most menial roles, or in any occupation associated with the preparation and selling of food. Even when begging for food, the *adi-Dravidas* found that the caste Hindus of the mill area were more willing to help the strikers of their own community.[69]

Many of the *adi-Dravidas* were also torn between their loyalties to the British—mill owners and government—and to the union and their workmates. They realized that Binnys did not discriminate against them, as did many Indian mill owners, and that under British rule they had more opportunity to escape from their lowly economic position. When the caste Hindu dominated union began to urge its members to take part in nationalist campaigns, the fears and suspicions of the *adi-Dravidas* were strengthened. Unlike the Muslims, they had little commitment to anti-British agitation and resented being forced to take part in political meetings and demonstrations organized by Congress.[70] By June 1921 the *adi-Dravidas*, especially those in the Buckingham Mill, had had enough.

After a number of meetings, the *adi-Dravidas* of Puliyanthope, a large *cheri* near the mill, decided not to support the strike. Although they communicated their decision to the union by letter, no answer was received. Another meeting was held on 29 May to which the *adi-Dravidas* invited two politicians from their own community, M.C. Rajah and Swami Desikananda.[71] Also at the meeting was the assistant Commissioner of Labour whose presence signified government approval of their decision. On 19 June the Puliyanthope *adi-Dravidas* again communicated their decision by letter to the union and on the next day 700 to 800 of them marched from the *cheri* to work in the Buckingham Mill.

The refusal of the *adi-Dravidas* of the Puliyanthope *cheri* to support the strike in the Buckingham Mill marked the first overt manifestation of communal disharmony among the Madras Labour force. Previously Binnys had employed *adi-Dravidas* from outside the mill work force to act as strike-breakers, but had little success in persuading the *adi-Dravida* mill hands. Many of the *adi-Dravidas* sympathized with the union, especially in the early stages when their economic interests were closely bound up with those of workers of other communities. On 16 June 1921, for example, a separate meeting of *adi-Dravida* union members expressed their solidarity with the other workers.[72] Part of the support of the *adi-Dravidas* for the union was based on fear; considerable courage would be needed to brave the hostility of the other communities, especially the Muslims. Furthermore, as a community with long traditions of subservience and oppression, the *adi-Dravidas* were psychologically handicapped in attempting to act as an independent group. However, once a significant number, made desperate enough by economic hardship, broke from the rest of the workers the way was made easier for others. A caste Hindu mill worker would have come under social as well as physical pressure from relatives and friends among the workers to remain on strike. But the *adi-Dravidas*, living apart in the *cheris* and with a strong feeling of community consciousness, were able to return as a group. Once a group in one *cheri* made the decision, the trickle of returning workers became a flood as *adi-Dravida* groups in other *cheris* returned. Attacks on working *adi-Dravidas* by angry strikers strengthened the group cohesiveness of the *adi-Dravidas* and reinforced their decision. Not all strike-breakers were *adi-Dravidas* nor did all the caste Hindus and Muslims remain loyal to the union. But because of the particular communal differences among the Madras textile work force the battle between strikers and strike-breakers became largely one between the caste Hindus, allied with the Muslims, on the one hand, and the *adi-Dravidas*, together with the Indian Christians, on the other.

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[69] M.C. Rajah in *ibid.*, 12 October 1921, pp. 1011-13, and S. Somasundaram Pillai in *ibid.*, p. 1019. See also article by "Bhishma," in *The Hindu*, 12 October 1921, p. 5, and the evidence of an *adi-Dravida* mill hand to the Committee of Enquiry—Madras Disturbances, July 1921 [Ayling Committee] in *ibid.*, 13 August 1921, p. 3.

[70] *Adi-Dravida* petition to Willingdon, TNA, G.O. 1844, Law (gen), 2 August 1922.

[71] M.C. Rajah in MLCP, III no.1, 12 October 1921, p. 1012.

On 22 June M.C. Rajah complained that batches of union men were going around the *cheris* threatening the *adi-Dravidas*.[73] Jabil Khan denied Rajah's accusation and at a union meeting he and the union executive addressed the men on the need to remain patient and non-violent.[74] The union's appeal had little effect.

Threatened at home and under attack on the way to work, the *adi-Dravidas* armed themselves with crudely fashioned swords, knives and sticks and marched in groups from their *cheris* to work. On 28 June about 60 people attacked the Puliyanthope *cheri* with stones and bottles. Attacks continued into the night when the thatched roofs of 95 huts were set on fire by a rampaging mob shouting, according to the police, "Gandhi ki-jai."[75] On 1 July, after their inhabitants had been evacuated to safety by government officials,

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[72] Statement by the union in *The Hindu*, 16 July 1921, p. 4.

[73] M.C. Rajah, statement to *ibid.*, 22 June 1921, p. 5.

[74] Reply to M.C. Rajah by the union, *ibid.*, 24 June 1921, p. 5.

[75] Police evidence to the Ayling Committee as reported in *The Hindu*, 12 August 1921,

150 huts in the slaughter house *cheri* were similarly destroyed.[76]

Much of the violence between the *adi-Dravidas* and the other communities had little direct connection with the labour dispute. The violence was particularly intense between the Muslims and the *adi-Dravidas* who lived in close proximity in the *cheris*, and some of whom worked together in the slaughter house in Perambur. Earlier, in March, the *adi-Dravidas* in the slaughter house had refused to obey Muslim demands that they stop slaughtering on a day of *hartal* for the imprisonment of Yakub Hasan[77] An *adi-Dravida* had been killed in the incident, and in retaliation the *adi-Dravidas* had burnt four Muslim huts in the *cheri*. During the labour dispute of June and July the opportunity was seized to settle old scores[78]

The union repeatedly condemned the attacks on the *adi-Dravidas* as the work of a few hooligans and advised the men to stay calm and patient, but the government refused to accept the union's reassurances. On 7 July 1921 Willingdon called Tiru. Vi. Ka., Chakkarai Chetti and Jabil Khan to Government House and warned them that they would be held personally responsible for any violence. Willingdon told the union leaders that their only course was to direct the strikers to return to work under the conditions laid down by Binnys.[79] The government also took responsibility for the homeless refugees from the *cheris* by evacuating them to a government camp at Vyasarpadi, a village to the north of Perambur. The action was interpreted by the union as government support for the strike-breakers.[80] At Vyasarpadi the *adi-Dravidas* were given food, shelter and money by the government. When Willingdon and other government officials visited Vyasarpadi they were given a rousing reception by the *adi-Dravidas*.[81]

Willingdon's hostility towards the union and his apparent championing of the interest of the *adi-Dravidas* embittered the labour leaders even further. A huge meeting on 11 July was attended by prominent Congressmen at which the workers were urged to become an integral part of Congress.

Despite the leaders' anti-British rhetoric, the union was bewildered by events and desperate to get the men back to work. An offer by a committee from the conservative Madras Corporation to mediate between Binnys and the union

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p. 3; A summary of events is given in the Ayling Committee Report, TNA, G.O. 671, Public, 7 October 1921.

[76] *Ibid.*

[77] Petition of Puliyanthope *adi-Dravidas* to Willingdon, TNA, G.O. 1844, Law (gen), 2 August 1922.

[78] Interview. Chelvapathy Chetti, Madras, 10 April 1972.

[79] *The Hindu*, 9 July 1921, p. 5.

[80] For the government's reply to criticisms over its role in the dispute, see MLCP, III, no 2, 15 October 1921, p. 1574.

[81] *The Hindu*, 5 July 1921, p. 5.

was eagerly accepted by the latter.[82] Determined to crush the strike, Binnys told the European Chairman of the Reconciliation Committee to mind his own business.[83]

As the negotiation to effect a solution to the labour dispute foundered on the intransigence of Binnys, the communal strife in the city worsened.[84] The military were mobilized to assist the police keep the peace and were likewise criticized for apparently supporting the *adi-Dravidas.*

THE DEFEAT OF THE MADRAS LABOUR UNION

With the unity of the workers broken and an ever-increasing number of men—caste Hindus and Muslims, as well as *adi-Dravidas*—now returning to work, the union reduced its demands, only insisting that all the men employed in May[85] when the troubles began be re-employed. Binnys refused even this concession, maintaining their right to retain the strike-breakers.[86]

The workers' only hope lay with Gandhi. They knew of the constructive part he had played in disputes between the mill hands and the employers of Ahmedabad. However, Ahmedabad was not Madras and Binnys had little empathy with Gandhi, unlike the Gujarati mill owners. On 17 September Gandhi addressed a meeting of the union members. He commenced by appealing to them to remain faithful to the idea of non-violence and not to prevent the *adi-Dravidas* from attending work. He agreed that their grievances were just, but could offer them little except that they should take up hand spinning and weaving to support themselves.[87] His advice gave little solace to the desperate strikers.

The reaction to Gandhi's speech was "sullen silence."[88] The workers wanted their jobs back or large-scale financial aid to support themselves. Gandhi could provide neither and his visit achieved little except emphasize the hopelessness of the union's position. As the strike petered out, the violence increased. On the day of Gandhi's speech, a police sergeant was fatally wounded in Perambur.[89] On 5 October a mob attacked a *cheri* in Purusawalkam in revenge for *adi-Dravidas*' attacks on the houses of caste Hindus nearby. The police opened fire, killing one and injuring fifteen. Criticisms of the government and the police mounted, even from government supporters.[90]

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[82] *Ibid.*, 26 July 1921, p. 5.

[83] See the correspondence between the committee and Binnys, and the committee and the union in *ibid.*, 30 July 1921, p. 5.

[84] The fears of the caste Hindus were aggravated by irresponsible journalism in some of the vernacular newspapers For example, see *Desabhaktan*, 2 September 1921, Madras Native Newspaper Reports, week ending 10 September, p. 1062.

[85] By August even the pro-government Justice Party was highly critical of the government's handling of the communal dispute. See *Justice*, 7 September 1921, in Madras Native Newspaper Reports, week ending 10 September, p. 1062.

[86] *The Hindu*, 9 September 1921, p. 5.

[87] *Madras Mail*, 17 September 1921, p. 8.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[89] *The Hindu*, 19 September 1921, p. 4.

On 21 October the worn-out strikers surrendered. A general body meeting of the union addressed by a prominent anti-Congress politician advised the men to return unconditionally.[91] When the mills resumed, the 5,000 *adi-Dravidas* remained in their jobs, thus excluding many of the caste Hindus and Muslims.[92] As soon as the news of the surrender reached the *mofussil*, many of the strikers who were staying with relatives returned to Madras but found that their jobs had been taken.

In the aftermath of defeat the union leadership, especially Tiru. Vi. Ka., Chakkarai Chetti and Singaravelu Chetti, were strongly criticized by the workers and union membership dwindled to only a few loyalists.[93] The union leadership in turn bitterly accused the Congress leaders for having misled them and the workers by refusing to give them wholehearted financial support. The embezzlement by one of the union leaders of a large amount of relief money, which had been granted by Congress, strained further the relationship between Congress and labour and between the workers and their leaders. The communal violence of 1921 left a legacy of bitterness that hampered later attempts to reunify the Madras textile work force.[94]

CONCLUSION

Three main questions arise from the study of the first four years of the history of the Madras Labour Union. What does it tell us about class development among an Indian labour force during an early period of industrialization? To what extent do the conclusions have relevance for other labour forces in western and other Third World societies in a similar stage of industrialization? And, most germane to this paper, to what extent do ascriptive ties hamper the development of class consciousness among a Third World work force?

A cautious note must be sounded at this stage. The period 1918-21 in India was one of abnormal economic and political unrest. By focussing on four very traumatic years of the union's history, the paper, therefore, is in danger of depicting as normal, events and conflicts that were most unusual. The intensity of the 1921 rioting, for example, was never repeated while the bitter labour struggle was also very atypical. Nevertheless, used cautiously, an analysis of the early years of the union's history can tell us about differences among the Madras labour force and suggest ways in which primordial ties may, on occasions, contribute to labour disunity. Very often these ties may exist and be influential but in a subtle form which is not always obvious to the observer.

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[90] The government's decision to charge the cost of additional police on to the inhabitants of the municipal divisions affected by the disturbances was particularly resented See the protest meeting of ratepayers, who included one *adi-Dravida*, in *ibid.*, 3 October 1921, p. 3.

[91] *Madras Mail*, 21 October 1921, p. 5.

[92] *Ibid.*

[93] Ironically these included some *adi-Dravidas* dismissed for misconduct. Submission of Commissioner of Labour, *op.cit*, p. 41. Many of the *adi-Dravida* strike-breakers appear to have been unsatisfactory mill hands and were subsequently dismissed by Binnys who took back some who had lost their jobs in 1921.

[94] See E.D. Murphy, "Labour Organisations in the Cotton Mills of Tamilnad, 1918-1939" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Western Australia, 1976), chs 5-7.

There is evidence of a degree of class consciousness among the Madras workers even from the very early period of industrialization in Madras. Before 1918 there were a number of expressions of worker discontent, such as strikes, sit-in strikes and occasionally violence. These generally involved groups in the various departments in each mill but also on occasions led to spontaneous sympathy strikes in other departments and in the sister mill. Other studies of newly industrialized migrant and semi-proletarian worker groups in western and Third World societies have disclosed similar spontaneous expressions of worker discontent which, according to Lenin, is class consciousness in an embryonic form.[95] The early efforts of the Madras workers to redress grievances were generally unsuccessful as, with the co-operation of the colonial power, the British employer was able to crush the strikes and dismiss the so-called dissident elements among the work force. The victimization of worker leaders and the oppression of the state is a common theme of the early labour history of most societies.

In many respects, more favourable preconditions existed for the unionization of the Madras textile workers in 1918 than for most other groups of Indian industrial workers who were also restless in the immediate post-war period. The Madras mill hands were concentrated in large numbers in two huge adjacent mills run by the same employer. The mechanics of union organization were thus easier in Madras than in other Indian industrial centres, such as Bombay, where the workers were scattered in a large number of mills. Moreover workers in larger industrial plants are generally more militant than those in smaller concerns.[96] Ironically, Binnys' efforts to build up a rationalized industry based on a committed labour force assisted the Madras labour organizers. When compared to most other Indian industrial groups, the Madras mill hands were relatively highly urbanized, well-educated and committed to their roles as industrial workers—attributes that one would expect to be conducive to union organization. Moreover, increasing numbers of the Madras workers were primarily dependent upon mill labour for survival as by 1918 many had little access to a means of production. Finally, Binnys' curbing of the jobbers' powers lessened the gap between the supervisors and the ordinary workers. Consequently the problem of overcoming the jobbers' hostility to unionization was not so serious in Madras as in other Indian industrial centres where they viewed unionization as a threat to their interests either as members of the management or as exploiters of the ordinary workers. In a structural sense at least the Madras mill workers in 1918 had many of the attributes of a working class.

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[95] See the observation by Cohen and Sandbrook in Richard Sandbrook and Robin Cohen (eds), *The Development of an African Working Class: Students in Class Formation and Action*, London, Longman, 1975, p. 312.

[96] Lenin, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

A number of indicators suggest that in a social sense also the Madras textile workers were a class, in that they had progressed beyond the stage of spontaneous action to that of realizing that their common economic interests needed to be protected through organized collective action. By this stage they had produced leaders from among their ranks who were prepared to protect their economic interests through an organized trade union and who were prepared to suffer victimization from their employer on its behalf. The efforts of the worker leaders were supported by the rank-and-file who were willing to take industrial action to protect their right to form and manage an independent, effective trade union. Lenin refers to this stage of trade union consciousness as only a step on the path to true class consciousness when the workers perceive there to be an irreconcilable gap between them as a proletariat and the capitalist society which must be replaced by the socialist state if the true needs of a proletariat are to be realized.[97] There is little evidence that the Madras workers had reached this advanced stage in 1918.

The refusal of the *adi-Dravidas* of the Buckingham Mill in June 1921 to strike along with their fellow workers demonstrated the manner in which primordial ties under some circumstances, could inhibit trade union consciousness. A distinct, self-conscious and oppressed community in traditional society outside the mills, the *adi-Dravida* mill hands were prepared to support their workmates on matters relating to economic issues, such as pay claims and conditions of service However, by 1921, the dispute between employer and workers had widened to include the broader issue of union survival. On this issue, the support of the *adi-Dravidas* was ambivalent. Ironically, their hesitation to support the 1921 strike was partly because, as a group, they were more of a true proletariat than the caste Hindus. Their almost total dependence upon their wages for survival meant that they were unable economically to stay on strike as long as the caste Hindus. Their unwillingness to support their fellow workers in 1921 was, therefore, partly a function of their oppressed role in traditional Indian society.

The genesis of the Madras Labour Union in a caste Hindu religious organization and the domination of the union by caste Hindus—outsiders and workers—was also partly an expression of the *adi-Dravidas*' subservient position in Indian society. There appears to have been some prejudice among the caste Hindus against permitting them representation in the union executive which adequately reflected their numerical strength in the mills. The suspicions of the *adi-Dravidas* were strengthened when the union leadership allowed the union to identify closely with the nationalist movement. Many *adi-Dravidas* considered that the British—employers and government—were protectors who had afforded them opportunities for economic advancement which they would not have received in traditional society. Unlike the Muslim workers who were in a similar economic position, the *adi-Dravidas* had little empathy with the nationalist agitation in 1921. The coalescence of the labour and nationalist movement, which temporarily cemented the Muslims and caste Hindus against British employer and government, by estranging the *adi-Dravidas*, ultimately weakened the class unity of the workers as a whole.

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[97] See the comment by Richard Sandbrook in "The Working Class in the Future of the Third World," *World Politics*, XXV, April 1973, p. 473.

A recent study of trade unions in Coimbatore, another south Indian textile industrial centre, has found that primordial ties of caste and community have played only very minor roles in contributing to disunity among the Coimbatore workers.[98] The case of Madras from 1918 to 1921 suggests, however, that at least during periods of great economic and political tensions these differences may surface and contribute to disunity. Likewise, a similar situation developed in Bombay in 1938 when the Untouchable workers also refused to support caste Hindus on strike because they claimed that they lacked economic resources to strike and that the strike was politically motivated.[99] Caste and communal differences may also be accentuated in a situation when a particular caste or communal group has a favoured position in an industry or where a trade union leader supports a specific group. This occurred in Madurai and Ambasamudram, two other south Indian textile centres, in the period 1918-47, where the workers split into rival unions partly because of caste and communal rivalries.[100] Rivalries based on ascriptive differences also exist in other Third World trade unions. A recent study has shown that Kenyan union factionalism is often tribal based[101] and that some trade union leaders exploit tribal loyalties to gain or maintain their power.[102] On the other hand, the history of trade unionism in south India suggests that ascriptive loyalties are only transitory if the trade union leader who uses them is not also an effective protector of the workers' industrial needs. For example, the attempts by Binnys from 1926 to 1946 to promote a rival union based on the support of the non-caste Hindus failed miserably because the workers considered the union to be a tool of the management.[103] Moreover, the attempts of a trade union leader to use caste, communal or tribal loyalties can often be counter productive as it will enable rival leaders to appeal to rival groups among the workers, as happened in Madurai and Ambasamudram.[104]

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[98] Lenin, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[99] Ramaswamy, *Trade Unionism and Caste in South India*, p 362.

[100] Keer, Dhananjay, *Dr Ambedkar: Life and Mission*, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1954, pp. 119-20

[101] See Murphy, *op. cit.*, esp. ch. 8.

[102] Richard Sandbrook, *Proletarians and African Capitalism: The Kenyan Case, 1960-1972*, Cambridge, University Press, 1975, p. 95.

The limited evidence suggests that caste and community by no means necessarily seriously inhibits the development of class consciousness in India and that the strength of caste and communal loyalties varies markedly in different regions.[105] But although ascriptive differences are only one of the number of factors that must be considered when studying class development in India, they cannot as yet be ignored.

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[103] *Ibid*, p. 110.
[104] Murphy, *op. cit.*, chs. 4-10.
[105] *Ibid.*, chs. 8, 10.

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Changing Concepts of Work in the Indian Censuses: 1901-61*

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An analysis of the size and distribution of the working force in India since 1900 must begin by examining changes in concepts of work—in the census office and in the field—from one census to another. Since the census collects information of great value in interpreting long-term economic and social trends, inter-censal comparability is essential. If concepts and procedures have varied, some basis for comparison must be sought.

The economic questions[1] in each census attempt to answer two fundamental questions. First, how many persons are engaged in economic activity? Secondly, for each individual, what is the specific nature of economic activity, if any? The economic questions as formulated imply a particular definition of economic activity and indicate the specific features of an individual's economic activity that the census authorities seek to highlight.

THE CONCEPT OF WORK

Some arbitrariness in the definition of economic activity is inevitable. For example, economic activity could be defined to include only those human activities which are compensated for by money payments, but this would exclude subsistence farmers and unpaid family workers who produce much of the physical output in underdeveloped economies. At the other extreme, if we treat the entire population (barring infants) as being at work we would include many activities which are virtually impossible for the economist to quantify and evaluate, e.g., all the services rendered to each other by members of a household.

In practice an arbitrary demarcation of economic activity is made, and inconsistencies remain. For example, unpaid family workers in agriculture are deemed economically active, though the services, again unpaid, of housewives are conventionally excluded from economic activity. The Indian census authorities faced this problem; in consequence the economic questions have varied over the censuses resulting from attempts to refine concepts and make them statistically precise as well as from changes in the perception of the essential characteristics of economic activity.[2]

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[1] Censuses also ask a variety of questions on age, sex, literacy, mother tongue, religion, migration, etc. The economic questions typically formed 3 or 4 out of 13 to 18 questions on the individual slip, during this period.

In the Censuses of 1901, 1911 and 1921 "all persons who actually do work to carry on business, whether personally or by means of servants, or who live on private property such as house-rent, pension, etc."[3] were deemed to be actual workers. Women and children in the 1901 Census were to be treated as workers provided they "work at any occupation, of whatever kind not being an amusement or of a purely domestic character such as cooking. . . whether they earn wages or not."[4] In the 1911 and 1921 Censuses, the instruction to superior census staff made the demarcation of economic activity much more explicit:

> Only those women and children will be shown as workers who help to augment the family income. A woman who looks after her house and cooks the food is not a worker but a dependant. But a woman who collects and sells firewood or cowdung is thereby adding to the family income and should be shown as a worker. So also a woman who regularly assists her husband in his work. . .but not one who merely renders a little occasional help. A boy who sometimes looks after his father's cattle is a dependant, but one who is a regular cowherd should be recorded as such. . . .Boys at school or college should be entered as dependants. . . .[5]

In the three censuses considered above each individual had to be either an "actual worker" or a "dependant." For men of working age the definition is not explicit; it appears to include all those who "actually do work"—irrespective of the extent of such work. A clear demarcation of area of economic activity was regarded as essential only for women and children.

The 1931 Census introduced the novel concept of dependency *within* the work force, by distinguishing between "earners" and "working dependants." The former were those who worked or carried on business personally or by means of servants for which a return in cash or kind was obtained or who lived on house rent, pensions, etc. Working dependants were those who worked to augment family income but did not earn separate wages; they were entered as "dependant" in Column 9 of the census slip ("Earner or dependant") but had an occupation recorded in Column 11 ["Subsidiary Occupation (occupation of dependants may be given)]. According to the Census Report for India, a "dependant was not regarded as having any principal occupation but was to be recorded in the column for subsidiary occupation as following any occupation which contributed to the family maintenance. Such a dependant was distinguished as a 'working dependant' from the non-working dependants following no occupation."[6] The census instructions make this very clear:

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[2] For an exhaustive account of definitions of work see Daniel and Alice Thorner, *The Working Force in India, 1881—1951*, Bombay, Part V, Appendix A (mimeographed). Wo do not consider the 1941 Census as the actual tabulations were based on only a sample of the slips preserved by the then Census Commissioner.

[3] *Census of India, 1901* (referred to as COI, 1901), Vol. I, India, Part I—Report, Calcutta, 1903, p. 185; COI, 1911, Vol. I, India, Part I—Report, Calcutta, 1913, p. 398; and COI, 1921, Vol. VIII, Bombay Presidency, Part I—General Report, Bombay, 1922, p. 206.

[4] COI, 1901. *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[5] COI, 1911, Vol. I, India, Part I—Report, Calcutta, 1913, p. 398; also see COI 1921, Vol. VIII, Bombay Presidency, Part I, General Roport, Bombay, 1922, p. 206, for a similar set of instructions.

> Dependants who assist in the work of the family and contribute to its support without actually earning wages should be shown as dependants in Column 9 and under subsidiary occupation in Column 11.

So, in theory, all dependants who work were to be recorded as working dependants irrespective of the quantum or duration of work. The instructions went to the ridiculous extent of laying down that "a woman who keeps house for her husband is a dependant and entered as such in Column 9, *but has a subsidiary occupation*, Column 11, *of housekeeping*" (emphasis added).[7]

Ghate, in his otherwise excellent study of changes in the occupational distribution, appears to have misunderstood the 1931 concept.

> The Census of 1931, therefore, made a distinction between "working" and "non-working" dependants. A person whose earnings were too casual and insignificant as compared with the requirements of the family was treated as a non-working dependant or a dependant, pure and simple. Such a dependant may augment the family income by occasional assistance to the principal earner, but such assistance did not entitle him to be treated as a "working dependant." A "working dependant," on the other hand, was one who actually followed some occupation but whose earnings, though fairly regular, were yet too small for setting up a separate household.[8]

Ghate regards the term "working dependant" to be:

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[6] COI, 1931, Vol. I, India, Part I—Report, Delhi, 1933, p. 273.

[7] All quotations in this paragraph (unless otherwise stated) are taken from COI, 1931, Vol. VIII, Part I, Bombay Presidency, General Report, Bombay, 1933, p. 220.

[8] B.G. Ghate, *Changes in the Occupational Distribution of the Population*, Delhi, 1940, p. 2.

> . . .so narrow that a large number of persons who would have been returned as "workers" by the standards of earlier Censuses were returned as dependants pure and simple. . .[and] the instructions to enumerators were so interpreted that a woman was generally returned as dependant, pure and simple, unless it was definitely proved that she was engaged as an "earner" or "working dependant" in some occupation.[9]

As the instructions quoted earlier make clear, working dependants were *not* narrowly defined as following some occupation but whose earnings though regular are yet too small for setting up a separate household. Regularity of earnings is not even mentioned in the instructions as a requirement for being classified as a working dependant. Ghate appears to have confused the requirements for being an *earner* with those for being a working dependant.

Ghate is on good ground in arguing that the instructions were confusing to enumerators (as indeed they appear to have been to analysts!). In 1931, enumerators might have saved themselves the extra effort of asking probing questions for Column 11, and "assumed" that women and children did not generally work. At the same time, in Madras Presidency and some adjoining tracts enumerators proved over-zealous in interpreting the instruction: "a woman who keeps house for her husband is a dependant and entered as such in Column 9, but has a subsidiary occupation, Column 11, of housekeeping." About 7 million female housekeepers were wrongly included in 1931 in the work force.

Ambannavar[10] rightly argues that these "housekeepers" should be eliminated from the female work force. But the 1931 rates for females would also have to be adjusted for the general underenumeration resulting from the *implementation* of the 1931 dependency concept. Rather than adjust the size and structure of the female work force in the different areal units on the basis of 1911 and 1921 rates—as Ambannavar does—it is better to disregard the 1931 evidence for females. The demographic and economic disturbances of the influenza epidemic of 1918 and the agricultural depression after 1930, make assumptions of constant participation rates over time for broad age-groups rather suspect. It is preferable to concentrate on the data for males which might at worst, be slight underestimates.[11]

In the 1951 Census receipt of income was a sufficient condition for being deemed economically active. While the 1931 Census defined income recipients as earners, and other workers as working dependants, the 1951 Census defined self-supporting persons as those who earn enough for at least their own maintenance, and earning dependants as those who earn income in cash or in kind or as imputed income, inadequate for their own support.[12]

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[9] Ghate, *op. cit*, p 4.

[10] See Jaipal P. Ambannavar, "Comparability and Adjustment of the Working Force Data, Censuses 1911-61." *Artha Vijnana*, Vol. 11, No. 4, December 1969, pp. 521-40, especially Sections III and IV.

[11] The percentage of males aged 15-59 remained at 56.1-56.3 per cent between 1901 and 1931, but the male crude participation rate (CRP) declined—perhaps a little more sharply than one would expect -from 64 to 58 per cent. The figures on age structure are obtained from COI, 1961, Paper No 2 of 1963, Age Tables, Delhi, 1963, p. 100.

While in 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931 work was nominally the criterion of economic activity, in 1951 income (however small, provided it was regular) became the criterion. But the shift in concept between 1901-31 and 1951 was more apparent than real Already, in the 1901-31 definitions all individuals who did no work but earned income (e.g., from house-rent, pensions, etc.) were explicitly included as economically active, along with all persons engaged in economic work. In 1951, all recipients of income were included, but what about those who work but do not receive an explicit income? While it is probably true that unpaid family workers were underenumerated by the 1951 Census,[13] the 1951 *concept* is not at fault. The 1951 model instructions to enumerators clearly deal with this problem:

> Where two or more members of a family household jointly cultivate land and secure an income therefrom each of them should be regarded as earning a part of that income. None of them is, therefore, a non-earning dependant. . . .The same applies to any other business carried on jointly.[14]

Thus the *concept* of the economically active population remains unaltered even in 1951 vis-a-vis 1901-31. But as Alice Thorner has convincingly demonstrated the crude participation rates (CPR) of the 1951 Census tend to be generally lower than similar rates obtained from the National Sample Survey and the Agricultural Labour Enquiry in the early fifties.[15] Also, as we shall see, the 1951 CPRs appear rather low in relation to the corresponding rates in 1961 for the different areal units.

In the 1961 Census regularity of productive work became the criterion of economic activity. In the case of agriculture, livestock, dairying, household industry, etc., this meant work of more than one hour a day for the major part of the working season. In the case of trade, professions, services, business or commerce, this meant having been in employment for at least the last fifteen days preceding the census count. Economic activity excluded certain unproductive activities e g., pensions, rental income, etc. The very wide definition of work in some activities (one hour a day for the major part of the working season, in agriculture, livestock, dairying, household industry, etc.) greatly increased the scope of economic activity, as there must have been many women and children who did just about an hour's work a day for a part of the year and did not receive a regular income in cash or in kind.[16]

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[12] COI, 1951, Vol. I, India, Part I-A Report, Delhi, 1953, pp. 90-91.

[13] See A. Mitra, "Regional Patterns of Shift from Agriculture to Non-Agriculture," paper presented at the Second All-India Seminar on Population, Delhi, 1964 (mimeographed), pp. 4-5.

[14] Quoted from COI, 1961, Vol. 1, India, Part II-B (i), General Enonomic Tables, Delhi, 1965, p. 74.

[15] Alice Thorner, "Working Force Size and Structure in India, 1951: A Regional Analysis of Census and Sample Survey Data," *Sankhya*, Series B, Vol. 25, November 1963.

While it is undeniable that the 1961 definition of work was more inclusive than the 1951 definition, the 1951 CPRs cannot be taken at face value. This becomes clear when one examines age-specific participation rates by sex which were obtained for rural areas in only three states in 1951—Mysore, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. In Table 1, we present age-specific participation rates for the rural areas of these three states for 1951 and 1961. For males,

TABLE 1

PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE AND SEX IN 1951 AND 1961: MYSORE, UTTAR PRADESH AND WEST BENGAL (RURAL)

(All rates per thousand of relevant population)

Age		*0-15*	*15-34*	*35-59*	*60+*
Males					
Mysore	1951	33	597	877	762
	1961	136	944	979	800
Uttar Pradesh	1951	65	918	978	868
	1961	93	917	983	880
West Bengal	1951	50	709	942	898
	1961	58	862	953	737
Females					
Mysore	1951	13	142	237	154
	1961	96	598	624	271
Uttar Pradesh	1951	33	400	455	252
	1961	41	288	347	209
West Bengal	1951	10	121	217	184
	1961	15	178	199	88

NOTES: The estimates for 1961 are from COI, 1961, Volume I, India, Part II-B (i), General Economic Tables, Delhi, 1965, pp 96-99. The 1951 estimates are from COI, 1951, Paper No. 3, Economic Classes by Age Groups, Uttar Pradesh, New Delhi, 1956; Paper No 4, Economic Classes by Age Groups, Mysore, New Delhi, 1956; and Paper No. 5 Economic Classes by Age Groups, West Bengal, Delhi, 1957. In each of these three volumes we have used Tables I, II and III and have divided the age group 55 to 64 into two equal parts: 55-59 and 60-64.

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[16] The share of agriculture in the female work force rose from 82 to 86 per cent between 1951 and 1961, and the CPR for females rose from 23 to 28 per cent.

the rates are higher in 1961 than in 1951 in West Bengal and Mysore, and about the same in Uttar Pradesh. The rates for Mysore in 1961 in particular appear very much higher than in 1951. For females, the 1961 rates appear substantially higher than the 1951 rates in the case of West Bengal and Mysore; and substantially lower in the case of Uttar Pradesh.

In the absence of specific participation rates for the other states it would be unwise to attempt to "correct" the 1951 rates—which certainly seem too low for males aged 15-34 in rural West Bengal and rural Mysore[17] An examination of the CPRs in 1951 and 1961 indicates that male CPRs rose in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madras, Mysore and Orissa and declined moderately in Gujarat, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Female CPRs rose sharply in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra and Mysore, but declined in Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

CRUDE PARTICIPATION RATES BY SEX FOR INDIA AND THE STATES (PER THOUSAND OF POPULATION) IN 1911, 1951 AND 1961

State	*Males*			*Females*		
	1911	*1951*	*1961*	*1911*	*1951*	*1961*
Andhra Pradesh	625	526	622	416	212	413
Assam	621	544	543	390	307	318
Bihar	625	491	556	347	207	271
Gujarat	586	517	535	300	280	279
Kerala	536	467	472	280	181	197
Madhya Pradesh	647	604	602	479	379	440
Madras	606	457	597	365	127	313
Maharashtra	625	568	571	398	333	381
Mysore	549	496	584	253	181	320
Orissa	606	563	608	304	188	266
Punjab	601	549	529	119	172	142
Rajasthan	635	595	581	454	383	359
Uttar Pradesh	651	597	582	333	236	181
West Bengal	629	542	540	188	116	94
India	620	543	571	399	233	280

SOURCE: COI, 1961, Paper No. 1 of 1967, pp. 26-33.

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[17] Alice Thorner reaches the same conclusion: "Because of the poor quality of the 1951 figures, the percentages calculated from the two censuses cannot usefully be put together to form series " See Alice Thorner, "How to Use the 1961 Census Working Force Data," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 5 November 1966, p. 500. She rightly condemns attempts by Sinha and others to exclude the figures for Andhra Pradesh, Madras and Mysore as a way of restoring comparability by "an arithmetical exercise and not a statistical exploit." See also J.N. Sinha, "Comparability of 1961 and 1951 Census Economic Data," *Artha Vijnana*, Vol 6, No. 4, December 1964, espl. pp. 275-76.

TABLE 3
CRUDE PARTICIPATION RATES AND THE PROPORTION OF POPULATION OF WORKING AGE, 1901-61

	Male population		*Female population*	
	of working age (15-59) %	*at work* %	*of working age (15-59)* %	*at work* %
1901	56.2	60.8	56.5	31.7
1911	56.3	61.9	56.4	33.8
1921	55.6	60.2	55.5	32.6
1931	56.1	58.1	55.8	27.7
1951	57.4	53.4	56.3	23.2
1961	53.6	57.1	52.0	28.0

NOTES: The CPRs are obtained from Census data after adjustments were made by the author; the proportions of population of working age were obtained from COI, 1961, Paper 2 of 1963, Age Tables, Delhi, 1963, p. 39.

In the absence of adequate information on age specific participation rates prior to 1961, one must resort to speculation and make judgments. Between 1911 and 1961, the proportion of the population aged 15-59 declined from 56.3 to 53.6 per cent, while the CPR fell from 60.6 to 57.1 per cent. At the same time, literacy increased significantly and so too the proportion of urban-based population. The declining proportion of work-agers, rising literacy and urbanization would "explain" the *direction* of the change (in this case decline) in the CPR; the *extent* of change cannot be explained without further information, or without making further specific assumptions.[18]

The results for 1921, 1931 and 1951 can be regarded as not fitting in with the 1911-61 picture. A comparison at the state level of changes in CPRs over the period would fit in with this conjecture. As a practical rule, one should depend more on 1911, 1961 comparisons of work force data for males, than on the data for other years or for females.

The definition of economic activity used in the Censuses of 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1951 is essentially that of the "gainfully occupied population." This is defined as follows:

> The "gainful worker" approach is based on the idea that each person has a more or less stable functional role, as a bread winner following a gainful occupation or as a housewife, student, retired pensioner, etc., and this role

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[18] Sinha shows that 85 per cent of the decline in the male CPR and 65 per cent of the decline in the female CPR between 1911 and 1961 can by "explained" by changes in age-structure and rural-urban residence. See J.N. Sinha, "The Indian Working Force—Its Growth and Changing Composition," COI, 1961, Vol. I, Monograph 11, New Delhi, 1972, p. 21.

> is to some extent, *independent of his activity at any given time.* The economically active population is enumerated by asking each individual to state his occupation and tabulations are made by selecting those whose occupations come within the concept of gainful work [Emphasis added].[19]

While, this was the approach, what was the criterion for being a gainful worker—income or work? In the Censuses of 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931 it was work, but some cases were included where income was earned without work, e.g., from rent or pensions; in 1951, the criterion was income, including imputed income. Thus in concept all these censuses had a gainful worker approach with work and/or income as the criterion; but work without explicit income, and income without work were specifically included.

The 1961 Census concept of the economically active population partly embodies the labour force approach, based on "the principle of enumerating the economically active population on the basis of each individual's activities during a stated brief time interval. . . ."[20] This means that what is enumerated is the *current*, not the *usual* occupation of the individual. This approach is superior in that recall lapses are unlikely, but the results would be highly sensitive to seasonal and sporadic influences, resulting in non-comparability.

In the case of trade, professions, business, etc., the 1961 Census had a fifteen-day reference period, i.e., a current status approach. In the case of most other activities it had an usual status approach, mainly relating to the period of the previous year. The criterion of economic activity was unambiguously work, and persons obtaining income without work were excluded.

So far we have discussed only the concept of economic activity which determines the size of the economically active population in any particular census. This is relevant to our purpose, since the size of this working force is intimately linked with its structure. Variations in the coverage of the economically active population almost invariably affects the economic characteristics of the population covered. For example, a narrow definition of economic activity would exclude unpaid family workers, thereby reducing the number of agricultural workers enumerated, while its effect on the size of the industrial work force might be rather small.

The changes we have indicated in the concept of economic activity between 1901 and 1961 do not require major corrective measures to ensure comparability provided we restrict our analysis to the male work force. By and large, figures of "actual workers" in 1901, 1911 and 1921, of "earners" plus "working dependants" in 1931, of "self-supporting persons" plus "earning dependants" in 1951 and of "workers" in 1961 can be compared provided we constantly keep in mind the limitations indicated in this section.

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[19] U.N., *Application of International Standards to Census Data on the Economically Active Population*, New York, 1951, p. 5.

[20] U.N., *op. cit.*

THE NATURE OF WORK

While there are a great many possible ways of classifying the economically active population, two of special interest to economists, are the industrial and the occupational distribution of population. In the former, the attempt is to place each individual in the *branch of economic activity* in which he works. In the latter, each individual is categorized according to the *type of work* he performs. For instance, a bus driver working in an electricity undertaking has electricity production as his industry and transport as his occupation.[21] In a developed economy the distinction between industry and occupation is relevant; in an underdeveloped economy, it has meaning only for an organized industry or service. In Indian censuses the distinction between the industry and the occupation has never been very precise, and the two terms were treated as synonymous. Only in the 1961 Census is it possible to obtain separate figures by industry and by occupation. For our purpose, the failure to distinguish clearly between industry and occupation is not a serious shortcoming.

A more serious problem is that makers of goods are not always clearly separated from sellers.[22] This is not a simple reporting error: it reflects the realities of an underdeveloped economy in which making and selling often go together. For instance, a milkman often "makes" and sells his product, and the village cobbler may manufacture, sell and repair shoes

A variety of classifications of branches of economic activity have been used in the different censuses, but as each classification is sufficiently detailed, it is possible to aggregate the data into a broader classification.

Consider in each case the most detailed level of the classification. In 1891 and 1901, when a classificatory scheme devised by the then Census Commissioner was used, there were 478 and 520 "natural groups" respectively; in 1911, 1921 and 1931, when variants of the international classification evolved by Bertillion were used, the number of "groups" lay between 169 and 191; in the 1951 Census, when the Indian Census Economic Classification was used, there were 217 "groups," and in the 1961 Census, when the Indian Standard Industrial Classification (ISIC)—which closely follows the present internationally accepted classification—was used, there were 343 "minor groups." However, we could take the 45 "major groups" of the 1961 classification and recast, with a fair degree of precision, the data available in the earlier censuses for 169 to 520 detailed rubrics among these 45 broad rubrics. This has been done by the Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner for 1961, in the "Comparative Chart of Economic (Industrial) Classifications: 1901-1961."[23] These estimates for 1901-61 relate to the principal occupation of each worker. We need to ensure that in each census the principal occupation was defined in the same way.

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[21] This example is based on the one given by Clark. See Colin Clark, *Conditions of Economic Progress* (3rd Edn.), London, 1957, p 495.

[22] This is a serious problem with the reclassified 1901 data where "makers" are put in manufacture, "sellers" in trade, but "makers and sellers" are all added to manufacture. The subsequent census classifications clearly distinguish between makers and sellers.

The 1901 Census did not explicitly define the principal occupation, but that subsidiary occupation on which the worker spent the most time was to be noted as his secondary occupation. In the Censuses of 1911 and 1921 the subsidiary (secondary) occupation of "actual workers" was determined on the basis of income. The principal occupation was that which provided the largest single source of income and the secondary, that which provided the second largest single source of income. But secondary occupations were tabulated *only* if the secondary source of income was agriculture. In the 1931 Census, relative income continued to be the criterion for distinguishing between the principal and the secondary occupation of "earners"; but for "working dependants," only the principal occupation was recorded. Hence the secondary occupation of all members of the work force was not recorded. Similarly in 1951, the secondary occupation was recorded only for a "self-supporting person." For an "earning dependant," the occupation of the person upon whom he was dependant was described as his principal occupation; the occupation which he followed and which perhaps gave him more income, was termed his secondary occupation Therefore, only one occupation actually practised by the "earning dependant" was recorded; it was described as his secondary occupation, although it was actually his principal one. In the 1961 Census, principal work was distinguished from secondary work, on the basis of the time spent on each. Principal work was the work on which the time spent was more than on any other work. But if *both* the principal and the secondary work were in different branches of household industry; or if both were in industry, professions, trade or service, the secondary occupation was not recorded. This meant that the secondary occupation was not always recorded.

For the entire period 1901-61, it is impossible to obtain a series for secondary occupations like the series of principal occupation, for in no census were the secondary occupations of *all* workers tabulated. Further, one cannot but suspect that enumerators often found it convenient not to probe secondary occupations, thereby saving themselves much effort.[24]

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[23] COI, 1961, Vol. I, India, Part II-B (i), Delhi, 1965, Appendix II For some minor groups, and for some sets of minor groups, a fairly close equivalent could be found in the classificatory scheme of an earlier census. To the extent possible, this can be taken into account in the analysis of changes within broad branches of economic activity.

[24] In the 1971 Census where for the first time a great deal of emphasis was put on secondary occupations, this appears to have happened. See J. Krishnamurty, "Working Force in 1971 Census: Unilluminating 'Final' Results," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Special No., August 1973, p 1511.

The absence of a series for secondary occupations does vitiate to some extent the series for principal occupations. Applying the 1961 concepts implies the elimination from the recorded work force of earlier censuses of all persons with "unproductive" occupations We should, however, have added in again those among them who had productive secondary occupations, classifying them on the basis of their secondary occupations. This cannot be done consistently as, secondary occupations were not comprehensively recorded. For 1951, this adjustment, can be made, but only for self-supporting persons living off rent from land. As the number of persons engaged in unproductive principal occupations was never very large any resulting inconsistency or incompleteness is not serious.

A much more serious problem relates specifically to the Census of 1951. In the case of "earning dependants," data on their own occupations (described as their secondary occupation) were collected and tabulated at a very high level of aggregation, being divided among only 8 livelihood classes. Distributing these figures among the 45 major groups of the 1961 scheme is very difficult. It was pointed out earlier, that as long as the original classification is sufficiently detailed, reclassification can usually be done at a somewhat higher degree of aggregation. In this case, breaking down 8 livelihood classes into 45 major groups involves making assumptions which cannot be adequately substantiated.

Two kinds of solutions to this problem exist. One may use evidence relating to "self-supporting persons" in 1951, or workers in 1931, or workers in 1961, to allocate "earning dependants" within each of the eight livelihood classes according to the proportions in which "self-supporting persons" in 1951[25] or "working dependants" in 1931[26] or workers in 1961 were distributed.[27] The other approach would be to utilize the data available for three states, Mysore, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal in 1951—where earning dependants were classified in detail—making the assumption that the pattern of their distribution *within* each of the livelihood classes was similar in all the other states, and therefore in India as a whole.

The latter approach seems superior, since (*i*) "earning dependants" of 1951 include persons receiving income in cash or kind while "working dependants" of 1931 do not; (*ii*) an "earning dependant" of 1951 need not necessarily be a "family worker" of 1961—he could earn a wage inadequate for his support; (*iii*) the results for the three states for 1951 use the same concept ("earning dependant") which they classify in detail. Of course, the results of the three states may not be fully representative of the 1951 all-India pattern but at least they relate (*a*) to the same concepts and (*b*) to the same year.[28]

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[25] This method was adopted by V.N. Kothari in "Long Term Trends in the Employment Pattern in India," *Indian Economic Journal*, April 1960.

[26] This method was followed by the Planning Commission in "Occupational Pattern of the Indian Union" (unpublished).

[27] Kalra adopts this method in COI, 1961, Volume I, India, Part II-B (i), Delhi, 1965, Annexure III, Explanatory Note.

While accepting the estimates prepared at the Registrar General's office,[29] some important changes are necessary in the treatment of 1951 earning dependants in Livelihood Class (LC) VIII.

TABLE 4

A COMPARISON ON LIVELIHOOD CLASSES IN 1951 AND DIVISIONS AND MAJOR GROUPS IN 1961

S. No.	*1951* *Livelihood Classes (LCs)*	*1961* *Divisions/Categories*	*(MGs)* *Major Groups*
1. I	: Cultivation of land wholly or mainly owned and	Category I: Cultivators	—
II	: Cultivation of land wholly or mainly unowned		
2. III	: Cultivating labourers	Category II: Agricultural labourers	—
3. IV	: Rent on agricultural land	—	—
4. V	: Production other than cultivation	Divisions 0, 1, 2 and 3	01-04; 10; 20-39
5. VI	: Commerce	Divisions 6	60-69
6. VII	: Transport	Division 7 (except MG 72-73)	70-71
7. VIII	: Other services and miscellaneous sources	Divisions 4, 5, 8 (and MG 72-73)	40; 50-51; 72-73; 80-89

The procedure followed by the Registrar General's office is outlined below:

(*i*) The earning dependants (EDs) of Livelihood Class V (LC.V) of 1951 were distributed among the major groups (MGs) of Divisions 0-3 of the 1961 classification on the same pattern as family workers *plus* household workers were actually distributed in 1961, among the MGs of these three Divisions.

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[28] Modified forms of this approach have been used by Alice Thorner in "Secular Trend of the Indian Economy, 1881-1951," *Economic Weekly*, July 1962, Special Number; by B.R. Kalra in COI, 1961, Paper I, 1962, Appendix I; and by J.N. Sinha in *The Indian Working Force*.

[29] The data were taken from COI, 1961, Volume I, India, Part II-B (i), General Economic Tables (Delhi 1965); CO', 1961, Paper No. 1, 1967, (Delhi 1968) and from some unpublished tables made available by the Registrar General's office In addition, a number of figures were obtained by applying the conversion schemes of the RG's office on raw census data.

(*ii*) The EDs of LC. VI of 1951 were distributed among the MGs of Division 6 of the 1961 classification on the same pattern as family workers were actually distributed in 1961, among the MGs of the Division;

(*iii*) The EDs of LC. VII of 1951 were distributed between MGs 70 and 71 in the same way as family workers in 1961 were distributed between the two MGs.

(*iv*) The EDs of LC. VIII of 1951 were distributed among the MGs of Divisions 4, 5, 8, 9 and MGs 72 and 73 on the same pattern as family workers were actually distributed in 1961 among these MGs. In these calculations MGs 89 and 90 were pooled and regarded as one MG.

Regarding item 4, Sinha has shown that this procedure places far too many earning dependants in personal services; we therefore prefer Sinha's method of distributing the Eds of LC VIII on the basis of the sample evidence for three states in 1951.[30]

While we would have preferred using the sample evidence for all the LCs (i e. V, VI, VII and VIII), on grounds of convenience we have followed Sinha in using the RG's office procedure for LCs V, VI and VII—where the alternative procedure would not have made a difference—and using Sinha's own procedure in respect of LC VIII.

A fundamental issue involved in determining the industrial distribution of the working force between 1901 and 1961 is the problem of specifying the industrial affiliation of a significant proportion of workers in each and every census during this period. First, there are cases of lack of specification: "general labour" (in the Censuses of 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931); "uncertain or unreturned" (in the Census of 1901); and "activities unspecified or not elsewhere described" (in the Census of 1961). The rubrics attached, taken by themselves, do not indicate the probable industrial affiliations of these workers; they merely state the failure to classify by industrial affiliation. The second set of cases relate to those where the rubrics indicate only a broad industrial affiliation or set of affiliations: "contractors otherwise unspecified" (in 1901); "manufacturers, businessmen and contractors otherwise unspecified" (in 1911, 1921 and 1931); "cashiers, accountants, book-keepers, clerks and other employees in unspecified offices, warehouses and shops" (in 1911,

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[30] Sinha points out that an unduly large number of family workers in 1961 were reported under personal services (MG 88). This, he argues, conflicts sharply with the evidence on the distribution of EDs in 1951 in Mysore, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, which suggest much lower proportions in MG 88. Also, since domestic servants cannot be family workers and since many workers in other personal services are likely to have been employees or single workers, the proportion of family workers recorded in 1961 in MG 88 ought to have been much lower than the recorded level. For details and a fuller presentation of the argument, see Sinha, *The Indian Working Force*, pp. 11-12.

1921 and 1931); and "mechanics not elsewhere specified" (in 1911, 1921 and 1931). In the third set of cases, of wrong specification, we have only one example, "services not elsewhere classified" (in 1901, 1951 and 1961). This looks like a case of inadequate specification, but is really a case of wrong specification. In many tables prepared by the office of the Registrar General, this category is included in services, unlike the other categories (of no specification and of inadequate specification) which are generally not included in the conventional branches of economic activity, but instead are listed individually and separately.[31] As Alice Thorner convincingly argues[32] "services not elsewhere classified" replaces the category "general labour" present in the earlier censuses but abolished in 1951. All cases of lack of specification—irrespective of the broad branch of economic activity to which they might have belonged—were probably lumped together in 1951 under "services not elsewhere classified."

The different types of unspecified workers taken together formed, a significant part of working force. In 1901, they constituted 8 per cent of working force; in 1911 and 1921, 4 per cent; in 1931, 6 per cent; in 1951, 3 per cent; and in 1961, 4 per cent. A procedure has to be devised for allocating the unspecified between the different branches of economic activity.

The simplest procedure would be to distribute the unspecified *pro rata* among all the categories of the industrial classification.[33] But there is no basis for believing that the specification problem exists in all branches of economic activity. Another simple solution is to keep some or all the unspecified as a distinct category and not add them to one or more of the branches of economic activity. But since the unspecified are a significant segment of the work force, this does not solve the problem of interpreting changes in shares of the specified sectors.[34] A more realistic procedure would be to allocate the different groups of unspecified workers among certain specific industrial groups, based on some judgment regarding which unspecified item is likely to belong to which branch of economic activity.

In cases of inadequate specification, there is little difficulty in finding the appropriate activities to which the figures of "inadequately specified" may be added, though some element of arbitrariness is involved in allocating persons within each activity. But in cases of no specification, or of wrong specification, the problem is more serious. Two important cases are of "general labour" (no specification) and "services not elsewhere classified" (wrong specification). In some estimates both these unspecified elements have been added to services[35]; in others both to agriculture.[36]

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[31] The Planning Commission and Kalra (in his 1962 version) add "services not elsewhere classified" to services; Alice Thorner and Kothari add it to agriculture; Sinha adds it to general labour (in 1901) and to Division 9 (activities unspecified) in 1961. For 1951, he keeps it as a separate category. See Planning Commission, *op. cit.*, Kalra in COI, 1961, Paper No. 1 of 1962, Appendix I; Alice Thorner, *op. cit.*, Kothari, *op. cit* , and J.N. Sinha, *The Indian Working Force*, pp. 40-41.

[32] See Alice Thorner, *op. cit.*

[33] For example, Kalra in COI, 1961, Paper No. 1, 1962, Delhi, 1962, Appendix I.

[34] For example, J.N. Sinha, *The Indian Working Force*, p. 41.

The following allocation procedure appears to be the most appropriate and I have as far as possible applied it to all data on the working force.[37]

ALLOCATION PROCEDURE

Items	*Procedure of allocation*
1. General labour, services now eleswhere classified and services unspecified.	Distributed *pro rata* among the following: "Agricultural labour," "Construction," "Community services and trade and labour associations," "Religious and welfare services," "Recreation services" and "Personal services."
2. Contractors otherwise unspecified.	Added to "Construction."
3. Mechanics otherwise unspecified.	Distributed *pro rata* among the major groups of "Manufacturing."
4. (*a*) Manufacturers, businessmen and contractors otherwise unspecified and (*b*) cashiers, accountants, book-keepers and other employees in unspecified offices, warehouses and shops.	Distributed *pro rata* among the major groups of "Manufacturing" and "Trade and Commerce."

Each of these allocation processes was performed on the data at the major group level, exclusive in each case of all unspecified. The allocations were done separately for males and females, and for each major group or division the resulting figures for males and females were added together to obtain estimates for persons In the data for the states, while figures for Item 1 were provided separately, figures for other items had already been included in the totals for the different activities. This would affect our results for 1911, 1921 and 1931, since Items 3 and 4 occur only in those censuses, while Item 2, which appears only in the 1901 Census, is irrelevant since we do not use figures for 1901 for the states. It was not possible to obtain the detailed figures for these three items from the office of the Registrar General, nor was it possible to estimate them directly from the raw data, as the territorial adjustments made in obtaining the state level estimates were not known to us.

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[35] For example, Kothari, *op. cit.*

[36] For example, Alice Thorner, *op. cit.*

[37] In the data for individual states this has not been possible to the full extent (as I shall explain in the next paragraph). The results of my analysis will be presented in a monograph: "The Indian Work Force: Trends in its Size and Distribution since 1901" (under preparation). Also see footnote 41 below.

Item 1 consists of workers who cannot be fitted into watertight economic compartments because of the nature of their work: they perform a variety of jobs over the year, cutting across sectoral demarcations.[38] The best way of reallocating this category is to isolate those branches where jobs or types of work are difficult to specify, and where it is difficult to get work throughout the year. It is wrong to distribute unspecified workers *pro rata* among all activities[39] when there is no reason for believing that in actual practice workers are so distributed. To add Item 1 to agriculture or to services alone seems inappropriate I have therefore distributed the unspecified in Item 1 between agricultural labour, construction and certain major groups (83, 86, 87 and 88) of services. This seems superior to the technique of *pro rata* distribution or of adding this item to agriculture or services alone.[40]

Contractors otherwise unspecified is a small item which occurs only in the 1901 Census. This was added to construction, but it would have made little difference if we had distributed it in some other way.

Mechanics otherwise unspecified was added to manufacturing and distributed *pro rata* between the different major groups. This seems a fairly obvious procedure to follow, though of course, some of these unspecified mechanics may have been in activities like transport or construction. In the state level data they had already been distributed proportionately between manufacturing, construction, electricity, gas, etc., trade and commerce, transport, storage and communications and other services.

Item 4 covers a heterogeneous collection of inadequately specified workers. Most of these workers probably belong to manufacturing or trade and commerce. Some might even belong to storage or construction or services. But it would not be unrealistic to distribute this item among the major groups of manufacturing and trade and commerce. This procedure was followed as a rough approximation. In the state-level data, Item 4(a) had already been distributed proportionately between manufacturing, construction, trade and commerce and electricity, etc. In this case, the procedures for the state and the national data turn out to be much the same. In Item 4(b) the procedure followed for the state data was the same as that for Item 3.

[38] "Among the great class of landless labourers, the means of livelihood changes with season and the same man may be at one time a field labourer, at another an earth digger, and again a porter, salt petre worker, paddy husker, palki-bearer, firewood collector, etc." COI, 1901, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1903, p. 189.

[39] Kalra does this for "general labour" of 1901-31. See COI, Paper No. 1, 1962, p. 392.

[40] The CSO followed a somewhat similar procedure, though they distribute the unspecified only between construction and certain components of the services sector. See Central Statistical Organization, *National Income Statistics: Proposals for a Revised Series of National Income Estimates for 1955-56 to 1959-60*, New Delhi, 1961, p 5. The evidence of the 1961 Census shows that over 20 per cent of persons returned under "services (not elsewhere classified)" and "activities not adequately described," were from urban areas. It is unlikely that many of these were engaged in agriculture.

One further limitation of the data used for 1911, 1921 and 1931 for the Indian states is their high degree of aggregation. Apart from not giving separately figures for each unspecified element, the data do not permit a detailed analysis of employment in manufacturing since the 19 major groups of manufacturing (in the Indian Standard Industrial Classification) have been aggregated into four broad groups. This difficulty has been partially overcome by recalculating the data for 1911 (a fairly normal year) from the original census reports for some states. But for most of the other branches of activity, the categories used correspond to the major groups of the I.S.I.C.

The mass of economic data collected in the Censuses of 1901 to 1961 can be put into a meaningful form and used for comparative analysis. The changes in the concept of work have not been so substantial as to render the data worthless, nor yet have the continuous changes in the classification of the nature of work created insuperable problems. As with all historical material, corrections, adjustments, reallocations—all essential for comparability over time—tend to be imprecise and subject to a number of limitations and qualifications.

At the same time, census data have the merit of being available at a great deal of disaggregation: it is possible to produce comparable time series for 1901-61 for many districts or sets of districts in India as for individual states and the nation as a whole. By making further adjustments, similar series have been constructed for Pakistan, Bangladesh, and West Punjab for the period 1901-51.[41]

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[41] See my chapter, "Occupation," in Dharma Kumar (Ed.), *Cambridge Economic History of India*, Vol. II (forthcoming); also "The Distribution of the Indian Working Force: 1901-1951" in Clive Dewey (Ed.), *Studies in Economic and Social History* (forthcoming).

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Land as "Patrimony": Nationalist Response to Immigrant Labour Demands for Land in the Early Twentieth Century Sri Lanka

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I

Land was a sphere in which the economic manifestations of a colonial situation could be revealed with a high degree of visibility. Colonial Sri Lanka[1] was no exception. The growth of plantation agriculture under the British Raj (1796-1948) necessarily entailed the transfer of land from the traditional bases to new elements. Whether the alienation of land under the legal enactments which collectively became known as the Waste Lands Ordinances took place with legal or ethical propriety is a moot question here.[2] Equally, the controversial question whether the enforcement of the laws had a disastrous effect on the rural economy or not need not detain us.[3] The crucial factor is the existence of a sense of loss of land among the peasantry. That this grievance was felt from the beginning of the development of plantations in the 1830s, there is now little doubt But it remained dormant and unarticulated—the occasional petition of a peasant to a district official could not have had an impact on the official mind.[4] It was with the emergence of the nationalist movement at the turn of the nineteenth century that the peasant grievance over land began to be articulated and a public platform found.

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[1] With the adoption of the new constitution in 1972, Sri Lanka was substituted for Ceylon as the country's official name. The events discussed in the present paper of course occurred prior to the change in name but the name Sri Lanka will be used, excepting where Ceylon appears in the name of an organization or group.

[2] There were several Waste Lands Ordinances enacted by the British and of these the principal ones are those of 1840 and 1897. The central controversy over the legislation is concerned with the question, whether the Crown's presumption to land with no "legal title" as defined by law was legally or ethically correct in the light of the traditional pattern of landholding in the country. For a recent survey of the ordinances and their implementation see Michael Roberts, "Land Problems and Policies, c. 1832 to 1900," *History of Ceylon, Vol. III: From the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century to 1948*, ed., K.M. de Silva, Colombo, University of Ceylon Press Board, 1973, pp. 119-45. This volume will be cited hereafter as *UCHC.*

[3] On this see Michael Roberts, "The Impact of the Waste Lands Legislation and the Growth of Plantations on the Techniques of Paddy Cultivation in British Ceylon: A Critique," *Modern Ceylon Studies*, I, 1970, pp. 157-98.

At a first glance, the nationalist movement, as it evolved initially, could hardly have been the proper agitational vehicle for peasant problems. The movement was largely led by urban-based individuals and they of course were not intimately acquainted with the consequences of the working out of the Waste Lands Ordinances—indeed, the initial leadership in the agitation came not from the Kandyan provinces which had the greatest reason to make an outcry but from the Corea family and the Chilaw Association based on a region which had only marginally suffered by the legislation. The nationalists were also not perturbed by the fact that some among them had actually benefited from the Waste Lands Ordinances—this was especially true of the *noveau riche*, who had no base on land to start with but who had later invested in land, not only in urban property but also most conspicuously in plantations which had swallowed up by far the greater part of the land taken over by the Crown under the laws.[5] The agitation always smacked of the paternalism so characteristic of the English-educated *elite* who formed the leadership,[6] and, as some critics thought it fit to point out, the airing of the land problem did not lead to a deep and abiding engrossment with the lot of the peasantry on the part of the leaders.[7] Quite clearly, the land problem was looked upon by the nationalists as a useful stick to beat the colonial government with but over the years there was a noticeable shift in their perspective. Their primary concern still remained constitutional advancement and the eventual transfer of power from the British to their own hands but there was increasing realization within the leadership that political development had to be accompanied, indeed preceded, by improvements in the well-being of the people in general.[8] To many nationalists, the desired improvements could be brought about only by focussing on what they deemed to be the crucially important issue, land; as E.W. Perera put it, "all the demonstrable problems of a country are inextricably bound up with the ownership and possession of land."[9] It is doubtful whether in championing the cause of the peasants these men thought of them in terms of a potential clientele in the future, for they were yet to be committed either to a mass-based political agitation or a full democratization of the system of government. At the same time, the taking up of the problems of the peasantry should be viewed in the light of the continuing and sharpening conflict that developed between the nationalists and the colonial government on the question of constitutional advancement: after all, the nationalists were constantly faced with the jibe of the officials that they were a "microscopic" element unrepresentative of the mass of the people in the colony.[10]

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[4] It has been popularly held in Sri Lanka that the loss of land was a key factor among the causes that led to the "Rebellion" of 1848, the greatest threat the British faced during their rule in the country. Recent studies, however, have shown that while there was a sense of grievance on the question of land among those who joined the rebellion, the grievance itself did not openly surface as a cause. See K.M. de Silva, ed., *Letters on Ceylon, 1846-50: The Administration of Viscount Torrington and the 'Rebellion' of 1848*, Kandy, K.V.G. de Silva, 1965, Introduction, *passim*. On petitions and the colonial government procedure in dealing with them see L.A. Wickremaratne, "The Rulers and the Ruled in Ceylon: A Study of the Functions of Petitions," *Modern Ceylon Studies*, I, 1970, pp. 213-32.

[5] See for example the case of the *karāva* new *elite* in Michael Roberts, "The Rise of the Karava," *Ceylon Studies Seminar*, 1968-69 series, no. 5, mimeographed paper.

[6] Any examination of the proceedings of the Ceylon National Congress, the premier national political organization of the period, would reveal this. See, for example, speech of R.H. de Mel in 1923 reported in S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, ed., *The Handbook of the Ceylon National Congress, 1919-1928*, Colombo, H.W. Cave & Co , 1928, pp. 575-76. This work will be cited hereafter as *Handbook CNC*.

[7] See for example, W.A. de Silva, "Public Opinion and National Progress in Ceylon," *Ceylon National Review*, January 1908, pp. 75-80; A.K. Coomaraswamy, "The Village Community and National Progress," *Ceylon National Review*, August 1908, pp. 249-60; and R. Chelvadurai-Proctor, "The Ceylon Peasantry," *Tropical Agriculturist*, XLIII, 1914, p. 174.

By the time the nationalists took up the cause with greater zeal, they were quite convinced that the land problem of the peasants had reached a crisis level. It was their unshaken belief that there was an endemic landlessness in rural areas. They were firmly convinced that the cause of this landlessness was the growth of plantations. The nationalists, almost to a body,[11] argued that the takeover of the so-called "waste lands" and the eventual alienation of such lands to investors by the Crown resulted in the hemming in of the villages by tea, rubber and coconut plantations without room for expansion. Land in the vicinity of the villages which had been traditionally used for pasture or for *chena*[12] and which should have been legitimately recognized as appurtenances of the primary holdings, too, had been removed from the hands of the peasants under the government policy. Far worse, this was a process which was yet to see its end, for land held by the Crown was continuously being alienated. By this period the government land policy had so evolved that the initiative in alienation of land fell upon the individual.[13] This, as the nationalists pointed out, effectively meant that the man with capital benefited and alienation inevitably embraced large tracts of land; the "small man" was deliberately kept out. The peasants were not only losing what should have been legitimately theirs when their numbers expanded but also their hold over the very land they were cultivating was becoming increasingly tenuous. It was no easy task to prove the "legality" of peasant holdings and, as the nationalists saw it, when disputes arose between the Crown and an individual over title. the latter was easily persuaded to sell out to a capitalist who, it was felt, would be capable of proving the claim against the Crown. There was alienation of land because of poverty, too. A government-appointed committee reported that land which when "settled" (i.e., title being established) would be valued at over Rs 100 per acre was being sold for Rs 5 or less on account of debts which the peasants had incurred and to the nationalists this alone was ample testimony to the misery that the government was causing with its land policy.[14]

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[8] See, for example, the Ceylon National Congress presidential addresses, by D.B. Jayatilake for 1923-24 and by W.A. de Silva for 1927-28 in *Handbook CNC*, pp. 577-78 and 892-94 respectively.

[9] *Handbook CNC*, pp. 754-55.

[10] On the nationalist movement of the period under review see K.M. de Silva, "The Reform and Nationalist Movement in the Early Twentieth Century," in *UCHC*, pp. 381-407.

[11] The literature on this is enormous. See, for example, the speeches of the elected representatives in the legislature of the colony (*Hansard* [Legislative Council], 1923, 681 & 688-89; 1926, III, 1467; and 1927, III, 425 & 1425), the addresses of the presidents of the Ceylon National Congress (*Handbook CNC*, pp. 688, 745-55 and 829-94) and articles in contemporary journals (for example, W.A. de Silva "The Future of Rural Agriculture in Ceylon," *Tropical Agriculturist*, XLVI, 1916, pp. 402-04).

[12] Forest land brought into cultivation by the slash and burn method.

[13] For a survey of the government land policy and changes brought about in the policy

With increasing landlessness a new image of the peasantry was being created:

> As the Land Settlement now conducted is calculated to make the village peasantry a landless proletariat, it is sure to take away all their self-respect and village solidarity and give them hardly any hope to educate their children and bring them up in useful pursuits of life.[15]

There was a noticeable drift of the rural population to plantations and to urban areas which the nationalists found greatly disturbing. The economic uncertainties of the 1920s and the economic depression of the early 1930s forcefully brought out the latent dangers of this process. The opportunity for employment then being narrowed, individuals were forced to depend more and more on their own resources and this led to increased competition for land and consequently to a shortage of land in congested areas. Where land was within easy access of these men, they were often thwarted by a new element, the "land-grabber," who bought this land and then leased it out on *ande* tenure.[16] This was not something which they desired, for "no Sinhalese cultivator will willingly be a tenant without land of his own."[17] As the

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in the first half of the twentieth century see Vijaye Samaraweera, "Land Policy and Peasant Colonization, 1914-1948." in *UCHC*, pp. 446-60.

[14] The First Interim Report of the Land Commission, *Sessional Poper* XVIII of 1927; *Hansard*, 1931, I, 24-26.

[15] "A Native Chief," "The People's Possessions," *The Sinhalese*, I, 1913, 25.

[16] Report of the Landless Villagers Committee, *Sessional Paper* VI of 1931; Report of the Executive Committee on Agriculture and Lands, *Hansard*, 1932, I, 334. *Ande*: cultivation of land by tenant on the basis of payment of ground-share.

[17] W.A. de Silva, "Some Primitive Agricultural Practices and their Significance," *Tropical Agriculturist*, XLIV, 1915, pp. 133-35.

nationalists were apt to point out, the people of Sri Lanka formed "essentially an agricultural community and it was in the cultivation of the soil that their genius at one time achieved its greatest triumphs."[18] Phrased in this fashion, the issue of landlessness was to loom even larger: debilitating the peasant by taking away his land had the effect of draining away the very resources which provided sustenance to the community at large. For, the peasantry was the "backbone" of the country and agriculture the "truly patriotic endeavour."[19] It was this perspective which led to the realization that the mere focus on the land problem was inadequate—concern then became the "preservation" of the peasantry as a "social group."[20]

In whatever way the nationalists looked upon the problems of the peasantry, they were able to clearly delineate where the battle-lines were drawn: on the one side, cast in the role of villains, were the European investors and the colonial government which provided the investors with the legal framework required for their investments in land as well as the infrastructure necessary for the development of their land, and on the other, the people of the colony. This neat division ignored a vital factor, that not all investors were European —it was the local entrepreneur, for example, who primarily purchased Crown land in the Kukulu Korale of the Sabaragamuva Province and opened up the area for rubber in the 1920s. The role the local elements were playing in land development did not entirely escape notice. There were critics like C E. Corea who saw the "educated Ceylonese class and the capitalists among them" as being "too willing to profit by the fallacy that the mere native is incapable to develop his land" and bodies like the Low Country Products Association, the organization of the Sri Lankans with interests in plantation agriculture, and the Board of Agriculture, the quasi-official body devoted to improvements in the subsistence agriculture sector, were heavily criticized for their "collusion" with the European investor and the colonial government at the expense of the peasantry.[21] Yet, in general, when the continuous expansion of "capitalist" ventures to the detriment of the original landholders of the respective regions was decried, the focus centred only on the more "visible" European investors in plantations.

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[18] S.R. Wijemanne *et al.*, *Land Policy of the Government of Ceylon Critically Examined by the Kalutara Maha Jana Sabha*, Colombo, Maha Jana Press, 1926, p. 7. The "triumphs" refer to the ancient civilization of the Sinhalese. On this see C.W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitana, *A Concise History of Ceylon*, Colombo, University of Ceylon Press, 1961.

[19] See D.S. Senanayake, *Agriculture and Patriotism*, Colombo, H.W. Cave & Co., 1935.

[20] See Hugh Clifford, "Some Reflections on the Ceylon Land Question," *Tropical Agriculturist*, LXVIII, 1927, pp. 290-92.

[21] C.E. Corea, *Communal Rights: A Letter to the Honourable Members of the Legislative Council*, Dehiwala, Pearl Press, 1916, pp. 2-20.

II

While the nationalists were increasingly being drawn to the regions where the development of plantations took place, within the plantation sector itself an important process was unfolding which was to eventually touch upon the very questions on land which the nationalists had been raising. This was the emergence of a demand among the immigrant labour population in the plantations for land outside for their use and for their settlement.

The immigrant labour force, originating in the neighbouring south India, had been a conspicuous feature of plantations from the very inception.[22] The work force was always distinguished by its migratory pattern but by the first decades of the twentieth century it was gradually taking on a new characteristic, relative stability in terms of settlement. The question when and to what extent did the Indian Tamils become "permanently settled" in Sri Lanka has been a heatedly debated one. In the 1920s, when the Indian Tamil opinion for the first time began to be articulated in the political arena, it held the point of view that, while the overall migratory pattern continued, a great majority of those who worked in the plantations looked upon the country as their home and not as their temporary work place. This was the key argument put forward by the Indian Tamil political organizations when they made claims for representation in the legislature before the Special Commission on the Constitution (Donoughmore Commission) which came to the colony in 1927 entrusted with the task of framing a new constitution.[23] The Donoughmore Commission accepted the arguments of the Indian Tamil groups and came to the conclusion that between 30 to 50 per cent of the immigrant labour in the plantations should be looked upon as permanently settled in the country.[24] The nationalists vehemently disagreed with this conclusion of the commission but it gave a tremendous boost to the Indian Tamils. Statistical data largely support the claims of the Indian Tamils. Between 1925 and 1935 there was an annual average arrival rate of 100,966 immigrants to the plantation sector from south India and an annual average departure rate of 82,378. This gives an annual average balance of immigration of 18,588, a figure which would confirm that the migratory pattern subsisted unchanged; of those who immigrated only a part, albeit insignificant in number, remained within the country.[25] This data, however, should be placed against the total resident Indian Tamil population in the plantations, which averaged annually 685,003 for the period,[26] and then it becomes evident that a significant portion of the population did not ordinarily come within the migratory pattern. This group of course cannot be arbitrarily classified as "permanently settled" but neither is it realistic to ignore it and take only the balance of immigration to determine the changes in the immigrant labour population.

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[22] The full history of Indian Tamil immigration to Sri Lanka has yet to be written. Two recent studies have examined the early phases of the immigration to the plantations: K.M. de Silva, "Indian Immigration to Ceylon—the First Phase, c. 1840-1855," *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, IV, 1961, pp. 106-37; Michael Roberts, "Indian Estate Labour in Ceylon during the Coffee Period, 1830-1880," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, III, 1961, pp. 1-52, 101-30

[23] See evidence of the Ceylon Indian Association before the commission as reported in *The Ceylon Indian*, 27 November 1927, p. 3.

[24] *Report of the Special Commission on the (Ceylon) Constitution*, Cmd. 3131: H.M.S.O., 1928, p. 94.

The changes in the migratory pattern should be tied to another important development which was taking place among the plantation workers, the tendency towards stability in terms of their work place. To the Jackson Commission on Immigration into Ceylon, which investigated the immigrant workers both within and without the plantations sector in 1938, the most striking feature of the plantation labour was its "more settled character" in contrast to earlier times.[27] Jackson attributed two principal reasons for this change. Firstly, there was the abolition of the *tundu* system in 1921, a system which had enabled *kanganies*[28] to transfer their labour gangs from one estate to another almost at will. Secondly, there was considerable improvement in the living conditions of the plantation labour population. The early decades of the twentieth century saw the enactment of several significant measures by the colonial government to improve and supervise the methods of recruitment of immigrant labour. Debt controlling legislation was passed in the mid-1920s. Education facilities were provided to the children of the estate workers by laws introduced in 1907 and 1920 and the Medical Wants and Diseases Ordinances, enacted in 1912, dealt with and sought improvements in the fields of housing and health and sanitation The colonial government, partly in response to the pressure exerted by the Government of India, was at last taking steps to alleviate the long neglected conditions of the workers in plantation agriculture.

Though the Jackson Commission asserted that estate workers had become less "fluid" in their movements within the country, it was unable to give precise data on this. It was, however, in a position to give a valuable pointer: the population, which always showed a high male ratio because the workers left their families behind when they emigrated, was becoming a more balanced one and by the 1920s males, females and children under the age of 16 had begun to comprise roughly one-third each of the total numbers.[29]

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[25] Computed from statistics in *Administration Report of the Commissioner of Labour*, 1951.

[26] Computed from statistics in Report of a Commission on Immigration into Ceylon, *Sessional Paper* III of 1938, p. 42.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[28] Headmen (usually appointed by the employer) of gangs of Indian Tamil immigrant labour in the plantations.

[29] *Sessional Paper* III of 1938, p. 7.

There is little doubt that the emergence of relative stability among the plantation workers formed the basis for their demand for land of their own. The demand cannot be interpreted in terms of a desire to cut themselves adrift from the plantations; rather, it could be looked upon as a reflection of vaguely conceived notions of "independence" on their part and the need felt increasingly over the years, to escape from the pressures inherent in estate life.

The legislation which the colonial government enacted in the first decades of the twentieth century undoubtedly improved the working and living conditions of those who worked in the plantations. The relative improvement, from the point of view of the emerging Indian Tamil activists, was not the criterion by which the conditions of the immigrant labour should be judged. For, as K. Natesa Aiyar, the pioneer activist, wrote in 1922, "the average plantation labour is ill-fed, ill-clad, and is in perpetual ill-health, debility, disease and moral turpitude."[30]

As articulated by the leadership, the immigrant labour dissatisfaction with their situation as plantation workers was to be focussed in particular on three areas during the period under survey. In the first place, housing and health services in the estates were woefully inadequate. The 1912 ordinance which had dealt with housing and sanitation had brought about changes but the changes took place at a pace which was hardly desirable. Statistics released in 1927 show that for a total of 733,379 resident workers and their dependants in plantations (659,482 immigrants and 73,897 locals) there were only 194,931 permanently built "rooms," out of which only 158,299 were classified as the "sanitary type" according to the requirements of the law.[31] Far more important was the eventual official recognition that the standards of housing and sanitation laid down by the law were imperfect and inadequate. The Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour, the key official concerned with the immigrant community, had in his initial enthusiasm for the law predicted that estate housing would soon be superior to rural housing but by the mid-1920s had confessed that one type of rooms suitable to one plantation would be unsuitable to another and had proceeded to condemn the "back to back" construction of rooms because they were, in his opinion, fifty years out of date in principles of housing and sanitation.[32] As regards health, the annual

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[30] K. Natesa Aiyar, *Indian Labour in Ceylon in August 1922*, Colombo, n.p., 1922, p. 2. For a discussion on Natesa Aiyar's work see V K. Jayawardena, *The Rise of the Labour Movement in Ceylon*, Durham, N.C , Duke U.P., 1972, pp 337-47.

[31] Computed from statistics in *Administration Report of the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour* for 1927, p. 18. "Sanitary type" rooms were required to have a floor area of not less than 12×1 feet, with provision for sanitation such as 40 feet of clear area and water impervious rams around each set of "lines," raised floors, ample light and ventilation, verandahs and outlets for smoke.

[32] *Administration Report of the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour* for 1925 and for 1926, pp. 11, 14 respectively.

Administration Reports of the Principal Civil Medical Officer and the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour testify that while the occurrence of epidemics was effectively controlled, the health standards did not improve in a satisfactory manner. This was perhaps best exemplified in the infant mortality rate of the population which remained higher than the national average.[33]

From the perspective of the Indian Tamil activists, the inadequacy in housing conditions was not the only feature which needed to be condemned. There was an equally important point which had to be highlighted: since the housing was provided by the employers, the workers had no legal rights over their dwellings. This meant that if the service of a worker was terminated, it entailed not only the loss of employment but also the loss of home and this was a threat which constantly hung over his head because estate employees had no security of employment. Furthermore, when a worker was evicted from his rooms, he received no compensation for the crops he had grown in the plot of land assigned to him.[34] Thus, the issue of housing and sanitation took a larger dimension and gave rise to vehement criticism by the Indian Tamil leadership.[35]

Secondly, the plantation workers were finding the control exercised by their employers over their lives increasingly irksome. The employers were responsible, by law and by necessity of circumstances, for the welfare and discipline of those who worked for them and this in effect meant the interference with their lives in the non-working hours as well. "Their humble joys and sorrows," George R. Motha, a prominent Indian Tamil activist, was to record later, "cannot be enjoyed or be borne without some form of external restraint inevitable to the barrack conditions of their lives."[36] The unsatisfactory environment was especially evident in two ways. Firstly, the workers lacked the total freedom for socialization within the plantation, for any visits to their rooms were subject to the sufferance of the employer; since within estates distinct caste and kinship patterns existed, this would have been particularly galling.[37] Socializing of the workers with outsiders was subject to even greater restraints: "loiters" and "trespassers" in estates could be dealt with under the Penal Code. That the control with outsiders was most effective, the incipient plantation trade unions were to soon find out.[38] Secondly, there was the absence of recreation within the plantations. A compiler of a *guide* for estate employers strongly endorsed the actions of some estates in the staging of "occasional concerts, magic lantern shows in order to afford recreation and enjoyment to their labour force"[39] but what success such measures achieved is not known and the paucity of recreational facilities continued to cause grave concern to the Indian Tamil activists over these years.[40]

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[33] For example, the figures recorded in 1924 for the Indian Tamil population was an infant mortality rate of 247 for 1,000 births whereas the national figure was 186 for 1,000 births. *Administration Report of the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour* for 1924, p. 6. For a discussion of sickness among the Indian Tamils and its causes see Sir Marcus Fernando's public lecture on "The Economic Life of an Estate Labourer" as reported in *Ceylon Daily News*, 15 November 1924.

[34] G. St. J. Orde Brown, *Labour Conditions in Ceylon, Mauritius and Malaya*, Cmd. 6423: H.M.S O , 1943, pp 21-23; George R. Motha, "Memorandum on the Franchise and Citizenship Rights of Indians Submitted to the Soulbury Commission on Constitutional Reform," 28 February-1945, p. 56, typescript in the possession of Michael Roberts of University of Adelaide, Australia.

I am indebted to Roberts for generously allowing me the use of his collection of Memorials and Memoranda of Indian Associations in Sri Lanka, 1927-45, and the George R. Motha documents.

[35] See Natesa Aiyar, *Indian Labour in Ceylon*, pp. 14-15 and K. Thiagaraja Chettiar, *Indian Emigration on the Estates: A Report*, Srirangam, Sri Vani Vilas Press, 1917, pp. 1-3.

[36] George R. Motha, "The Significance of the Knavesmire Incident," typescript. n.d., p. 2, Roberts Collection. See also St. Nihal Singh, "Indians on Ceylon Plantations," *Indian Review*, XXXI, 1930, pp. 76-78 and L. Sundaram, "Indian Labour in Ceylon," *International Labour Review*, XXII, 1931, p. 383.

The unhealthy environment of plantation life was to be highlighted in an issue which developed in the late 1920s: "The Demon of Drink on Estates."[41] The indifference of the employers in providing proper facilities for the workers and the government's drive for higher revenues from liquor without regard for the social impact of drink were held responsible by the activists for the problem. The juxtaposition of two statements by one writer is revealing in the context: "A few estates have water taps. The Ceylon Government has kindly provided almost every estate with an arrack tavern near."[42] The issue came to a head in 1928 when the government-appointed Excise Commission recommended that the estate population be excluded from voting at local options held in nearby villages.[43] The commission thus gave expression to the fears that the villagers would be swamped by estate voters at local options; to *The Ceylon Indian* it was a case of "discrimination between estate labourers and others in the matter of innate aptitude for vice."[44]

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[37] See Thiagaraja Chettiar, *Indian Emigration*, p. 14 and *Report of the Commission on the Conditions of Immigrant Indian Labour in the Planting District of the Province of Sabaragamuwa*, Colombo, Government Printer, 1916 On the social organization of the Indian Tamils in the plantations see R. Jayaraman, "Caste and Kinship in a Ceylon Tea Estate," *Economic Weekly*, XVI, 1965, pp 393-97.

[38] Jayawardena, *Labour Movement in Ceylon*, p). 22, 333

[39] S.E N. Nicholas, *Estate Labour and Legal Guide*, Colombo, C.A.C. Press, 1929, p. 18.

[40] Motha, "Memorandum on the Franchise and Citizenship Rights of Indians," p. 57.

[41] Title of the editorial of *The Ceylon Indian*, 1 April 1928, p 2. The nature of the drink problem is brought out in *Report and Proceedings of the Labour Commission, 1908*, Colombo, Government Printer, 1908.

[42] Thiagaraja Chettiar, *Indian Emigration*, p. 4.

[43] Report of the Excise Commission, *Sessional Paper* VI of 1928, pp. 4-6.

[44] *The Ceylon Indian*, 1 April 1928, p. 2.

In the third place, despite the alleged improvements in their working conditions, the immigrant worker in the plantations was finding it increasingly difficult to sustain himself and his dependents with the wages he received. In addition to the wage the workers received free dry rations (principally rice, salt and dried fish) but it was apparent that these did not help to offset the difficulty. An official inquiry into the relationship between wages and the cost of living brought out these facts forcefully.[45] In response to the agitation of the Indian Tamil activists, a Minimum Wages Ordinance was enacted in 1927 for the plantation sector. This was a concrete achievement but two years were to lapse before the new law was brought into force. By that time the economic depression had come and whatever economic gains the estate workers could have realized on the basis of the law were greatly nullified. Despite the vehement protests of the activists and the intervention of the Government of India, there were three consecutive reductions in the minimum wage rates during the depression years and these undoubtedly brought about increased hardships for the immigrant labour population.[46]

The estate worker had from the beginning received a small plot of land adjacent to his dwelling and it was hoped that this would be utilized by him to supplement the estate rations. These plots of land were usually converted for the growing of vegetables or for poultry raising. That a great deal of importance was attached to these was reflected in the statement in an official report that estate superintendents believed that "the possession of garden plots made their labour force more settled."[47] Clearly, by the period under review, these meagre plots of land had failed to satisfy the needs of the workers. Contemporary records reveal that there was a distinct and growing demand among the Indian Tamils for land outside the estates. The Sanderson Committee estimated in 1910 that about 10 per cent of the immigrant population had acquired small holdings outside the plantations with their accumulated savings.[48] Two decades later, the official committee which inquired into the Kelani Valley Reserve was impressed with the demand for land in the reserve made by the workers in the neighbouring estates.[49] In the intervening period, in response to the demands for land, some plantations had begun to lease unutilized land belonging to them to Indian Tamils for their use. These were equally used as additional sources of sustenance in terms of food and for the construction of new dwellings. In either case, the acquiring of land anew did not lead to a formal break with their dependence on plantations as the primary source of living.[50]

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[45] See *Sessional Paper* XXXI of 1923.

[46] The effects of the depression on the Indian Tamil population in the plantations have been discussed in detail in Jayawardena, *Labour Movement in Ceylon*, pp. 347-54.

[47] Report of an Inquiry into the Relationship between Wages and Cost of Living of Estate Labourers, *Sessional Paper* XXXI of 1923, p. 4.

[48] *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates*, Cmd. 5192: H.M.S.O., 1912, para. 130.

[49] *Sessional Paper* XXII of 1933, p. 5.

The value of land for the immigrant population was highlighted by the developments which took place during the First World War. Rice formed the crucial part of the rations provided to the estate workers and the supplies were usually obtained from Burma and India.[51] War conditions affected the supplies. The provision of rations was by law the responsibility of the employers and to overcome the problem, those with interests in the plantation sector began to urge the inducement of the workers to engage in paddy cultivation. Since the land which could be used for this purpose in the plantation regions was limited, the focus shifted to the north central area of the colony (then known as the "dry zone"), an area which at one time flourished but which by then had been long neglected. Various proposals were made for the development of the dry zone—ranging from the floating of companies by estates to the allocation of freehold plots to immigrant workers[52]—but, with the resumption of peace and the normalizing of supplies, the interest of the plantation sector in this matter waned. In the years that followed, suggestions continued to be made for the use of the dry zone area by the plantations for paddy cultivation but no concrete steps were ever taken. Thus, one direction in which the demand for land of the Indian Tamils could have been realized was not properly explored.

III

By the late 1920s the colonial government was sufficiently moved by the demands made for land by the Indian Tamils to consider seriously the adoption of a proposal of the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour that Crown land in the neighbourhood of plantations be leased to them without compensation for their settlement and for the establishment of "gardens." The Executive Council, which discussed the proposal, came to the conclusion that the government should grant preferential leases to the estates up to 1/10th of an acre per head of the labour force and that these leases should be in turn given to the worker by the estates. It was, however, felt that any action on this matter should not be taken without the sanction of the Legislative Council.[53] The approval was never sought and the idea was abandoned. It must have been abundantly clear to the government that the unofficial membership in the legislature would not consent to the adoption of this policy. For, by then the attitude of the nationalists towards the Indian Tamils on the question of land was well founded.

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[50] *Annual Report of the Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon for 1937*, New Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1937; *Tropical Agriculturist*, XLIX, 1917, pp. 185-86.

[51] Nicholas, *Estate and Labour Guide*, p. 21; S.E.N. Nicholas, *Planter's Handbook: Labour in Ceylon*, Colombo, H.W. Cave & Co., 1926, pp. 135-48.

[52] See, for example, A.W. Bevan, "The Extension of Paddy Cultivation," *Tropical Agriculturist*, XLII, 1914, pp. 42-44; S. Swaminathan, "A Few Suggestions on Agricultural Improvement," *Ceylon Economist*, I, 1919, pp. 32-35; Nicholas, *Estate Labour and Legal Guide*, p. 21.

The nationalists had a distinct image of the immigrant worker and this long-enduring image was summed up in the oft-used expression, "birds of passage." The Indian Tamils, so the argument ran, never had an "abiding" interest in Sri Lanka and if any settlement took place it was not based on a conscious decision based on a love for the country but by sheer force of circumstances. Witness the declaration of D.S. Senanayake in 1926 that the Indian Tamils "do not come to Ceylon to settle down permanently though some of them in fact do so in certain events."[54] The conclusion which was to be drawn from this thinking was obvious: that legitimately the Indian Tamils could have no right over land in Sri Lanka.

From the perspective of the nationalists, the Indian Tamils were also tainted by the role they played in the development of the plantation sector which had so disastrously affected rural Sri Lanka:

> With the money they [capitalists] improve the lands and with the labour that is imported for them, they take away the bread of the people of the country and also the lands belonging to them.[55]

In statements like this there lay the feeling that had not the immigrant worker arrived in the country, the plantations would not have developed. For, as it was proudly insisted upon time and again, the peasant in the island rejected work in the plantations in favour of the preservation of his integrity and his age-old traditions; had the peasant become an "estate cooly," it would have been a "national calamity."[56] As George R. Motha, the Indian Tamil activist, was to reflect on statements such as these, "the poor Indian estate labourer is viewed as having been an instrument and an abetter through whose help the Britishers managed to develop those lands and to continue as a profitable proposition the planting industries of the island."[57]

Hostility was directed towards the Indian Tamils on other grounds as well. "Because of the numerous enactments brought into force by the colonial government with the plantation worker in mind, there gained widely the impression that he had become "a specially privileged man, enjoying privileges and security and regularity of employment that the indigenous labourer in other industries does not enjoy."[58] The nationalists could point to a measure like the Medical Wants and Diseases Ordinance and argue that while the government was spending considerable attention and money on the plantation worker, the rural population's health and sanitary needs were being ignored.[59] When a Public Health Scheme was proposed to supersede the Medical Wants and Diseases Ordinance, it ran into heavy opposition of the nationalists because they believed that the new measure, like the previous one, would benefit only the plantation workers to the exclusion of the peasantry.[60] They could also take an example like the importation of rice into the country and argue that this took place only because of the requirements of the estate population, which meant that the resources of Sri Lanka were being devoted to the welfare of a restricted group.[61] D.S. Senanayake epitomized the thinking of the nationalists wheh he claimed that the colonial government was expending, in a fashion "direct and indirect, central and local," the sum of over one and a half million rupees annually to the exclusive good of the Indian Tamils.[62]

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[53] Executive Council Minutes, 7 June 1927, CNA 2/134, Department of National Archives, Gangodawila, Sri Lanka.

[54] Senanayake's Dissent to the Report of Committee on Immigration of Indian Labour, *Sessional Paper* XII of 1926, p. 10.

[55] D.S. Senanayake as reported in *Hansard* [Legislative Council], 1926, III, p. 1467.

[56] B.H. Aluvihare, *Matale 1936 to 1937*, Colombo, Tom Davidson, n.d., p. 23.

[57] Motha, "Memorandum on the Franchise and Citizenship Rights of Indians," p. 51.

It should perhaps be pointed out that the hostility towards the Indian Tamils was not always manifest among the nationalists. In fact, in the early years of the nationalist movement, the leadership took a public position of concern for the welfare of the immigrant worker and a rejection of the anti-Indian Tamil sentiments voiced by certain elements within the country.[63] In the 1920s, with the land issue looming increasingly large in the eyes of the leadership, there was a distinct change in attitude. The change was no better illustrated than over the question of franchise brought to the fore by the Donoughmore Commission. Donoughmore proposed that the right to vote should be given to all adults with five years residence in Sri Lanka. This was rejected by the nationalists on the ground that it would lead to the inclusion in the rolls of Indian Tamils who had no permanent interest in the country; consequence of this would be the "swamping" of the votes of the original inhabitants and it was they, and not the immigrants, who should control the affairs pertaining to the respective areas (land being invariably mentioned as one of the key subjects).[64] The pressure exerted by the leadership was successful and the criterion was changed to "domicile."[65] The growing alienation from the Indian Tamils was also exemplified in the developments which took place in the incipient trade union movement in the colony. In the early 1920s, Indian Tamil activists like Natesa Aiyar had joined hands with the pioneer trade unionist A.E. Goonasinha to fight for the welfare of all labour on a common basis but by the later years of the decade; this tentative alliance had broken down and the plantation trade unionism had become isolated from the mainstream of trade union activity.[66]

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[58] H.J. Temple, *Ceylon Plantation Labour Problems*, Colombo, Times of Ceylon Co., 1943, p. 18.

[59] Aluvihare, *Matale*, p. 8.

[60] Report of the Committee on Medical Wants Ordinance and the Diseases (Labourers) Ordinance, *Sessional Paper* XXI of 1930, p. 8.

[61] G V. Wickremasekere, "A Survey of Recent Works on Agriculture," *Tropical Agriculturist*, LXXVIII, 1932 p. 211.

[62] *Sessional Paper* XII of 1926, p. 8.

[63] See especially the resolutions adopted at the First Sessions of 1919 and the Special Session of 1920 of the Ceylon National Congress in *Handbook CNC*, pp. 212-13 and 276.

Quite clearly the climate had changed and the time had come for the nationalists to specifically focus on the people of the land and champion the causes concerning them: after all, as Senanayake argued in the legislature, they were the first inhabitants and not the Indian Tamil worker.[67]

The focussing on the Sri Lankans was of course amply reflected in the nationalist agitation over land. The legitimacy of Indian Tamil claims for land was refuted. At the height of the concern over food supply during the war years—indeed, even in the subsequent period—there was the occasional nationalist who was willing to support the proposals put forward for the development of the dry zone with the assistance of the immigrant worker[68] but by and large, any concession to the Indian Tamils was vehemently opposed.[69] Increasingly, the agitation over land was to move from what could be determined as a negative posture to a positive one: "the right to acquire Crown land should be restricted to the indigenous population."[70] Underlying this new position was a very important principle, a principle which if adopted by the colonial government would have led to a revolutionary change in the framework within which policy decisions pertaining to land had been carried out from the beginning of British Rule. The principle was that land held in the hands of the Crown was the "patrimony" of the people and that, consequently, the Crown was functioning in the role of a "trustee." This perspective became the dominant theme when the nationalists began to carry out a struggle for a re-apprisal of the government land policy. The agitation was not based solely on sentiment and emotion; reference was made not only to the customs and traditional law of Sri Lanka but also to the whole gamut of English and colonial law.[71] The agitation was remarkably successful and in 1926 the government accepted the point of view of the nationalists with the declaration that "lands are vested in the Crown, not as private property, but as a trustee for the public."[72]

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[64] For a representative view of this position, expressed even before the arrival of the Donoughmore Commission in the colony, see J.A. Halangoda, "Our Rights for Special Consideration in the Reconstruction of the Empire after the War," *The Journal of the Kandyan Association*, I, 1918, pp. 94-96.

[65] See S. Namasivayam, *The Legislatures of Ceylon, 1928-1948*, London, Faber and Faber, 1951, pp. 50ff.

[66] See Jayawardena, *Labour Movement in Ceylon*, pp. 341-42.

[67] *Hansard*, 1933, III, 2452.

[68] See, for example, K. Balasingham, *Food Production*, Colombo, W.E. Bastian & Co., n.d., p. 89; S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, *The Spinning Wheel and the Paddy Field*, Colombo, H.W. Cave & Co., 1933, pp. 84-85.

[69] See, for example, D.S. Corlett, "Tropical Agriculture and Irrigation," *Tropical Agriculturist*, XLVI, 1916, p. 40; "Our Food Supply," *The Kandyan*, I, 1918, pp. 42-43; S.R. Wijemanne, *The Production of Food Stuffs: How can Government Encourage it?*, Colombo, C.D.N. Press. 1919.

[70] Wijemanne, *Land Policy of the Government of Ceylon*, p. 3.

The adoption of the "trusteeship" principle by the government, however, did not mean that it was willing to immediately concede that land held in its hands should be devoted to the exclusive use of the local population. The officials responded to the call for a re-apprisal of the land policy with a determination to search for an "equitable" balance between the requirements of the peasants and of other groups, including the European investor and the immigrant worker. As events turned out, this proved to be a futile effort. In 1927 the government formally announced the creation of a commission of inquiry—the Land Commission—to review the policy then followed as well as to recommend new guidelines for future action.[73] The composition of the membership of the commission was significant On the one hand, there were representatives from the nationalist leadership—in fact, at one point or another a total of fifteen elected members of the Legislative Council served on it—and on the other, there were the "experts," the key officials who had been concerned with land administration, among whom numbered several who were by then well known for their sympathies with the aspirations of the landless peasant. The commission made an exhaustive study of the subject for a period of over two years and made wide-ranging and far-reaching recommendations. As the basis of its recommendations, it accepted the principle that "Crown land is held in trust by the government for the whole community inhabiting this Island, that community which exists at present as well as generations yet unborn"[74] and made the express conclusion that the preservation of the peasantry as a social group should govern the formulation of land policy. Crown land, it required, should be "mapped out" so that the diverse needs of the society and the government could be dealt with, the needs of the peasants of course being given priority. In the actual alienation, only after the requirements of the peasantry were satisfied was land to be given to other groups. Most significantly, when land was to be granted for settlement as opposed to grants for large-scale agricultural enterprise, alienation was to be strictly confined to "Ceylonese."

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[71] See, for example, A.A. Wickremasinghe, *Land Tenure of the Kandyan Provinces*, Colombo, Maha Jana Press, 1924.

[72] Solicitor-General's speech, *Hansard* [Legislative Council], 1926, I, p. 275.

[73] The work of the Land Commission has been examined in detail in Samaraweera "Land Policy and Peasant Colonization," in *UCHC*, pp. 446-60.

[74] *Hansard*, 1931, I, p. 26.

The stipulation on "Ceylonese" and the definition of the term was done in a seemingly innocuous manner. Referring to the grants to the "middle-class," the category whose needs had to be satisfied first after the peasantry was dealt with, the commission recommended that alienation be confined to "Ceylonese" middle-class and by "Ceylonese," it was added parenthetically, "we mean Sinhalese, Ceylon Tamils, Burghers, Ceylon Moormen, Ceylon Malays, and Europeans domiciled in Ceylon, *i.e.* who have adopted Ceylon as their home."[75] The purpose of the careful enumeration of the ethnic groups who would be classified as "Ceylonese" was amply clear: the exclusion of the Indian Tamils.

The Indian Tamil reaction to the recommendations of the Land Commission was predictable. As a backdrop to the reaction two important factors should be noted. Firstly, there lay the often—indeed, aggresively—put forward claim by the Indian Tamils about the role they played in the economic development of Sri Lanka. Representative of this was the editorial declaration of the principal Indian Tamil organ, *The Ceylon Indian*, that the immigrant labour "form the bulk of that labour which has turned the forests of Lanka into smiling, prosperous plantations of tea, rubber, cocoa and coconut."[76] Secondly, there was the strong consciousness of the role they played during the war years: it was they who sustained the "essential" industries in the plantation sector and by continuing to provide labour, they prevented the diversion of local labour to the estates from the vital food cultivation programme of the government.[77]

In reacting to the Land Commission recommendations, the Indian Tamil activists made a prompt reference to the formula which appeared in *The Annual General Reports for Ceylon* that "Indians enjoy in Ceylon all the political and legal rights enjoyed by other races" and argued that the Land Commission was seeking to nullify this position with its proposals. *The Ceylon Indian* came to the conclusion that the exclusion of the Indian Tamils from the definition of "Ceylonese" was due to the fact that there were no representatives of the community in the membership of the commission, thereby easily allowing the nationalist members to pressure the rest to accept their point of view. It then added:

> the Commissioners should have known that there are innumerable Indian families in Ceylon, the younger generation of which do not know as much of India as the name of the villages from which their ancestors hailed nor

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[75] *Sessional Paper* II of 1928, p. 6.

[76] *The Ceylon Indian*, 6 November 1927, p. 4.

[77] See Temple, *Ceylon Plantation Labour Problems*, pp. 16-17.

> the language which their ancestors spoke. Such Indians will according to international law and according to all sense of justice be regarded as Ceylonese and entitled to all the rights and privileges of Ceylonese citizenship.[78]

This was a stance which was to be taken up again when the Land Development Ordinance of 1935 gave force of law to the main recommendations of the Land Commission, and indeed it formed the basis upon which the community fought the numerous discriminatory measures enacted under the auspices of the nationalists in the coming years. The Ceylon Indian Association, which was perhaps the most representative organization of the immigrant labour at this time, took the case before the Land Commission. The Agent for the Government of India in Sri Lanka, who was then functioning as the watchdog of the interests and welfare of those who immigrated from India, also found the recommendations most objectionable and became closely associated with the delegation of the Ceylon Indian Association which sought to move the Land Commission to give consideration to the land needs of the Indian Tamils. These representations were to be of no avail.[79]

IV

In the period intervening between the reporting of the Land Commission and the implementation of its recommendations through legislation, a momentous change occurred in the constitutional structure of Sri Lanka. The Donoughmore Constitution was enacted in 1931 and with it the formulation and implementation of policy on land passed from the hands of the British to local politicians. This is significant, for had the British officials continued to control the land policy, it is unlikely that they would have strictly adhered to the recommendation of the Land Commission and acted to the prejudice of the immigrant community.[80] The nationalists who now inherited power and who worked in a distinctively anti-Indian Tamil climate, had no reservations about the legitimacy of the Land Commission's position and there was little doubt that they would implement the recommendations at the first opportunity. In fact, they did not await the formal legislation. The Executive Committee of Agriculture and Land, within whose purview land administration now came, effectively introduced most of the recommendations of the Land Commission through executive action and the land policy became heavily oriented towards the peasant and the Indian Tamil found no place in it.[81]

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[78] *The Ceylon Indian*, 27 February 1928, p. 4; 15 July 1928, p. 3.

[79] *Ibid.*, 15 July 1928, p. 6; "Draft of a Memorandum (of the Ceylon Indian Association)," typescript, n d. (1927), p. 6, Roberts Collection.

[80] See Decisions of Government on the Recommendations made in the Final Report of the Land Commission, *Sessional Paper* XXXV of 1929.

Meanwhile, the Land Development Ordinance was having a long gestation period in the new State Council. It was introduced by D.S. Senanayake in his capacity as the Minister and Chairman of the Executive Committee of Agriculture and Land and became law only two years later. The objectives of the bill were explained by Senanayake in his introductory speech: firstly, to provide for a systematic development of Crown land by the Sri Lankans and secondly, to establish a suitable tenure for the alienation of Crown land.[82] The bill was subjected to a lively debate and a few amendments were accepted during its passage in the legislature but it finally emerged as law very much in its original form.

The Indian Tamil representatives in the State Council could not quarrel with the general tone and tenor of the bill. However, the bill had incorporated the Land Commission recommendation that land alienation be confined to "Ceylonese" and the definition now adopted of the term, too, effectively ruled out the Indian Tamil community from receiving land grants. The new definition stipulated "domicile of origin" and if this definition was followed, according to the interpretation given by the Attorney-General during the committee stage of the bill, only a child of a Sri Lanka-born third generation Indian Tamil parents would become eligible for land.[83] The argument which was put forward against the acceptance of this definition had by then become familiar: as put by I.X. Pereira, "There is a large number of people, both British and British Indian subjects, who have been settled here for generations and it will not be fair to exclude this class of persons from this definition."[84] The re-definition called for by the Indian Tamil activists, within and without the State Council, was that "domicile of choice" be added to the criterion of "domicile of origin." This was rejected by Senanayake as well as his Executive Committee. The position they took was embodied in the Governor's reply to the protests of the Ceylon Indian Association and it is worth quoting it *in extenso*:

> The definition in the Bill in question has reference to alienation of Crown Land in certain special cases to peasantry and small holders on a restricted tenure. It is intended that in these cases grantees should be enabled to get land preferentially and without compensation and that such preferential treatment should be limited to members of the permanent population. It is to secure this intention that the definition of "middle class Ceylonese" insists

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[81] *Hansard*, 1932, I, 335-38 and 690-91; 1934, I, 981.
[82] *Ibid.*, 1934, I, 537.
[83] *Ibid.*, 1934, III, 2835-36.
[84] *Ibid.*, 1933, III, 2479.

> on Ceylon domicile of origin and to omit this requirement would defeat the intention.[85]

The definition remained in the bill to become law.

The manifest failure of the Indian Tamils to change the provision of the new law is explicable. Within the State Council they had two elected members, Peri Sundaram (Hatton) and S.P. Vytilingam (Talawakelle) and a nominated member, I.X. Pereira. The voice of these men carried little weight in the chamber. Moreover, on this issue only the experienced I.X. Pereira made a striking intervention in the course of the debates on behalf of the community; the two elected members were hardly heard. There was little support from other members. A.E. Goonasinha, who had once worked in close cooperation with Indian Tamil activists in the field of trade unionism, now took, perhaps in response to the anti-Indian Tamil sentiments which had found favour with the urban workers, a virulently anti-immigrant worker stance and whole-heartedly supported the bill.[86] The Sri Lankan Tamils, who had by then broken away from the Sinhalese-dominated nationalist movement to carry out a separate agitation for constitutional advancement, did not come out on the side of the Indian Tamils, either. The only noteworthy contribution on behalf of the Indian Tamil position came from S. Natesan (Kankesanturai) [87] The Land Development Ordinance had its critics but on the question of the definition of "Ceylonese" the great majority of the membership of the State Council was undoubtedly behind Senanayake and his committee. G.C.S. Corea's (Chilaw) declaration that "we do not want our land to be shared by everybody"[88] was perhaps the proper indicator of the mood of the legislature at the time.

Apart from the perspective taken by the Indian Tamils, the enactment of a system of land alienation largely to the benefit of the peasantry was questioned on other grounds. The peasantry was always looked upon by Europeans who came to the colony as "innately lazy." Indeed, this had become a cliche and organizations like the European Association of Ceylon doubted the wisdom of the State Council placing the trust on the peasantry to develop the land which would fall into their hands with the new scheme.[89] This was a theme which was to be reiterated, so much so that in the ensuing years the nationalist leadership had to constantly assert that the peasant "laziness" was a "myth" and that available evidence would confirm their predilection for physical labour[90] Interestingly, the Indian Tamils, who never ceased their agitation against the provisions of the Land Development Ordinance, tended to exploit the very perspective which pervaded the outlook of the Europeans in continuing their demands for land: as the Ceylon Indian Congress, which superseded the Ceylon Indian Association as the principal political organization of the community with its formation in 1939, repeatedly argued, land should be given to the immigrant workers because they were "first-rate agriculturists."[91]

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[85] Quoted in *Memorandum on Indo-Ceylon Relations of the Ceylon Indian Congress*, 20 October 1940, pp. 19-20, Roberts Collection.

[86] *Hansard*, 1934, III, 341-42.

[87] *Ibid.*, 1934, III, 2847-51.

[88] *Ibid.*, 1933, III, 2419.

[89] *The European Association of Ceylon Quarterly Bulletin*, I. 1927, pp. 31-33 and 41-49.

In the years following the passage of the Land Development Ordinance, the Indian Tamil activists continued their agitation for land by refining their earlier positions. The role played by the immigrant worker in the economy of Sri Lanka was constantly brought into focus and it was pleaded that this should have entitled the Indian Tamils to receive land from the Crown. As the Indian Mercantile Chamber stated in 1945, "Indians have been completely excluded from the benefits of this legislation and it lends a touch of poignancy to this deliberate exclusion when it is remembered that the Indian labourers have made no mean contribution to the development of the soil of the island."[92] It was also argued that some among the immigrant population, especially those children of the workers who had availed themselves of the educational facilities, were emerging from the condition of "dependent wage-earner" and that other avenues should be provided for their sustenance.[93] Official support was lent to this view when the Controller of Immigrant Labour declared that education had produced the type of individual who will not be content with the occupation of his parents and "avenues of promotion must be secured to him whereby his legitimate aspirations could be fulfilled and not diverted into channels of discontent."[94] In the third place, the pressure inherent in estate life was continuously brought forward to press the case for land for the plantation workers. "A village home or a town home and some form of free social life in a community of one's own choice, however limited such choice be," George Motha once argued, "is essential for normal human beings "[95] Here, too, there was backing from official sources. Major Orde Brown, for example, in his investigations into the conditions of the plantation workers in Sri Lanka on behalf of the Colonial Office amply documented the pressures to which the worker was subjected to by living in estates.[96]

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[90] See, for example, editorial, *Dinamina* 16 June 1942.

[91] *Memorandum on Indo-Ceylon Relations*, pp. 9-10.

[92] "Memorandum Submitted to the Commission on Constitutional Reform by the Indian Mercantile Chamber of Ceylon," typescript, January 1945, pp 10-11, Roberts Collection.

[93] *Memorandum on Indo-Ceylon Relations*, pp. 9-10; "Memorandum on the Franchise and Citizenship Rights," pp. 35-36.

[94] *Administration Report of the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour for 1939*, pp. 11.

[95] Motha, "Significance of the Knavesmire Incident," p. 1.

[96] Orde Brown, *Labour Conditions in Ceylon*, pp. 21-23.

The agitation of the Indian Tamil did not move the nationalist leadership who were now firmly in control of the land policy of the country. Indeed, land alienation on behalf of the peasant and to the exclusion of the immigrant worker was to take place in an increasingly conspicuous fashion in the late 1930s and the 1940s. This included the takeover by the government of tea and rubber plantations in congested areas for distribution to villagers This process, carried out under what became known as the "village expansion schemes," was to eventually lead to a showdown between the nationalist leadership and the Indian Tamil activists, for the takeover of land resulted in the eviction of the immigrant worker without compensation or alternative provision of land or occupation. This showdown, which reached its peak with the "Knavesmire Incident" of 1943, should properly form the subject of a separate study.[97]

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[97] The present writer is engaged in examining in detail the conflicts which arose between the nationalist leadership in the State Council and the Indian Tamils over the measures adopted under the Village Expansion Schemes.

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Rents and Forms of Tenancy in Birbhum since the Permanent Settlement

KARUNA MOY MUKERJI

This paper broadly examines the different types of landed interests in Birbhum district, West Bengal that grew and existed from the Permanent Settlement in 1793 to its abolition in 1953. It explains how the incidence of rents continued to increase over time and indicates the incidence of average rent per acre at different levels in the hierarchical tenure-cum-tenancy structure of the district. It also discusses (*a*) the incidence of produce rent, (*b*) rent as a proportion of the value of produce, and (*c*) rent as a proportion of the cost of production.

CLASSIFICATION OF TENANTS ACCORDING TO THE MODE OF PAYMENT OF RENT

Tenures and tenancies[1] in Birbhum district and, in fact, for most parts of West Bengal up to the Zamindari abolition could be classified into different categories on the basis of mode of payment of rent. The amounts or rates of rent and the methods of payment of such rent were, as will be seen later, important elements in the determination of the status and privileges of the tenants.

The figures of Table 1 reveal the relative position in those days of the different categories of landed interests, such as proprietors, tenure-holders, *raiyats* and under-*raiyats* of the district. We may add[2] that the largest category, in terms of area held by tenure-holders, was the class that was both permanent and at fixed rent. This class included the *patni* tenures[3] below whom were created the *dar-patni, se-patni,* and *cahar-patni* tenures in successive order. The next in extent were the rent-free tenure-holders. Cash rent was virtually universal; tenures on produce rent, or a combination of cash and kind, were negligible.

Among tenants of the *raiyat* class, settled or occupancy *raiyats* represented

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[1] Three broad categories of tenants were recognized under the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885: (*i*) tenure-holders, including under-tenure holders, (*ii*) *raiyats*, and (*iii*) under-*raiyats*. A *raiyat* originally meant the actual cultivator.

[2] For what follows vide source mentioned in Table 1.

[3] A *patni* tenure was permanent, transferable, hereditary, assessed at a rent fixed in perpetuity, and was recognized by *Patni* Taluk Act (Regulation VIII of 1819). Vide Karuna Mukerji, *Land Reforms*, Calcutta, 1952, pp. 66 and 68.

57.29 per cent of the total right holders and 73.64 per cent of the *raiyati* holders in the district. Of these settled *raiyats*, again, a little over half were on cash rents. The preponderance of the settled *raiyats* (with hereditary and transferable rights) was deemed to be at once the effect and the justification of the tenancy legislations undertaken from time to time (as in 1885, 1928, and 1938) to safeguard the interest of the cultivators.[4]

Under-*raiyats* in Birbhum were not quite as numerous as in some of the

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE AND NUMBER OF HOLDINGS AND AREA HELD BY DIFFERENT LANDED INTERESTS IN BIRBHUM DISTRICT, WEST BENGAL, 1924-32

No. in each class	*In the direct occupation of*	*No. of holdings*	*Area (acres)*	*Percentage of total holdings*	*Percentage of total area*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
1	Proprietors	14,426	55,633.20	1.81	4.99
7	Classes of tenure-holders (rent-free, fixed-rent, produce-rent paying, etc.)	93,627	163,174.09	11.76	14.43
13	Classes of *raiyats* (rent-free, fixed-rent, produce-rent paying occupancy & non-occupancy tenants)	618,998	858,252.53	77.79	76.84
1	*Raiyat* outside the record	—	17,111.88	—	1.53
5	Classes of under-*raiyats* (occupancy or non-occupancy cash or produce-rent paying)	68,637	21,326.75	8.63	2.21
27	Classes of landed interests	795,688	1,115,498.45	100.00	100.00

SOURCE: Summarized from *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Birbhum, 1924-1932*, Government of Bengal, 1937, p. 59. The position remained the same up to 1953 when the zamindari system was abolished.

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[4] Settled or occupancy *raiyats* were intended to be "protected" or "superior" tenants under provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (as amended in 1928 and 1938), inasmuch as the benefits of three F's, namely, fixity of tenure, fair rent and free transfer, were statutorily extended to them. By 1940, however, the Bengal Land Revenue Commission found the connotation of such *raiyati* interest to have changed all over Bengal, because through the continuous process of sub-letting and free (distress) transfer of occupancy right, actual cultivators (i e., *raiyats*) increasingly became landless and had to cultivate as tenants-at-will or share-croppers under transferees who were either non-cultivating land owners or money-lenders who, however, now acquired the status of occupancy *raiyats* or settled *raiyats* since this status or rights inhered in the land itself. Vide Bengal Land Revenue Commission (L.R.C.), Report, 1940, Vol. I, pp. 38-39.

districts of the then East and North Bengal and were generally confined to only one grade. Under-*raiyats* paying rents in cash and having homestead or orchard on the land were generally treated as under-*raiyats* with right of "occupancy," unless there was anything in writing to the contrary; and the rest were treated as without this right. In the case of under-*raiyats* who paid rent in the form of a *share* of the produce, there was invariably no right of occupancy; but in case the rent was paid in fixed quantity and there was permission to build a homestead, the element of permanence or right of occupancy was generally conceded to exist by custom, and the right of occupancy was recorded. From Table 1 it will appear that there were altogether 68,637 under-*raiyats* in the district forming only 8.6 per cent of the total number of right holder and covering 2.2 per cent of the total area. *Raiyats* and under-*raiyats* paying rents partly or wholly in terms of produce, taken as a whole, covered only 1.6 per cent of holdings and 1.3 per cent of the area.[5]

In 1951, the total number of service tenants (who were given rent-free lands in lieu of service they rendered to the donors) was about 9,615 with an area of 8,110.65 acres throughout the district. Of these 214 with an area of 203.09 acres were of the status of rent collectors and the rest cultivated themselves.[6]

INCIDENCE OF RENT UNDER THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

Since the time of the Permanent Settlement, various factors have been at work in the determination of the actual magnitude of rent and many of these factors have contradictory effects. The growth of population and the eagerness of the landlords to catch up to the high demands of land revenue in 1793 led to rapid extension of cultivation. This, however, had an adverse effect on the peasants' burden of rent. In the meantime, the price of agricultural produce improved, throughout the nineteenth century, although by fits and starts, so that at the turn of the twentieth century, the incidence of rent on *mokarari* (mokurari) tenancies, that is, those which enjoyed fixed rent or fixed rate of rent under the law, declined in comparison with the value of produce of the soil. But what happened to those who did not enjoy this fixity of rent? Did the real significance of rent materially change in the case of the actual tillers with an overall rise of prices during the last few decades? The question certainly demands a somewhat detailed examination of the factual position in more recent times, which we attempt below.

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[5] This does not, however, give any idea of what proportion of the total area in the district was actually *cultivated* by share-croppers paying to the landowners the customary 50 per cent share of the produce. According to *Bengal Land Revenue Commission Report*, (Vol II, pp. 118-19) 24.8 per cent of the area in Birbhūm district in 1939 was cultivated by *bargadars* (share-croppers). They were not recognized as "tenants" or "under-tenants" either by Bengal Tenancy Act or by the West Bengal Land Reforms Act, 1955. While conducting a limited survey (see Statistical Appendix: Statement 3) in the district in 1957, the present writer found such share-croppers in abundance, having had, as usual, no tenancy status or security, but paying to landowners proportions of produce which were nowhere below 50 per cent of the gross produce.

[6] *Census 1951, West Bengal, District Hand Book Birbhum, 1954,* p. 4. It may be observed that practically all types of rent-free holdings have since 1956-57 been assessed to rents (revenue) as per revised settlement and survey operations carried out under provisions of Chapter V of the West Bengal Estates Acquisition Act, 1953.

It is important to note that with growing sub-infeudation of interests in land, the burden of rent tends to increase as one goes down the ladder. It will be seen from Table 2 below that while the average incidence of *revenue* per acre in 6 *tauzis* which were surveyed was only Rs 1.2, the average incidence of *patni* rent was Rs 2.1 and of *dar-patni* rent Rs 2.4.

TABLE 2

REVENUE, *PATNI* RENT AND *DAR-PATNI* RENT IN 6 SELECTED *TAUZIS* OF BIRBHUM DISTRICT

Tauzi No.	*Total area of the estate (acres)*	*Average incidences of revenue per acre (Rs)*	*Patni area (acres)*	*Av. incidence of patni rent per acre (Rs)*	*Dar-patni area (acres)*	*Av. incidence of dar-patni rent per acre (Rs)*
26	5294 32	1.0	1229.45	1.8	71.92	2.1
37	547.46	1.8	329.30	2.8	—	—
49	1150.15	1.3	631.01	2.6	129.14	2.3
52	923.66	1.7	923 66	1.9	923.66	2.4
92	2820.59	1.3	2820.59	1.9	—	—
93	1089.54	1.3	104.56	2.9	—	—
Total	11825.72	1.2	6039.07	2.1	1124.72	2.4

SOURCE: An unpublished Survey Report by Visva-Bharati, Sriniketan Institute of Rural Reconstruction, 1950.

On the eve of the Second World War, the Bengal Land Revenue Commission[7] calculated that in Birbhum district the average incidence of cash rents per acre of *raiyati* lands was Rs 3.88[8] and of under-*raiyati* lands Rs 6.25. On the other hand, Sir M. Azizul Huque estimated in 1936-37 that the revenue, rent, and cess per acre were Rs 1.88, Rs 5.50, and 0.28 respectively in the district and the margin between revenue and rent was Rs 3.62.

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[7] *Report*, Vol. II, p 108.

[8] This is much higher than the controversial *customary rent* (at pargana rates) paid by cultivators in or about 1793, obliterated subsequently as the process of rack-renting started, and was estimated by Colebrooke at Re 1.31 and by Grant at Rs 2.19 per acre. See L.R.C., Vol. 1, Paragraph 242. Protection against arbitrary enhancement was given variously in 1859 to 1885, but it was the illegal exactions that really mattered. Vide *op. cit.*, paragraphs 25-26, 38 and 85. Also cf. Huque, *Man Behind the Plough*, Bookland, Calcutta, 1939, Chapter XX.

Huque's calculations have the merit of being more realistic. He argued that the real effective incidence of rent (and for that matter, the real burden of land revenue and cess) falls mainly on the acreage under actual cultivation. Therefore, by dividing the total gross rental by the net cultivated acreage, he showed the effective pressure of rent, etc., on an average acre of cultivated land. Obviously, according to this method of calculation, as the area under cultivation increases, the acreage incidence tends to decrease assuming other things do not change.

Now let us consider the Birbhum figures a little further. According to the Census of 1951, Birbhum had a population of 1,066,889 of which 997,896 were rural, including 868,282 agricultural, and 284,448 earning persons among the agricultural population. It is now easy to calculate the average incidence of *raiyati* rent per head of (*i*) total population, (*ii*) rural population, (*iii*) agricultural population, and (*iv*) earning persons among the agricultural population as shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

PER HEAD INCIDENCE OF RENT IN BIRBHUM DISTRICT

Per head of	*According to* (*a*) *Land Revenue Commission* (*Rs*)	*According to* (*b*) *Azizul Huque* (*Rs*)
Total population	3.22	3.66
Rural population	3.44	3.89
Agricultural population	4 00	4.66
Earning agricultural population	12.00	13.60

(*a*) *L.R.C.*, Vol. II, p. 111, column 3 divided by population figures in the above paragraph.

(*b*) Huque, *op. cit.*, p. 136, col. 3 (gross rental) divided by population figures as above.

Variations in the rates of rent are sometimes due to differences in the location as well as the quality of land under cultivation. This view is supported by observations of the author of the *Birbhum District Gazetteer*,[9] and, also, by empirical data collected more recently.[10]

The results of the survey conducted in the six selected *tauzis* of Birbhum in 1950, mentioned in Table 2 show the incidence of rent in the rent-paying *raiyati* areas which were managed directly under the zamindars, *patnidars* and *darpatnidars*, at Rs 4, Rs 3.5, and Rs 3.5 per acre respectively, while the overall average rent per acre was Rs 3.7.

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[9] *District Gazetteer*, Government of Bengal, 1910, pp. 64-65.

[10] Statistical Appendix, Statements 2 and 3 of this paper.

A later survey undertaken to measure the incidence of rents per acre and on holdings in certain parts of Birbhum district in Autumn 1956, as assessed under the new settlement and survey operations conducted during 1955-56, makes interesting reading, and gives a more up-to-date picture.[11]

A case study of 27 families in one village, and of 10 families in another, both in Bolpur Police Station of Birbhum district, was undertaken by this author in 1957, so as to find out the incidence of cash rent (and cess) per acre of *raiyati* lands, varying in accordance with the local type.[12]

The above discussion shows that it is not easy to measure the overall incidence of rent, but determine the incidence of *produce rent* is still more difficult, as official records are extremely meagre in this respect. We, however, suspect that since produce rent is a comparatively crude form of exaction generally associated with under-*raiyats* and tenants-at-will, its incidence is almost always higher than that of cash rent.

We have already noted that different classes of produce rent may be grouped under two heads: (*a*) rent paid in the form of a *fixed amount* of produce and (*b*) rent paid in the form of a *fixed share* of the produce. When the produce is shared between the owner and the cultivator in mutually agreed predetermined proportions, the risk of harvesting is also divided. But when the producer pays a fixed amount, irrespective of the actual yield, the risk is entirely his and the owner has little to do with the land except receiving a fixed amount every year. Thus, the latter form of produce rent is more in the nature of an annuity than of a dividend whose amount changes with changes in the total gross or net profit as per contract.

Produce rents do appear to be much higher in terms of incidence than cash rents. The enquiry conducted by Visva-Bharati, Sriniketan in 1950 revealed that, although the system of payment in kind was followed in a comparatively small area of 54.24 acres (in one particular *mauza*) out of a total *raiyati* area of 11,067.93 acres covered by the six *tauzis* of the enquiry, the rate at which the rent was paid was out of all proportion to the productivity of the soil and in marked contrast to the rate of cash rent. Valued at the then prevailing prices, the rate of rent in kind in this particular *mauza* worked out to about Rs 68 per acre, whereas the average rate of cash rent per acre in the same *mauza* would hardly exceed Rs 2. If at some point in the past there had not been much difference between the levels of cash rent and produce rent, it follows that the rent at that time must have been inordinately high and that with the rise in prices the *raiyat* who mostly paid cash rent must have gained greatly. Also, under the existing circumstances, the rate of rent in kind or share of produce payment would have to be drastically reduced in order to bring it on a par with the rate of cash rent.[13]

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[11] Survey made by this writer. Vide Statistical Appendix, Statements 1 and 2 of this paper.

[12] Statistical Appendix, Statement 3. We note from Table 4 that the average cash rent per acre of *raiyati* land in the district appears to have decreased from Rs 5.50 to Rs 3.88 from 1901 to 1939. From Statistical Appendix, Statement 1 of this paper, however, the variation in rent burden as between 1910 and 1955-56 is not easy to calculate, though in one or two places (Rampurhat and Suri) there was marginal decrease in average rent on "rice-land" per acre. From Statistical Appendix, Statement 3 the average incidence of cash rent and cess in 1957 came to about Rs 5.52 in one area while it was quite smaller at Rs 3.81 in another place. The conclusion appears to be that the average burden of cash rent on *raiyati* land per acre instead of increasing *pari passu* of the secular increase in the overall agricultural prices between 1901 and 1957, tended to move in the opposite direction. The real burden in such a case must, therefore, have decreased further more.

It is not easy to establish any definite relationship between the incidence of rent and the value of produce. An attempt was made by the Superintendant of Census Operations, West Bengal (1951), to correlate the two, and the result is given in Table 4.[14]

TABLE 4

VALUE OF GROSS AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE AND INCIDENCE OF *RAIYATI* CASH RENT PER ACRE IN FIVE DISTRICTS OF WEST BENGAL, 1901 & 1939

District	*Gross value of produce per acre*		*Cash rent per acre*		*Rent as % of gross value of produce per acre (approx.)*	
	1939 (Rs)	*1901 (Rs)*	*1939 (Rs)*	*1901 (Rs)*	*1939*	*1901*
Birbhum	40	30	3.88	4.50	10	15
Burdwan	41	45	3.94	4.50	10	10
Midnapore	39	40	3 94	4.50	10	11
24-Parganas	46	45	5 81	4.50	13	10
Nadia	43	40	2.44	3.00	6	8

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[13] In Midnapore district, *sanja* rent (fixed rent in kind), whose incidence calculated in terms of prices then prevailing had been in the neighbourhood of Rs 40 per acre, was commuted into cash rent as under rules of the West Bengal Estates Acquisition Act, 1953, and fixed around Rs 10 per acre on the average (since 1956-57). Presumably, a similar figure was fixed in Birbhum also at the same time.

[14] This table is constructed from data on pp. 108, 112-13 of the *Report of the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal, 1940*, Vol. II, and Letter no. 838 TR of the Govt. of Bengal to the Govt. of India, dt. 24 June 1901 (Vide *Census of India, 1951*, Vol. VI, W. Bengal, Part IA—Report, 1954. Statement IV. 14). It may be added that the rents shown in col. 5 of Table 4 as in 1901 remained fixed until the systematic survey and settlement operations commenced around or after World War I and were reduced in four out of five districts mentioned and remained the same again till 1939 (Col. 4) and thereafter. Annual time series data regarding crop prices and acreage output could show how rent varied annually during 1901 and 1939 as per cent of the value of output per acre.

It appears from the table that in comparison with the year 1901, the proportion of rent to the value of produce (at current prices) in 1939 increased in one district, remained constant in another, while it decreased in three other districts.

Sir M. Azizul Huque, however, presented a somewhat different picture for the year 1936-37, as appears from Table 5.

TABLE 5

RENT AS PERCENTAGE OF THE VALUE OF PRODUCTION (HUQUE'S ESTIMATES FOR 1936-37)

District	*Total value of crops (in '000) (Rs)*	*Present gross rental (in '000) (Rs)*	*Proportion of rent to value of produce without adjustment*	*Proportion of rent to value of produce with adjustment**
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Birbhum	17,033	3,871	23%	29%
Burdwan	15,697	10,779	69%	69%
Midnapore	40,269	11,983	30%	30%
24-Parganas	22,664	9,792	43%	43%
Nadia	24,031	5,232	22%	27%

SOURCE: Huque, *op.cit.*, p. 130, Table 52.

*Adjustment is presumably in terms of acreage under actual cultivation.

Here, of course, the proportion of rent to the gross value of crops is much higher than that shown in Table 4. We do not, however, know on what basis the value of the produce in these two cases was computed, and it is, therefore, difficult for us to explain the discrepancies.[15]

But even if we admit that the proportion of *raiyati* rent to produce is not quite so high and that this proportion must have been considerably reduced during the years immediately following 1940 as a result of the phenomenal rise of agricultural prices, it must not be overlooked that this was true only in respect of *raiyati* rent payable in *cash* as such. The under-*raiyati* cash rent was considerably higher than the *raiyati* rent and the value of rent paid in *kind* also went up appreciably as the price of agricultural produce increased.

A similar picture emerges if we compare rent as a proportion of the total cost of production. Table 6 is a statement of the average rent of different types paid by rural families in the district of Birbhum in 1950.

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[15] While Huque's figures relate to the year 1936-37, those of Table 4 presumably relate to the year 1939 when the general price level ruled higher. Even so, the proportion of rent to the value of produce shown in Table 5 is so much higher than that in Table 4, that we cannot explain the difference by reference to the price factor alone.

TABLE 6

NATURE OF TENANCY AND INCIDENCE OF CASH RENTS

Nature of tenancy	*Incidence of cash rent (per acre)*	
	Rs-a-p	
Mokarari (*mokurari*)	2-14-6	(Rs 2.91)
Raiyati	4- 1-3	(Rs 4.08)
Under-*raiyati*	10- 6-0	(Rs 10-37)

SOURCE: Unpublished data derived from a sample survey of 207 agricultural holdings in 17 villages of 11 police stations of Birbhum district conducted in 1950 by the Institute of Rural Reconstruction, Sriniketan, Visva-Bharati.

On the basis of the above figures, we can assess the importance of rent as an item in the cost of production of crops. Both *mokarari* and *raiyati* rents undoubtedly bear a smaller proportion than under-*raiyati* rents to the total costs. An enquiry conducted in 1933-34 in this part of Birbhum revealed that rent and cess together accounted for 13.8 per cent of the total cost of production of paddy.[16] The relative importance of rent as an item of cost has since come down quite appreciably, for while the rate of rent has remained almost unchanged, other items of cost have steeply risen in money value. This conclusion, however, does not hold good in the case of contractual rent paid by tenants-at-will or rent paid in the form of some fixed amount or a share of produce. To the extent the tenancy-at-will existed or/and the rent was paid in kind, the benefit of lower *raiyati* rent failed to reach the actual tiller of the soil.

CONCLUSIONS

The Permanent Settlement of 1793 in Bengal opened the flood-gates of subinfeudation leading to the emergence of a host of intermediary rent-receiving interests between the newly-created zamindars (landlord-proprietors) on the one hand, and tenant-cultivators on the other. The latter, again, since 1885, created statutory sub-tenancy interests below them. Taking all the types of landed interests into account, 27 different such interests were found to exist in Birbhum district in 1953, which were classified according to ownership or tenancy, the mode of payments of rents (in cash or in kind), and other features of rights over land, cultivation and output.

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[16] S P. Bose and P.C. Mahalanobis, *Marketing of Rice in Bolpur* (vide Visva-Bharati Rural Study No. 4).

Apart from the impact of sub-infeudation above and below the *raiyat* (tenant), the incidence of rent in Bengal, under the Permanent Settlement, increased gradually due, among other reasons, to the (*a*) imposition of *abwabs* (illegal exactions) and cesses (charges on land revenue, etc.) and shifting them on to the shoulders of actual cultivators by the superior interests, (*b*) eviction of tenants and rack-renting, (*c*) exploitation by landlords' agents, and (*d*) population increase and extension of cultivation. The burden of cash rents borne by the tenants decreased with the overall rise of prices but the contrary happened in the case of actual tillers of the soil paying produce rents (fixed or a share) in terms of the gross yield per acre.

The margin of rents paid to the landlord-proprietor by the tenure-holders under them increased as further sub-infeudation below the latter was created in Birbhum, such as the *rent* paid by *patnidar* (sub-proprietor or tenure-holder) to proprietors was greater than the *revenue* which the latter paid to the Government Treasury, and similarly, the rent paid by *darpatnidars* (under-tenure holders) to the *patnidars* was greater than what the latter paid to the proprietors and so on.

Between 1885 and 1939 sub-infeudation below the statutory *raiyat* (tenant) spread, the average rent per acre paid to them by their under-*raiyats* (under-tenants) increased in comparison with what they themselves paid to their superior interests. Again, rents varied in accordance with the quality of the soil and the nature of the crop produced, as in different parts of the district. The incidence of produce rent or share of the produce paid by share-croppers was quite high and iniquitous, whether it was a *fixed amount* of the produce or a *fixed share.*

According to one estimate (*Report of the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal, 1940*) the average rent per acre as a percentage of the value of produce was not so high and varied in different districts of West Bengal at different points of time in the first half of this century (Table 4), while according to another estimate (Sir M. Azizul Huque, in *Man Behind the Plough*) rents constituted on the average somewhat higher proportions of the value of produce in a number of districts including Birbhum in 1936-37 (Table 5). Rent as a proportion of the cost of cultivation decreased as crop prices increased; this was true of cash rents, especially of the *raiyati* lands, and not in the case of produce rents.

As the general price level during and after World War II rose, the incidence of cash rent tended to decrease, but the share-croppers continued to pay high rents in terms of 50 : 50 shares of the produce. The system was to remain the same for at least a decade after the Land Reforms Law of 1955-56 had prescribed much larger shares in favour of share-croppers.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

STATEMENT 1

INCIDENCE OF CASH *RAIYATI* RENT PER ACRE: SETTLEMENT OF 1955-56: BIRBHUM DISTRICT

Name of place	*Rent recorded in District Gazetteer (1910)*		*Rent as per New Settlement, 1955-56*	
	Ordinary rice land per acre *Rs*	*High quality sugarcane, etc., land per acre* *Rs*	*Agricultural land (local variety) per acre* *Rs-as-p*	*Non-agricultural land per acre* *Rs-as-p*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Suri	3 to 9	9 to 12	5.21 (average)	5.95 (average)
Rampurhat	6	9	5.85 (average)	7.29 (average)
Mollarpur	3 to 6	7 to 8		
		15 (vegetable lands)	—	—
		80 (betel leaf baroj)		
Dubrajpur	3 to 9		—	—
Illambazar	3 to 9	1.50 to 2 50 (lowest danga)	—	—
Sainthia	6 to 9		2.34 (Baid danga) 3 85 (Jole) 5.73 (Do) 4.15 (Soem) 2.59 (Doem)	4.02 (Danga) 14.58 (Bhiti) 2.60 (Tank)
Nanur (*Mauza*: Maheshgram J. L. No. 3)	—		1.72 (Sali) 1.72 (Do) 2.23 (Suna)	3.44 (Bari) 3.09 (Bhiti) 3.09 (Bagan)

SOURCE: Suri, Birbhum District Settlement and Survey Office, by courtesy of Officer-in-Charge, A.C. Bhattacharya.

STATEMENT 2

INCIDENCE OF RENTS ON HOLDINGS: SETTLEMENT OF 1955-56: BIRBHUM DISTRICT

P.S.	*Village (mauza) name*	*J L. No.*	*No. of agri-cultural holdings*	*Total rent Rs-as-p*	*Av. rent per agri.*	*No. of non-agri-cultural holdings*	*Total rent Rs-as-p*	*Av rent per non-agriculutral holdings Rs*
Santhia	Bagdahari	5	69	384/2/2	5.57	1	-/8/2	0.52
Bolpur	Karpatikuri	75	154	601/7/10	3.91	8	17/13/8	2.23
Dubrajpur	Modi Pakri	10	92	548/12/9	5.97	36	—	—
Rampurhat	Madhya-Gopalpur	69	62	496/9/5	8.02	3	3/13/6	1.28
Illambazar	Dhulpur	74	86	413/11/11	4.81	5	—	—
Mayureswar	Chak Bhara	107	102	552/6/3	5.41	12	4/5/8	0.36
Suri	Koramsal	193	109	892/7/11	8.19	1	11/5/	0.71
Madhammad-Bazar	Ushka	70	168	795/2/10	4.73	17	17/5/6	1.02
Khayarasol	Shahebpur	57	142	1519/11/6	10.71	1	-/10/-	0.62

SOURCE: Suri, Birbhum District, Settlement and Survey Office, by courtesy of Officer-in-Charge, A.C. Bhattacharya.

STATEMENT 3

INCIDENCE OF CASH RENT (AND CESS) PER ACRE OF *RAIYATI* LAND, 1957

1. Village: Adityapur; Police Station (thana): Bolpur— Soil Type and Rent Cess

Sl. No.	*Soil type (in bigha)*				*Total rent Rs*	*Cess*		*Total rent cess Rs*	*Av. rent per acre Rs*	*Av. rent cess per acre*
	Sali	*Suna*	*Do*	*Total*		*Type*	*amount total Rs*			
1.	3	—	3	4.00	4.00	Educa-	1.00	5.00	4.02	5.01
2.	15	7		22	28.00	tion	2.00	30.00	3.84	4.11
3.	15	—	2	17	33.13	cess,	2.06	35.19	5.82	6.21
4.	1	—		1	5.00	Road	0.44	5.44	9.99	10.86
5.	6	—		6	11.13	cess	1.06	12.19	5.55	6.09
6	10	—	10	20	35.00	etc.	3.00	38.00	5.25	5.70
7.	9	—		9	11.00		1.25	12 25	3.66	4.08
8.	6	4		10	15.00		1.00	16.00	4.50	4.80
9.	6	—		6	9.00		0.75	9.75	4.50	4.86
10.	8	—		8	15.25		1.00	16.25	5.70	6.09
11.	7	5		12	20.00		1.25	21.25	4.80	5.10
12.	10	—		10	19.69		2.00	21.69	5.61	6.18
13.	7	—		7	10.00		4.00	14.00	3.99	5.61
14.	2	3		5	6.50		0 37	6.87	3.90	4.11
15.	30	—	2	32	61.00		4.25	65.25	5.91	6.09
16.	6	—		6	9.00		0.37	9.37	4.50	4.68
17.	17	—	1	18	36.00		4.00	40.00	6.00	6.66
18.	6	3	1	10	15.00		1.00	16.00	4.50	4.80
19.	5	—		5	6.50		0.37	6.87	3.90	4.11
20.	10	—	1	11	16.00		1.00	17.00	4.35	4.65

STATEMENT 3 (*contd.*)

21.	13	—		13	22.00	3 00	25.00	5.07	5.76
22.	20	—		20	41.25	2.56	43.81	6 18	6.57
23.	5	1		6	11.25	2.00	13.25	5.61	6.63
24.	6	—		6	13.13	1.12	14.25	6.57	7.11
25.	32	—		32	61.00	4.12	65 12	5.70	6.09
26.	8	—		8	17 50	1.50	19.00	6.57	7.11
27.	9	—		9	rent free	1.12	1 12	—	0.36
Total	273½	23	17	314	532.33	47.59	579.92	5.07	5 52

2. *Village: Uttarnarayanpur: Police Station (thana): Bolpur—Soil Type and Rent/Cess*

1.	—	5	5	4.37	0.63	5.00	2.61	3.00
2.	4	—	4	5.00	1.00	6 00	3.75	4.50
3.	—	2	2	2.00	0.75	2.75	3.00	4.11
4.	—	5	5	5.00	1.00	6.00	3.00	3.60
5.	—	8	8	12 00	3.00	15.00	4.50	5.61
6.	—	3	3	1.50	0.50	2.00	1.50	2.01
7.	1	1	2	2.00	0.75	2 75	3 00	4.11
8.	—	3	3	2.75	0.25	3.00	2.76	3.00
9.	—	4	4	4.00	0.75	4.75	3.00	3.57
10.	—	12	12	12.00	2.00	14 00	3.00	3.51
Total	5	43	48	50.62	10.63	61.25	3.15	3.81

SOURCE: Survey of two villages in Birbhum district by the author in 1957.

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Marine Insurance and Indo-Portuguese Trade History: An Aid to Maritime Historiography*

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Maritime history is just a recent, but much-awaited and welcome arrival in the arena of Indian historiography. Since this new branch is still in its infant stage and there is still discussion going on regarding its sources and methodology,[1] the present paper seeks to suggest utilization of marine insurance records for more fruitful research in the field. The history of marine insurance in India is a subject yet to be tackled by Indian historians.

Chiefly the texts of two Portuguese documents which are largely self-explaining, are presented in this paper and a sketchy history of marine insurance in Portugal placed before them by way of an introduction.

* * *

The Portuguese claim to be the earliest modern nation to have had an organized marine insurance is still to be challenged.[2] The earliest record of marine insurance in Europe is a royal decree of King Denis of Portugal (1279-1325), dated May 10, 1293, establishing a Society of Portuguese Merchants (*Socie-*

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[*] I wish to express my gratitude to the authorities of the two archives of Lisbon from where I have drawn the documents presented in this article. I wish to acknowledge also the kindness shown to me by Miss Otilia Guimaraes da Silva, who provided me with reading and photocopying facilities at the Documentation Centre of the National Institute of Insurance, Lisbon.

[1] The recent studies of Susil Chauduri (*Trade and Commercial Organization in Bengal, 1650-1720*, Calcutta, 1975) and Surendra Gopal (*Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat, 16th and 17th Centuries: A Study in the Impact of European Expansion on Pre-Capitalist Economy*, New Delhi, 1975) have provided a good start with their "structural" and "non-Eurocentric" approach. *Cf. Indica* (Journal of the Heras Institute, Bombay), Vol. XIV, No.1, p. 66, wherein it presents only a brief review of the proceedings of the symposium promoted by the Institute in October 1976. Professor Ashin Das Gupta had some valuable insights to impart regarding maritime history in his paper entitled "The Future of Historical Research in India: The International Context."

[2] Jose da Piedade Jr. and Narciso Arie, "A Contribuicao portuguesa no campo dos seguros," *I Congresso Nacional de Seguros*, Lisboa, 1971, pp. 148-57, trace the evolution of insurance in Europe. The earliest contract of marine insurance outside Portugal is traced back to fourteenth century Florence.

dade de Mercadores Portugueses) with statutes to safeguard their external trade against all vicissitudes.[3] Thereafter, King Ferdinand (1345-83) set up a Shipping Company (*Companhia de Naus*) having an Insurance Fund (*Bolsa de Seguros*) towards which the member-merchants had to contribute 2 per cent of their freight revenue by way of a fixed premium.[4]

It was during the reign of King Emmanuel I (1495-1521) that Portugal entered the phase of its greatest maritime adventure and economic prosperity with the discovery of the Cape route to India. As could be expected, this period saw the appearance of an outstanding Portuguese juridical brain in the person of Pedro de Santarem, who was a Portuguese agent in Florence, Pisa and Leorne. His *Tractatus de Assecurationibus et Sponsionibus Mercatorum*, which was first presented to the public in 1553, is regarded as the earliest systematic treatise on marine insurance in existence.[5]

During the reign of Cardinal Henry (1578-80) a tribunal, known as *Consulado*, was instituted for deciding cases related to marine insurance. This institution was apparently suppressed in 1580, following the annexation of Portugal to Spain, but it was revived in 1593 along the lines of its counterparts in Burgos and Sevilha. It may be noted that the Statutes of Phillip II (1570) had formalized government control over insurance business by appointing an official (*comissario de seguros*), whose signature was indispensable for the validity of any insurance contract in the courts of law.

The later developments until the end of the eighteenth century were restricted to minor changes in the organization: In 1668 King Pedro (1667-1706) established an Insurance House (*Casa de Seguros*) as an organ of the Board of General Trade (*Junta do Comercio Geral*), which after 1720 came to be replaced by a Board of Common Trade Welfare (*Mesa do Bem Comum do Comercio*). The reforming zeal of the great Marquis of Pombal created a new Royal Board of Trade (*Real Junta do Comercio*) in 1750 incorporating the older Insurance House.[6]

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[3] *Jornal de Seguros*, No. 274 (Lisboa: 30 Junho 1917): Text of the royal order found by Professor Bensabat Amzalak in the National Archives of Lisbon.

[4] *Companhia de Seguros BONANCA: Cento e cinquenta anos de historia*, Lisboa, 1958, pp. 30-31 (Text of the order of King Ferdinand).

[5] Amzalak, M.B , *Os Seguros segundo Pedro de Santarem, Santerna, Juriconsulto Portugues do seculo XVI*, Lisboa, 1917. The Portuguese Association of Insurers published the original text in Latin along with translations in Portuguese, English and French in 1961. Wide demand caused it to be reprinted in 1971.

[6] I have depended for this sketch of historical development on Alberto Souto, *Evolucao historica de Seguro*, Coimbra, 1919.

DOCUMENT 1

ROYAL LIBRARY OF AJUDA, MS 51-VI-21, FLS. 147v-149v

(*Report of an inquiry ordered by the Princess into the insurance sought by some businessmen expecting their goods to arrive in the ships of the* Carreira da India[7] *and into the news they had received from India in an extraordinary mail.*)

On the 9th of this month Princess Margaret issued an order addressed to this Council informing the Councillors that some extraordinary mail had arrived from India, following which some businessmen from Madrid, awaiting goods from India, had ordered these goods to be insured. The decree ordered the said Council to conduct a secret inquiry into the matter: to find out the nature and conditions of the insurance as well as the parties involved; to establish if the news was more recent than and different from the letter of the Viceroy of India dated November 8th; and to report back to the Princess the findings of the inquiry. This was to be regarded as urgent matter.

In obedience to the above decree the mission of the Crown was entrusted to Rodrigo Botelho de Moraes, a Judge of the High Court, who reported back to this Council that in execution of the said decree, he had conducted the inquiry with utmost secrecy to determine what insurances were recorded in the Insurance Register belonging to the ships that came from India, the clauses and conditions, and the persons involved. He had also tried to verify with possible certainty what news had arrived from India, who the businessmen were, who got it (in the mail of 5th) with instructions to secure insurance, whether this news was more recent than that of the letter sent by the Viceroy of India on November 8th and whether it differed from that in the letter.

As regards the risks insured, Rodrigo Botelho de Moraes has found out that on July 12th of this year Manoel Dias da Sylva, a businessman, residing in this city, insured goods for 1000 *cruzados*[8] in the flagship Our Lady of Oliveira with another businessman Nicolao Velozo for 18 per cent premium. Diogo Duarte de Souza, also a resident in this city, sought insurance on August 17th for goods worth 15000 *cruzados* in the two ships awaited from India. The contract was initiated in the Register, but it was not pursued as 18 per cent was for him too high a premium rate. Antonio Ribeiro de Carvalho insured for himself, his household and for his brother-in-law and cousin Francisco Tinoco (who lived at the court of Madrid), 7000 *cruzados* equally distributed in the two ships, namely *S. Joao de Deus* and *Nossa Senhora de Oliveira*, on the 5th of the month (on the day the news was received), and he did so for a premium of 18 per cent. The businessmen who reside in this city and have underwritten the risks are: Pedro de Bacia, Nicolao Velozo, Nicolao Micon (a Genoese residing in this city), Martin Mendes (living on the New Street), Henrique Broy (a German), Antonio Fernandes de Oliveira and Hieronimo Serrao Pimentel.[9] It was laid down as a condition that the insurance would be effective in case the above mentioned vessels were unable to make the journey and the insured goods were to be sent by any other vessels.

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[7] Round voyage between Lisbon and Goa.

[8] Portuguese gold currency equivalent to about 4 shillings (English) in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century it was equated to about half a crown.

The secret inquiry did not reveal that the insurance was motivated by the said news, because the first two cases of insurance had already taken place before the arrival of the news, and even though the last case coincided with the date of the arrival of news, it was established in the inquiry that the businessman concerned had already been in contact with the clerk of the Insurance Department two months prior to that date.

Francisco Tinoco had been informed from Sevilha by his friends Manoel Dias da Sylva and his brother Rey Lopes that they had insured their goods for 18 per cent a year in advance, and this caused him also to do so through the mediation of his brother-in-law. There was thus no other motive but security of goods.

The judge inquirer also sought to investigate into the nature of the said news that came by sea and land. Apparently, it is believed by the local and foreign merchants of the city that after the letter dated November 8th sent by the Viceroy of India, Pero da Silva, to the Archbishop of this city, more news came from Anvers about the success of the Portuguese over the sixteen vessels of the European enemy, preventing the exit of ships from the Goan bay. It was known that three enemy vessels had been sunk and two others captured and burnt. Even the foreigners who vouched for the authenticity of this news refused to produce any written evidence, because they surely got it from Holland, and no correspondence with that country is allowed. Hence they feared punishment for violating the prohibitory orders. But even if some letter with news came from Holland, they came also from Madrid and Anvers, so much so that one who was reluctant to underwrite any risk did so confidently after having received news from these countries. There was much enthusiasm today among the businessmen of the city and for good reasons: They argued that since the ships did not leave India with the proper monsoon

[9] Overseas Historical Archives: India, *Caixa* 13. Doc 109 (23.10.1638) includes a list of the leading Portuguese businessmen having trade contacts with India. The list is worked out by the officials of the India House (*Caza da India*) in Lisbon The list names: Luis Dias Franco, Diogo Fernandes da Rocha, Manoel Dias da Silva, Antonio Ribeiro de Carvalho, Diogo Roiz de Lisboa, Manoel Roiz d'Elvas, Fernao Roiz Manoel, Diogo Duarte de Souza, Marcos Fernandes, Francisco Vaz Sampaio, Duarte Gil, Joao Filtre(?), Adriao de Salmans, Diogo Sanche, Antonio Roiz da Vega, Heironimo Serrao Pimentel, Luis Serrao Pimentel, Manoel Gomes da Costa, Ruy Lopes Manos. *Cf.* also Frederic Mauro, "Marchands et Marchands-Banquiers Portugais au XVIIeme Siecle," in *Revista Portuguesa de Historia*, IX, Coimbra, 1961. It is a study of the Portuguese merchants and financiers in the seventeenth century based on Inquisition dossiers.

winds, it would be possible for the Viceroy to determine with the information gathered from the enemy men captured by the oar-vessels, if the enemy had plans to continue blockading Goa port during the following monsoon. Accordingly, he could seek the earliest favourable weather to dispatch the ships in the direction of Angola and from there to Portugal in the Spring as the Count of Vidigueira[10] had done on his return trip. In case it proved impossible to cross the Cape, they could go to Mossambique to be refitted for the forward journey. The fact that there had been no ships coming during the last so many years was more than sufficient reason to follow this prudent strategy. If the Viceroy had not been already thinking in these lines (the businessmen argued), smaller boats would have arrived from India by now. It was known that Duarte Gil, a Flemish merchant residing in this city and having large business in India, had received a letter from Anvers with news about the said naval fight with the Dutch. The judge inquirer succeeded in getting the letter from him and it goes enclosed with this report. It came from Diogo Roiz de Souza, who has trade interests in India, and also has a brother, Balthezar de Veiga, residing there.[11] In the letter he gives reliable account of the Portuguese triumph over the enemy and of the clearance of the Goan bay. The judge inquirer is therefore inclined to believe the news to be true and is convinced that with God's favour the ships should reach the destination by the end of May at the latest. We may also hope that it will be so.

With this report of the findings of the judge Rodrigo Botelho de Moraes this Council has carried out the orders of Your Majesty. Lisbon, 15 November 1638. Thomas de Ibio Calderon—Rodrigo Botelho—Antonio das Povoas.

DOCUMENT 2

OVERSEAS HISTORICAL ARCHIVES: INDIA, MAÇO 10, DOC. 87

(This MS is an extract from a thick file of complaints lodged by the Gujarati

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[10] Count of Vidigueira (D. Francisco da Gama) was great grandson of Vasco da Gama and occupied the viceroyalty of India twice, namely during 1597-1600 and 1622-28.

[11] Balthezar de Veiga was one of the four or five leading businessmen of Goa. He was particularly active in the jewel trade, and was again and again called upon by the State to advance money to equip ships of the *Carreira* and pay their crew. I was able to find details of his life in the Jesuit archives of Rome, namely in the collection of *Fondo Gesuitico, Busta* 74-B/1443-9, which contains Balthazar's last will drawn with the help of the Jesuit Procurator of the Goa Province of the Society of Jesus, Fr. Goncalo Martins. Balthazar died on 14 January 1659. Apparently, he was educated at the Jesuit college of St. Rock in Lisbon and remained friendly with the Jesuits all his life Incidentally, the artistically decorated Sacristy of the Church of Bom Jesus (Goa' was built at his expense. He left quite sizeable endowments to the Jesuits, but his business was inherited by his son, Joao do Prado. *Cf.* Historical Archives of Goa: *Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda,* VIII, fls. 72, 101-103, 200v-209; X, fls. 124-24v.

merchants of Div with the Civil and Criminal Magistrate of the region, Joze Agostinho da Silva e Menezes, against the fort-captain Caetano de Souza Pereira.)

In the monsoon of 1792 a vessel belonging to Calanjy Talcy was shipwrecked, while on its way back from Mossambique. The businessmen who had underwritten the risk came to an agreement with the parties that had suffered loss. A compensation of 93 per cent was settled upon, but this news reached the ears of the Governor, who forbade the payment and ordered that the book of the Captain of the *banianes* containing the registration of the insurance obligations and of the insurance-brokers be shown to him. The Governor tried to verify also whether all the obligations were registered or not, and commanded each one to produce his premium receipts. He then forced out from the chief businessmen their trade secrets. After a year had elapsed, the Governor collected 4 per cent from the underwriters who had their obligations recorded in the said register, and 25 per cent from those who had not. He did not exempt them from paying the full agreed 93 per cent compensation, which he collected in full and retained its half before passing on the rest to the parties concerned. He thus pocketed nearly 8000 *xerafins*.[13] To add insult to injury, he imprisoned Darsy Madougy, the chief businessman and underwriter of risks. The victim died of hanging for refusing to yield to the pressures.

Chotorbozo Curgy—Jagajivan das Mulgy—Tarachande Sauchande—Anandagy Givane—Rupachande Vada—Samogy Casidas represented by Nattu Samogy—Trachande Deuchande—Calachande and Emechande—Vanamaly Govordane—Motichande Premogy—Fatuchande Mulchande represented by his brother Bovinidas—Bovinidas Getta—Virgy Santidas—Govordane Vanagary—Patambor Deuchande—Cangy Carva—Darsy Madougy—Damodar Virgy—Ranchor Getta—Hirgy Daugy—Carva Cancadas—Rauchande Porsotomo—Lacamuchande—Tricame Sacalchande—Natta Calangy—Pitambor Calangy—Hodougy Mangal—Vaja Givane—Pitambor Velgy—Adecarane Giuchande represented by Cangy Govongy—Jivandas Samochande—Pitambor Porsotomo—Rupachande Premogy—Gopalgy Ary—Sacachande Vanamaly—Sancor Pitambor—Nadramo Bovanidas.

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The documents presented above are not marine insurance records properly so called, but they suggest the possibility of tracing such records in the State and private collections and of turning them to good account for reconstructing economic history, and for our purpose, maritime history. The names of the Gujarati merchants in Document 2 could lead to the identification of some of their families and to their surviving family papers. Incidentally, similar records for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Goa-based Indo-Portuguese trade are likely to be found among the surviving papers of the Mhamai Kamat family of Panaji (Goa). This was the leading business house controlling the lion's share of Goa-based Indo Portuguese trade until it went bankrupt at the close of the eighteenth century owing to internal family feuds.[13]

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[13] Silver currency of Goa. For its equivalence in terms of its buying capacity during the seventeenth century, see my article in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XII, No. 4, pp. 433-42.

It is *a propos* to mention two studies-based on insurance contract-deeds from the French coastal towns and from Barcelona (Spain) that were presented on the occasion of the IV International Colloquium on Maritime History (Paris, 20-23 May 1959) by M.L.A. Boiteaux and E.G. Raventos respectively. Both these studies can serve as good models along which research of this sort could begin in this country as well.[14]

It is obvious in a general way that a thorough going study of documentation relating to marine insurance can lead us to more knowledge about the direction and volume of seaborne trade, trade organization, and perhaps, even about incidents of natural hazards, piracy, and forms of contraband. More particularly, if the records are insurance contract-deeds of the type utilized in the two studies quoted above, the researcher is likely to find in them abundant information regarding:

(*i*) Type, name, and tonnage of the vessels
(ii) Nationality of the vessel-owner or the captain
(*iii*) Ports of origin and destination
(*iv*) Names of the insured and insuring parties
(*v*) Quantity, value and nature of goods
(*vi*) Premium paid for a particular route and during a particular season
(*vii*) Compensation paid in case of an accident or damage
(*viii*) Some curious details about such accidents, and several other minutiae which historians know too well to appreciate.

To conclude, we have two general conclusions, which the two document-texts lead to: Firstly, the business network of Lisbon in 1638 suggests that the Luso-Dutch conflict even at its high pitch was not a bar to traders of both nations continuing their trade connections.[15] Secondly, there is apparently a difference in the insurance systems at work in Lisbon and Div. While the former suggests a degree of specialization with individuals underwriting the risks, the latter presents a more rudimentary picture wherein insurance is based on mutual trust among the merchants themselves, insuring and getting insured each other's goods in accordance with the principle of division and multiplication of risks.[16]

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[13] Overseas Historical Archives (Lisbon): India, *Maco* 1, Doc. 46 (3 March 1770), *Maco* 15, Doc. 38 (28 March 1786). *Cf.* F.N. Xavier, *Additamento ao Codigo dos Usos e Costumes*, Nova Goa, 1861, p. 21. n. 5.

[14] *Les Sources de l'Histoire Maritime en Europe, du Moyen Age au XVIIIe Siecle* (Proceedings of IV International Colloquium on Maritime History of Europe), SEVPEN, Paris, 1962, pp. 447ff., 210ff.

[15] This conclusion is corroborated by W. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1642-45*, Oxford, 1913, p. 22; and *Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda*, VI, fl. 11v-112 (in the Historical Archives of Goa).

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[16] Moreland, W.H., *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, New Delhi, 1972, p. 158. He writes: "It is possible that the business of marine insurance was specialized, but I have found no definite information on this subject. The practice of insurance was quite common, and we read of war risks being dealt in, and also of an 'overdue market', but the names and positions of the insurers are not stated, and it is perhaps more probable that the risks were underwritten by ordinary merchants." We find that Moreland was near the truth.

The Indian Economic and
Social History Review, Vol. XIV, No. 3

NOTES

Factory Labour during the Early Years of Industrialization—A Comment

WOLF MERSCH

Inasmuch as contributions to the labour history of India should be welcome, a note of caution seems necessary with regard to Baniprasanna Misra's recent article in the pages of this journal,[1] and the conclusions which may be drawn from it. Purely for the reason of my own familiarity with material from Bengal I shall draw on this for the purpose of illustration. Contrary to the rather well established convention, viz. that little is known about industrial labour in India during the second half of the nineteenth century (and is really more known about it for the decades following ?), I believe I am able to show that information is comparatively plentiful. The fact that this is so often not recognized stems from the fallacious trap of singling out the so-and-so report of the so-and-so commission, apparently rich in its information content, but neither criticizing its inherent faults due to bureaucratic rote, nor seeing it in its diachronic and situational context. Misra adds to these problems by applying unnecessarily tight sociological methods and concepts and a somewhat misplaced desire for quantification. Before proceeding further, let me emphasize here that I, too, agree that the evidence by factory workers in the *Report of the Indian Factory Commission of 1890* (FC) is in many ways unique and not paralleled in any other reports of a similar kind. However, I find Misra's "very useful, if tentative, conclusions" (p. 224) about socio-economic data a misplaced hope for the purpose of advancing our analysis of the Indian working class in its historical formation. The most diligent search will not yield the *same*, and comparable, data about and from individual workers again, i.e., until much later techniques of social science research were deliberately applied, to methodologically constituted samples. I disagree with Misra that caste is "one *crucial* point of investigation in the Indian context"

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[1] "Factory Labour during the Early Years of Industrialization: An Appraisal in the Light of the Indian Factory Commission, 1890," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XII, July-September 1975, No. 3, pp. 203-28.

(p. 206, my emphasis), i.e., if we want to study the history of labour, and I generally find his stratification model, scattered throughout the article (pp. 206, 215, 217, especially 218) not an acceptable one. The sanskritic notion contained in it leads him, *sans critique*, to factually unsupportable statements, e g., his claim that Brahmins and Kayasths did not join the labour force in Bengal. A glance into the *Report of the Labour Enquiry Commission of 1896* (LEC) would have told him differently: among 5,255 workers of the Shamnagar Jute Mill were 20 Brahmins from Arrah and 50 from Mirzapur, whereas the Dunbar Cotton Mill employed 13 from 24 Parganas, seven from Hooghly, etc., out of a total of 146 Brahmins, besides 254 Kayasths, in a total labour force of close to 2,000.[2] As these two mills, out of a total of over thirty on both banks of the Hooghly, employed about 10 per cent of all industrial labour in the area (over 72,000 in 1895/96), we should, by admittedly crude reckoning, reach a possible figure of more than 4,500 Brahmins and Kayasths among them, including presumably a good share of the Bhadralok.

As to the aboriginal workers in mining or plantations, an equally tainted information is provided by maintaining that they practised little of settled agriculture, whilst for the majority of them the contrary would be true (p. 217). Whilst they provided the bulk of the labour for tea plantations,[3] this is not at all correct for coal mining in the nineties.[4] As to Misra's chronology at that point, coal mining had a real boost only at that time, with a doubling of the labour force in Bengal between 1891 and 1895, whilst the beginning of the tea industry has to be properly dated from the 1860s (p. 217).

Regrettably, Misra is not very rigorous when introducing the "lumpen" category while discussing the origins of workers. Adding to it beggars, criminal tribes, and widows, all "of the old social order," and stigmatizing them as the "failure" of India's "past great civilization" (pp. 215-18, 221), he is betraying at the same time his own cultural bias as he is creating a residual category, which in the end has to accommodate half of his sample! (see Table 7). Though he is referring to the different development of England and India as to the release of labour for capitalist production,[5] his discussion soon turns to the speculative on a grand scale, instead of his attempting to tell us concretely how labour in India was drawn into capitalist production, and that

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[2] Government of Bengal, *Report of the Labour Enquiry Commission*, Calcutta, 1896, p. xli, Appendix O; p. xliii, Appendix P.

[3] See my forthcoming doctoral thesis on the recruitment and migration of plantation and mining labour (1860-1921).

[4] The LEC reports a rapidly changing picture with substantial immigration from Bihar and especially the NWPs: LEC, 1896, pp. 9ff. $$ 17ff For recent studies of the coal industry see C. Simmons, *Labour and Industrial Organization in the Indian Coal Industry, 1900-1939*, D. Phil., Oxford, 1974, and, important for an analysis of the Managing Agencies, H. Papendieck's doctoral thesis, Free University, Berlin (West), 1975.

[5] Would not comparisons with, e.g. Russia, Japan, Germany, Spain, etc , improve our understanding of such processes?

should *include* plantations and mines and other earlier forms employing wage labour. By delegating aboriginals to plantations and mines, and old-social-order lumpen and a few others to factory industry he believes he can explain the failure to "revolutionize" Indian agriculture. This belief in the lack of a proletarianized peasant also allows him to join others and to easily dismiss the so frequently quoted village nexus of the Indian worker (pp. 216 and 212f.), whereas in fact we have here a phenomenon which we should rather discuss in correspondence and comparison with pauperism and Poor Law, viz., the Indian village as "the invalid home of the active labour army and the dead weight of the industrial reserve army."[6]

I should clearly state that I am myself dissatisfied with a critique that is pursued in an ad-hoc fashion, but as long as any systematic analysis of the emergence of wage labour—let us say in Bengal, not to speak of India—has not come forth, one can only point to such problems, theoretical and empirical.

Let me take up, finally, Misra's section where he discusses the regional origins of factory workers (pp. 210ff.),[7] in order to show some more of the questions arising, and also to point out possibilities to enlarge the data base.

For the Calcutta factory workers Misra estimates on the basis of his sample that about one-third come from outside the state (*sic*) in 1890, but he qualifies this figure by two others from 1890 (Bally Paper Mill) and 1908 (Budge Budge Jute Mill). If we take figures from these two mills from another year, it becomes even more clear and evident that extreme care is necessary in using such data: in 1895 Bally Paper is said to have employed 420 Bengali and 400 so-called "up-country" workers; Budge Budge Jute employed c. 3,700 workers out of which c. 25 per cent were from "up-country."[8] Besides accounting for changes over time, it is important to note here the considerable variety in the composition, job structure, etc. of the work force in each individual mill. This is clearly borne out by the data in the reports from which I just quoted, by the information in the Report of the LEC, and supported in fact by the observation from 1908 (p. 211), which is limited to the *weavers* in Mill *No. 1* of Budge Budge Jute, i.e., covering presumably less than 10 per cent of the total work force.

Though the LEC had been careful in estimating the number of "up-country" workers in factories of the Calcutta industrial region and made reference to the 1895 reports, it nevertheless adopted, upon the advice of the Indian Jute Manufacturers Association, the distribution of regional origins of only *one* mill as representative.[9] As the LEC was primarily concerned with assisting the rapidly expanding coal industry with its recruitment needs by pointing to the NWPs as source for labour, it might have somewhat exaggerated the share of workers from that province. During this period of expansion undeniably the great influx of workers came from far west. For Calcutta and the districts of 24 Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly taken together, the number of persons born in the NWPs rose by a full 100 per cent between 1891 and 1901 (94,000 to 188,000), whilst the number of those from Bihar and Orissa, already at a much higher absolute level, grew only by 32 per cent (241,000 to 318,000). The territorial expansion of industry along the river during this decade is suggested by the language data of the census.[10] But my long and careful reading of the census material for the years between 1881 and 1921 throws up more questions than answers.[11] In a first approximative thesis, simple as it may be, I would suggest that wage labour was drawn to Calcutta and its neighbourhood in ever widening circles; first from the riparian districts themselves, then and till into the 1880s from contiguous districts and increasingly the periphery of Bengal,[12] thereafter (like a bulge in the circle) from the NWPs during the 1890s. All this is not to suggest that the labour market in the colonial economy of Bengal operated under conditions of competitive capitalism, that labour responded to wages pure and simple, or that simple push-and-pull models could be applied.[13] As to the question of material for an economic and social

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[6] See Marx's definition of the "lumpenproletariat proper" in *Das Kapital*, Vol. I, Sec. vii, Chap. 23, 3 and this whole para for the discussion of pauperism as the lowest sediment of the relative surplus population (my translation).

[7] Even after close scrutiny, I here fail to see the relevance of referring to Seal's *Emergence of Nationalism* . . . in fn. 8 on p. 211.

[8] See the two letters by the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Southern and Eastern Range, of 13 and 22 July 1895, appended to the Resolution of the Government of Bengal (abbr. BG) appointing the LEC (2 November 1895) in: BG, Emigration Dept., Proceedings No. 24, December 1895, File 1-L/2-2, about policing the mill areas, with details on 31 mills.

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[9] LEC, p. 49 $ 101.

[10] Hindusthani and Urdu speakers rose in Calcutta, 24 Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly by 38.5, 89.9, 77.7 and 176 per cent, respectively, between 1891 and 1901.

[11] E.g., I have not yet found a sensible answer to explain the differences in male/female ratios between Bihar and Orissa immigrants on the one hand and those from the NWPs (sq. UPs) on the other:

Male/Female Ratios (males per 1,000 females) of Immigrants to Calcutta, 24 Parganas, Howrah, and Hooghly, together:

Born in:	*1891*	*1901*	*1911*	*1921*
B & O	3,476	3,883	4.323	4,845
NWPs	2,753	2,793	2,774	2,659

[12] And from Bihar and Orissa. See the decreasing figures for contiguous districts between 1881-91 and for the peripheral districts of Bengal for 1891-1901.

[13] I have tried (see fn. 3 above) to analyze the arrondissement of recruitment regions between different production sectors, i.e., overseas colonies, tea, etc. We should clearly bear in mind that the very same managing agencies recruited for all the sectors at the same time (see Bagchi, *Private Investment. . .* , 1972). Despite the fact that an element of competitive-

history of labour I have already referred to the rich contents of the police reports of 1895. They not only illuminate the role of the state in the social control of labour, but give details on a number of strikes at that time which do point to a capacity of unorganized labour to resist in a *momentarily* competitive situation! The evidence also runs counter to established trade union hagiography. Closer to the date of Misra's sample we have the equally rich material on jute mills (use of power, numbers of looms, spindles, workers, child labour, holidays, etc.) in the annual divisional *Administration Reports*,[14] the correspondence discussing the proposed *amendments* to the *Factories Act* (xv of 1881),[15] and the *Inspection Reports* under the same act.[16] A useful corrective to stereotypical notions about workers' skills is found in the usually overlooked *Report on the Existing Arts and Industries in Bengal* by E.W. Collin.[17]

With this brief comment, and leaving out the secondary literature at all, I hope I have made clear that I view, conceptually and methodologically, the thrust of Indian labour history to be in a somewhat different direction, and that I have been able to point out that an accidental sample, valuable as its information content may be, by itself is insufficient and may mislead us into new dogmata—being unnecessarily taken for the whole of an exceedingly dynamic and complex historical reality.

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ness arose every time a new sector emerged in the economy, nevertheless an arrangement as to demarcate the recruitment regions was quickly found every time, e.g. in the early 1860s tea vis-a-vis the overseas sugar plantations, during the 1890s coal vis-a-vis the tea, mill industries, etc. Commissions or committees usually mark such dates, hence the LEC of 1895/96—on the level of the submetropolitan economy of Bengal, whilst the FC of 1890 concerns the whole of the Anglo-Indian relationship.

[14] See for example that for the Burdwan Division, 1888-89, in BG, General Dept. (Miscellaneous), October 1889.

[15] *Ibid.*, March 1889, November 1889, April 1890; and the weekly reports on native newspapers for that period.

[16] *Ibid.*, May 1890.

[17] 4 January 1890, 32pp. and appendices, in BG, General Dept (Education), July 1890, File 114/12, and subsequent correspondence in 114/13-17.

The Indian Economic and
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The Standard of Living in Akbar's Time: A Comment

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In his article on the "Population and Standard of Living in Akbar's Time" (*The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, March 1972), Ashok Desai argued that there was a substantial decline in living levels in India between 1600 and 1961. Desai provided two types of evidence, first that real wages declined, and second, that the availability of foodgrains declined. In addition Desai provided an estimate, derived from the above work, of population of India in 1600. In a comment Shireen Moosvi (*IESHR*, June 1973) made several criticisms of Desai, particularly of his food production and population estimates. In this note I will argue that the inferences of Desai and also Moosvi about real wages are based on a large arithmetic error, and that Desai's agricultural estimates are also very doubtful. These comments do not offer a particular view of economic trends since Akbar's time, but only serve to question the estimates underlying Desai's paper.

Real Wages in 1600

In Table 1, I present estimates of real wages that are corrected for the mistake which I believe is common to the work of Desai and Moosvi, which is they have used the wrong *maund* in their calculations. The technique used by Desai is time honoured. He takes the wage in 1595 as reported in the *Ain-i-Akbari* which is 2 to 3 *dams* a day for unskilled labour and translates this into quantities of commodities it would purchase. He then compares this with the amount that could be purchased by the wages of unskilled workers in 1960-61. In fact, exactly this approach, using correct measures formed a chapter of Mukerjee's *Economic History of India, 1600-1800,* which curiously is cited by neither Desai nor Moosvi.[1]

One error of Desai was omission. As Moosvi points out there was really no reason for Desai to limit himself to the seven commodities he chose over which to compare the purchasing power of wages. I have therefore followed Moosvi in Table 1 and included the important additional items like rice,

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[1] Radhakamal Mukerjee, *The Economic History of India 1600-1800*, Allahabad, 1967, Ch. III, "Movement of Real Wages During Four Centuries," pp. 43-61.

TABLE 1

PRICES AND REAL PURCHASING POWER OF WAGES IN 1595 AND 1961

Commodities	*Price in Rs per quintal** *1595*	*1961*	*Purchasing power of daily wage in kgs* *2.5 dams=Rs 0.0625* *1595*	*Rs 2.40* *1961*	*Quantities in 1595/1961 (4)/(5)*	*Percentage weight assigned each item*
(1)	(2)	(3)	$(4)=\frac{.0625}{(2)/100}$	$(5)=\frac{2.40}{(3)/100}$	(6)	(7)
1. Wheat	1.20	41.8	5.21	5.74	.91	12.7
2. Rice	1.99	57.0	3.14	4.21	.75	37.6
3. Jowar	1.00	30.1	6.25	7.97	.78	5.5
4. Gram	.80	38.2	7.81	6.28	1.24	5.5
5. Barley	.80	30.6	7.81	7.85	.99	2.7
6. Milk	2 49	120.0	2.51	2.00	1.26	6.2
7. *Ghee*	10.46	594.2	.60	0.40	1.50	6.0
8. Goat meat	5.38	369.0	1.16	.65	1.78	2.1
9. Oil	7.97	229.5	.78	1.05	.74	4.9
10. *Gur*	6.57	45.2	.95	5.31	.18	5.7
11. Sugar	23.90	100.4	.26	2.39	.11	
12. Salt	1.59	50.0	3.93	4.80	.82	4.1
13. *Silhati*/Longcloth*	.08	1.1	.78	2.22	.35	
14. *Chint*/Shirting*	.08	2.5	.78	.98	.80	7.0

SOURCE: Column (2) is derived from *Ain* prices, using 40 *dam* per Rs, and 3.584 *man-i-Akbari* per quintal. Column (3) is from Desai and Moosvi. Column (4) is derived by dividing the wage of 2.5 *dam*=Rs 0.0625 by column (2)/100. Column (5) can be derived by dividing the 1961 wage of Rs 2 40 by column (3)/100. This is also column (5) in Table 1 of Moosvi with corrections for rows 9 and 14 which appear to have been in error. Column (7) is explained in the text.

*Price and quantities per metre, the width assumed the same.

gram, barley, as well as cloth. The second problem with Desai's calculations is that he takes the *maund* at the current value of 82 and 2/7ths pounds which is indicated by his arithmetic, as follows: A *man* of wheat in 1590 is 12 *dam*, from which it is calculated that a daily wage of 2 *dam* would buy 6.2 kg of wheat. Now Desai cites the *Ain-i-Akbari* for the prices and Habib for the conversion of quantities, the sources to which anyone examining such a question would look.[2] But, while the prices are clear, the quantities are not. Desai is saying the price of 12 *dam* per *man* is for a *man* 82.2 lbs (i.e., 2 *dam* buys 1/6 of a *man* is equal to 6.22 kg, or 13.70 lbs × 6=82.2 lbs). But is this the *man* to which the *Ain* refers? Clearly not according to Habib who in the Appendix cited by Desai says the *man-i-Akbari* is 55.32 lb (p. 368) while that of Jehangir is 66.38 lbs, that of Shahjahan 73.76 lb, and only later does the "monstrosity" now termed *maund* become 82 2/7 lb. In other words, Desai (and Moosvi who uses the same conversion factors) overestimates the purchasing power of the wage in *Akbari time* by 50 per cent (i.e., 82.3/55.32=1.5).

This calculation is confirmed by examining Habib's own price conversion in which he puts a price of 12 *dam* per *man* for wheat from the *Ain-i-Akbari* as equal to Rs 0.40 per *man-i Shahjahani* (Habib, p. 83). A price of 12 *dams* is 0.3 rupees per *man*, so Habib is saying that the *man* in the *Ain* is three-fourths of the *man-i-Shahjahani*; or in pounds, as noted above the *man-i-Akbari* is 55.32 pounds and the *man-i-Shahjahani* is 73.76 pounds. Since Moosvi discusses the various measures of the *man* (p. 50), it is especially surprising that the incorrect *maund* weight has been adapted in Moosvi's comment.[3]

When the correct *maund* is used, we get the comparisons in Table 1 where the purchasing power of a wage in 1960-61 is compared with that in 1595. We have taken the wage in Table 1 in 1595 to be 2.5 *dam* per worker. Desai showed his calculations for both 2 and 3 *dams* per worker since both wages are quoted, while Moosvi preferred to use the 2-*dam* figure. My use of 2.5 *dams* is only for the convenience of condensing the table as will become clear. In column (6), I have expressed for each commodity the quantity commanded by the 1595 wage of 2 *dams* as a ratio to the quantity commanded by an unskilled wage in 1960-61. In column (7) I have given expenditure weights for these commodities normalized to total 100 from recent Indian experience.[4] If an average of the ratios in column (6) is taken weighted by recent expenditures, which should make 1961 look relatively better than 1595 compared to other weighting schemes, the 1595 quantities are .88 of 1960-61 quantities. If the 2 *dam* per day wage were used, this relative quantity would be .70 and if a three *dam* wage were used for 1595 the ratio would be 1.05. In other words, the correction I have introduced into Desai's calculations neither confirms nor rejects but certainly greatly weakens his contention that real wages declined since Akbar. What would seem clear, is that there is room for a wide variety of inferences from the wage and price data in the *Ain-i-Akbari.*

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[2] Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Asia, 1963, Appendices A and B.

[3] It might be added that both Desai and Moosvi use the 55.32 pound *maund* when they discuss yields per acre used in the *Ain*. As mentioned earlier, R. Mukerjee (pp. 48-49) does use the 55.32 pound *maund* when using prices in the *Ain*.

[4] These weights are from Indian GDP for 1967 as given in I.B Kravis, Z. Kennessey, A. Heston and R. Summers, *A System of Comparison of Purchasing Powers of Currency and Gross Domestic Product*, Johns Hopkins, 1975, Table XIV-A-7.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Desai maintains there was a decline in yields per acre in India since the time of Akbar. He supports this by comparing yield data from the *Ain* with 1960-61 yields (see his Tables 2 and 3, p. 46). He then presents arguments why one would expect such a decline in yields I disagree with both his use of data and with his *a priori* arguments, and the following discussion will deal with each point in turn.

The problem with the data is that two yields are simply not comparable because the 1960-61 yields are on the basis of random crop cutting, while the 1595 yields are a "normal" or "standard" yield, with no scientific basis. If one wishes to compare the 1960-61 yields with normal yields for British India, one would find similar results, namely that the normal yields are much higher than crop-cutting yields. Since crop-cutting yields are thought to be measured within 2 to 5 per cent of the true yield per hectare, we are fairly certain of the 1960-61 yields.

Why should normal yields in 1960 or 1595 be above 1960-61 actual yields? The answer I would submit is that normal yields are generally framed for purposes of estimating gross produce from which land revenues may be assessed. If one wishes to make land revenue assessment seem light, then one puts normal yields at a high level. Since the British were generally thought to pitch standard yields too high for this reason, is there any reason to doubt this was also done in earlier periods? Especially, since neither the Mughals nor the British knew the actual yields as are currently estimated by crop-cutting.

Moosvi makes the further point that not only are the yields Desai uses

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The expenditure weights out of gross domestic product in 1967 on the commodities represented in the comparison totalled 46.29 per cent of GDP. The weights have been normalized to add up to 1 00, and we have used the total sugar weight for *gur* (row 10) and the total clothing weight for *silhati*-long cloth (row 13), to reduce extreme observations. An item like goat meat (row 8) has the expenditures on all meats, and salt has all spices. The division between wheat, jowar, gram and bajra was done on the basis of their relative role in production . The use of 1967 weights will tend to understate the real wage in 1595 relative to 1961 because items which are cheap in 1961 will tend to have a large expenditure weight.

revenue yields, but as such, they are high as revenue yields since they were framed for the *zabt* system. Under the *zabt* system the revenue rate was to have been lowered from one-half to one-third of produce, so Moosvi following Habib argues that these yields were probably put higher than usual standard yields. This led Moosvi to adopt the lower range of these yields for comparison to 1960-61, which is certainly more acceptable than Desai's procedure. But I would argue that given the wide range of variation found between normal yields and crop-cutting yields it really is difficult to come up with an adequate treatment.

For example, the *Ain* gives best, middling and worst yields for wheat as 1891, 1260 and 932 kilos per hectare. Desai takes the middling figure. Moosvi takes 1096 kilos, the average of the middling and worst yields. Moosvi presumably would argue that since these yields were framed when the revenue share was lowered from 1/2 to 1/3, then standard yields would have to have risen 50 per cent to provide the same revenue. However, if this were true, then Moosvi would have simply reduced each of the *Ain* yields by 50 per cent, and taken the middling yield, which for wheat above would be 1260/1.5=840 kilos per hectare, a much lower figure than Moosvi used and below 1961 yields.

From the experience of 19 districts in western India in the eighty years prior to 1961, the standard yield for revenue purposes was above the 1946-54 average crop-cutting yields for all 59 cases (different districts and different crops) that could be compared. In 26 of the 59 cases, the crop-cutting yield was in the range of 50 to 70 per cent of the standard yield and in eighteen more were below 50 per cent.[5] If these types of errors were typical of *Ain* yields then one could really not conclude there has been a decline in yields.

Desai argues that the drop in yield per hectare from the normal yields in the *Ain-i-Akbari* to 1960-61 is readily explained by the movement to poorer quality lands, and the loss of forest and pasture which respectively decreased the ability of an area to retain rainfall and the fodder for cattle which reduced fertilizer supply On the last point, first, there is no evidence that livestock per acre has decreased since Akbar's time.[6]

On *a priori* grounds I believe Desai has made a good list of reasons why yields per hectare may have declined. However, he has not considered any arguments for why yields might have increased, with the one important exception. He says, "Further as population grew, crops like rice and wheat which (with greater labour inputs) gave higher yields per hectare pushed out low-yield and low-value crops like jowar, bajra, sesame or linseed to progressively poorer lands, and the yields of the latter fell relatively more" (p.47). In the first part of this quotation, Desai says yields of certain crops will rise, though in fact according to his actual calculations, none does. The reasons they should rise are related to the proposition that small farms in independent India have been consistently found to have higher yields per hectare, albeit there are some dissenters to this generalization. A. K. Sen in his treatment says this is because of larger family labour supply per hectare with few alternative employments, small farms use more labour and other inputs per hectare, thereby producing higher yields. What Sen argues for the cross section of Indian farms has been argued by Boserup as a phenomenon occurring over time.[7] As population increases rural populations attempt to maintain living standards by sending family members out to migrate, taking on more land, if available, and increasing yields per hectare. I would suggest this has been a pervasive pattern in India for many centuries and that especially in the period 1860 to 1960, when free land became very scarce, these effects would have operated to increase yields per hectare. While Desai in the above quote seems to recognize this, he apparently feels that on net, the forces operating to reduce yields are larger.

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[5] See Alan Heston, "Official Yields per Acre in India, 1886-1947: Some Questions of Interpretation," *IESHR*, December 1973, Table I, pp. 309-10.

[6] There is every bit of evidence to indicate that it became more costly to feed livestock as population increased, e.g., the growth of crops strictly for fodder increased. But this need not imply that livestock per acre, and hence fertilizer per acre, decreased. The relative increase in the price of milk recorded in Table 1 is evidence of the increased cost of feeding cattle.

The one argument he uses above is interesting, namely that if one compares the difference between *Ain* yields and crop cutting yields the difference is greater for the crops, like jowar and bajra, that may be grown on marginal lands. Desai shows a drop in yield from 1595 to 1960 in the ratio of 4 : 1 for jowar, and even for Moosvi the ratio is 2.5 : 1. I would argue that this is only one interpretation; another is that yields on jowar, bajra, and other millets have never been known with any accuracy until crop-cutting became systematic. It was also for jowar that the British at first (and I would propose because of Mughal data) most over-estimated standard yields, and when they began experiments in the late nineteenth century, they lowered these standard yields substantially. My own judgement is that a ratio of jowar yields of 4 to 1 in 1595 versus 1961 is mainly due to very inflated estimates for 1595.

As mentioned both Desai and Moosvi derive population estimates for 1600 based on revenue demand of Akbar and assumed payment per person from their work. Desai comes to about 100 million on 1600 and Moosvi to 150 million (a higher figure because output per hectare and person are taken as less than Desai, implying that it would have taken a larger population to meet the revenue demand). Though I would agree that Moosvi's figure seems to have greater demographic plausibility, my comments only bear on these estimates to the extent I have tried to raise doubts that the fundamental agricultural data can be used for such a purpose.

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[7] Ester Boserup, *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth.*

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Note on Professor Alan Heston's "Standard of Living in Akbar's Time—A Comment"

SHIREEN MOOSVI

Professor Heston in his comment on the attempt made by Desai (and, following him, by me) to estimate the size of Indian population in 1595, by using certain statistical information in the *Ain-i-Akbari,* makes some important corrections. He rightly takes both of us to task for an incredible slip in compiling our comparative tables for the purchasing power of wages in Akbar's time and in 1961-62, where we both inadvertently took the *man (maund)* of Akbar's time as equal to 82.3 lbs instead of 55.32 lbs.

Heston's objection to Desai's assumption of very high agricultural yields in 1595 as compared to recent times is also a reasonable one. He does not apparently accept my own "solution" of the problem, viz., equating the average yields of 1595 with the mean of the yields assigned in the *Ain* to the middling and poor lands only; and I myself no longer consider it a tenable assumption. I would thus agree with Heston that, at least as far as my own article on the subject is concerned, it stands in considerable need of revision.

But I think that the method Desai adopted can still be pursued with profit, though undoubtedly, important modifications have to be made. I would like to set down briefly what I think the main modifications should be.

In the first place, since the *Ain-i-Akbari*'s price and wage statistics relate to the Imperial camp, which was then usually either at Agra *or* Lahore—it is obviously inappropriate to compare them with all-India averages. One should take the comparative data for these two cities. Similarly, the *Ain-i-Akbari*'s standard crop-rates (*rai's*) applied either to the immediate vicinity of Sher Shah's capital, Delhi, or at the most, to the region where the *dastur-ul 'amals* were in force, i.e , mainly Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and the Punjab. Thus we must use estimates of yields from western Uttar Pradesh to have really comparable data. Heston observes that recent official yields (arrived at by the crop-cutting method) are too sophisticated to be comparable to the kinds of estimates made by earlier British (and Mughal) administrators. Thus in order to discover whether a change in productivity has occurred since 1595, one must compare the *Ain*'s yields with the official estimates of the latter half of the nineteenth century,[1] and not with the more recent estimates. This means that the other requisite data, viz., prices, wages, and population, must be those of the earlier period. I would accordingly now use prices and wages statistics of 1886-95, and the population figures of 1891 Census.

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[1] Heston believes that both the Mughal and nineteenth century British estimates exagge-

The official *Prices and Wages in India* gives us prices and wages for the cities of Agra and Amritsar (in lieu of Lahore), in an annual series for the decade 1886-95. Comparing the averages obtained from these figures for both prices and wages, with corresponding rates in the *Ain*, one can arrive at the purchasing power of the wages of an unskilled worker in terms of different commodities. The lowest 1595 wage for unskilled worker was 60 *dams* (=Rs 7½) per month, and the 1886-95 average wages for the two cities was Rs 5.106 per month.

TABLE 1

Crops	*Purchasing power of wages in man-i-Akbari*		*Index Purchasing power 1886-95, as per cent of 1595*
	1595	*1886-95*	
Wheat	5.0	3.29	65.8
Rice	3.0	1.92	64.0
Barley	7.5	4.73	63.07
Jawar	6.0	4.16	69.33
Bajra	7.5	3.37	44.93
Gram	7.5	4.43	59.07
Sugarcane	1.07	1.19	111.21
Salt	3.75	2.145	57.20
Cloth	20 *gaz-i-Ilahi*	76.59 *gaz-i-Ilahi*	382.95
Ghee	0.571	0.339	59.371

The modern rate for cloth is that of "country cloth" in a village of Etah District in 1887-88.[2] All other modern prices are from *Prices and Wages in India*, as already stated.

We see that in 1880s and 90s the purchasing power of wages in foodgrains was significantly lower than in 1595, though it was many times higher in terms of cloth. The latter improvement may be exaggerated because the modern "country cloth" that I have had to take as equivalent to the *Ain*'s

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rated the yield. Without entering into a discussion of how far this is a tenable theory, I would say that one would still expect estimates made by Mughal and British officials under similar compulsions and similar methods, to be comparable, the margin of exaggeration, if any, being the same in both cases.

[2] *A Collection of Papers Connected with an Inquiry into the Conditions of the Lower Classes of the Population Specially in Agricultural Tracts in the North-west Provinces and Awadh*, p. 83.

Silhati was really of an inferior kind, and the price is that of the producer and not of the urban market.

I would now make the further assumption that comparative per capita consumption in 1595 and 1886-95 was directly proportional to the purchasing power as indexed above. That is to say, I would assume that changes in rural consumption per capita have followed the same pattern as changes in urban per capita consumption.

I then pass on to the estimates of yields available in the modern official *Agricultural Statistics*. I have taken certain districts of western U.P. and Delhi as forming a significant sample representative of the entire region in which the *rai's* or crop-rates applied.

The *Agricultural Statistics* begins to give such information from 1892. The yields are given separately for irrigated and unirrigated lands. I have compared the productivity of irrigated land as stated for 1892 with the average of good and middling yields in the *Ain*, unirrigated with the *Ain*'s lowest yields.

TABLE 2 (A)

THE MEAN OF *AIN*'S HIGHEST AND MIDDLING YIELD AND MODERN (1892) YIELD FROM IRRIGATED LAND

	man-i-Akbari/bigha-i-Ilahi						
Crop	*Ain*	*Saharanpur*	*Meerut*	*Buland Shahr*	*Aligarh*	*Agra*	*Delhi*
Wheat	10.0	13.34	14.21	14.21	16.01	10.67	12.13
Barley	15.25	14.23	14.23	14.23	14.23	14.32	10.41
Jawar	11.75	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bajra	9.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gram	11.75	10.67	10.67	10.67	10.67	10.67	—
Sugarcane	11.75	17.78	16.68	22.23	—	—	15.62

TABLE 2 (B)

THE *AIN*'S LOWEST YIELD AND MODERN YIELD FROM UNIRRIGATED LAND

	man-i-Akbari/bigha-i-Ilahi						
Crop	*Ain*	*Saharanpur*	*Meerut*	*Buland Shahr*	*Aligarh*	*Agra*	*Delhi*
Wheat	8.87	8.89	9.76	9.76	10.67	5.34	5.29
Barley	8.12	9.78	9.78	9.78	9.78	7.11	—
Jawar	7.50	—	7.11	7.11	8.89	6.2	—
Bajra	5.02	4.89	5.34	6.23	7.11	—	—
Gram	7.75	7 11	7.11	7.11	7.11	5.33	—
Sugarcane	7.50	—	—	—	—	—	—

This comparison shows that no significant change in productivity per unit of area for the major crops between the sixteenth century and the latter half of the nineteenth can really be postulated. On the other hand, it seems almost certain that if any change has occurred, it has been marginal.

With this finding at hand, which is quite contrary to the basic assumption of Desai, his method for obtaining an estimate of population can be greatly simplified. Assuming that per capita consumption was directly proportional to the index of purchasing power of urban wages worked out above and that the yields were the same in 1595 and 1890s, the incidence of land-revenue per head in 1595 can be calculated by simply drawing upon data giving the area of each crop per capita in 1892,[3] the year for which we have the yields. The area of each crop per head of population in 1892 stated in the table is that of the same five districts of U.P., whose crop yields for 1892 we have used in Tables 2(*a*) and (*b*). The population for the districts is that counted by the 1891 Census.

TABLE 3

A *Crops*	*B* *Area/capita 1892 bigha-i-Ilahi*	*C* *Purchasing power in 1892; 1595=100*	*D* *Area/capita 1595 bigha-i-Ilahi*	*E* *Dasturs*	*DXE* *Land revenue dams*
Rice	0.061	64.00	0.095	49.9	4.741
Wheat	0.361	65.80	0.549	55.6	30.524
Barley	0.180	63.07	0.285	41.1	11.714
Jawar	0.151	69.33	0.218	36.6	7.979
Bajra	0.111	44.93	0.247	27.9	6.891
Gram	0.192	(61.03)*	0.315	38.0	11.970
Other foodgrains and pulses	0.265	59.07	0.449	31.4	14.098
Oil-seeds	0.011	(61.03)*	0.018	36.3	0.653
Spices	0.008	(61.03)*	0.013	63.5	0.826
Sugarcane	0.069	111.21	0.062	140.4	8.705
Cotton	0.118	382.95	0.031	82.7	2.564
Other crops	0.002	100.00	0.002	100.0	0.200
Total per capita land revenue					100.865

*Prices for these crops not being available in the *Prices and Wages*, I have assumed for them the same purchasing power as the average of the figures in the same column for other food-crops.

The total land revenue of the *zabt* provinces (Agra, Delhi, Awadh, Allahabad and Lahore) divided by the per capita land revenue we have thus arrived at, should now give us the population of the region. But the total land revenue is not to be taken as identical with the *naqdi* or *jama* figures of the *Ain*. I have discussed this question elsewhere,[4] and have argued that the *jama'* is not the total land revenue assessed on the basis of *dastur*-rates but the expected net income of the *jágirdar*. After making allowances for all expenses of collection and shares of other claimants (such as zamindars and revenue-collectors) and assuming further that 10 per cent of the *jama'* came from taxes other than land revenue, the *naqdi* or *jama'* given in the *Ain* should have been only about 55.56 per cent of the land revenue estimated on the basis of *dasturs*. Therefore the *jama'* of the five *zabt* provinces viz., 212 crore *dams* should be increased to 381.569 crore *dams* so as to represent the total land revenue paid by the peasants. Dividing this with per capita land revenue, the population of the five *zabt* provinces would come to 3.783 crores. This in turn will give 10.013 crores for Akbar's empire and 14.905 crores for the whole of India (assuming the territorial distribution of the population to have been proportionately the same in 1595 as in 1891). This is a little higher figure than the estimate I had earlier arrived at (14.426 crores for India), which, however, as Heston has shown was based on a manifest error.

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[3] *Agricultural Statistics*.

In presenting yet another calculation (inspired, of course, by Desai), I do not of course claim that my result is anything more than tentative. What lies behind it is, however, the belief that with such varied statistical data as are available for 1595, it should be possible to work out the size of Indian population at that time.

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[4] "Magnitude of Land-revenue Demand and Income of the Mughal Ruling Class under Akbar," *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, Vol. IV, pp. 91-121.

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The Annotated Bibliography on the Economic History of India (1500 A.D. to 1947 A.D.)

In 1972, it was announced in this journal that the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune, 411004 (India) had taken up the compilation of an "Annotated Bibliography on the Economic History of India (1500 A.D. to 1947 A.D.)" with the cooperation of the Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi.

Recently two volumes of this Bibliography were released by Satish Chandra, Chairman, University Grants Commission, New Delhi. The third volume is in press and the fourth volume, the last one, will be out by March, 1978. There are four parts in Volume I, viz., (1) Selections from Records, (2) Survey and Settlement Reports, (3) Gazetteers, and (4) Acts and Regulations Volume II consists of two parts, viz., (5) British Parliamentary Papers, and (6) Reports of Committees and Commissions. Volume III is also composed of two parts, viz., (7) Census Reports and (8) Serials. These eight parts are in the form of source material, while parts (9) Books, (10) Articles, and (11) Theses which constitute mostly research work are included in Volume IV.

The bibliographical part of each annotated item also includes, among other things, information relating to the library consulted and the "condition" and the "form" of the work. The "introduction" at the beginning of each part deals exhaustively with the subject matter contained in the text of annotations.

The special features of the Bibliography are the annotations of contents and statistics and presentation indexes. The contents of each work have been annotated exhaustively and the availability of statistics is described in detail with reference to the period and the region covered. In fact, the annotation of historical statistics may be considered as the principal innovation of the Bibliography. There are exhaustive subject, region and author indexes at the end of each part

Each volume is of demy quarto size containing about 800 pages and is printed by photo off-set process by reducing the normal type size to 55 per cent, thus comprising about three times the matter that would have been contained in the ordinary printed work of the same size.

By means of annotations, classification, cross references and indexes, effort has been made to make the Bibliography as useful as possible to the researchers, teachers and students of Indian economic history, and those interested in historical statistics of India.

BOOK REVIEWS

C. J. BAKER and D. A. WASHBROOK, *South India: Political Institutions and Political Change, 1880-1940*, Delhi, 1975, Pp. 231 plus index (hereafter B. and W.); C. BAKER, *The Politics of South India, 1920-1937*, Delhi, 1976, Pp. 326 plus bibliography, glossary and index (hereafter B.); and D.A. WASHBROOK, *The Emergence of Provincial Politics, 1880-1920*, Delhi, 1977, Pp. 350 plus bibliography, glossary and index (hereafter W.).

A colleague of mine, guiding a seminar on the politics of various countries, whenever he was obliged to whip up a flagging discussion, would fall back confidently on the comment, "But wasn't it different in the south?" It is a question that is particularly pertinent to any discussion on India, be it in a discussion on history or on contemporary conditions. That the south is different is the most obvious, if most superficial, conclusion to be drawn from the latest elections in India; but this is no new conclusion. British administrators thought so too. Historians of India seem to have shared this opinion; indeed, so different did the south appear that to many it was hardly worth studying at all. A curious feature of recent South Indian historiography is that much of the significant research has been done by foreign scholars—from Malaysia, Australia, the United States and Britain. The corpus of work published by two young Cambridge scholars, David Washbrook and Christopher Baker, deserves particular mention; for, whatever one may think about the analysis, gratitude cannot be withheld for the thoroughness with which detail has been collected from the most varied official sources.

To the credit of Washbrook and Baker, they do not assume that the south is different. They set out to establish in the South Indian context what has now become a well-known assertion about Indian nationalism: that it was not an autonomous entity with inherent strength but was a purely reactive phenomenon to British governmental actions. It is seen as no more than a conglomeration of factions, held together by patronage, clientage and linkages. Those who claim to be nationalists are really indulging in no more than, in Baker's phrase, "antics" (B., p. 25). They are said to have neither idealism nor ideology and to be inspired by nothing nobler than a desire for office and jobs and a self-interest which leads to an incessant shifting of loyalties and a constant hopping on band-wagons. Namier was accused of taking the mind out of politics; this school has gone further and taken not only the mind but decency, character, integrity and selfless commitment out of the Indian national movement.

Washbrook is slightly more responsive to reality than Baker, but it is not unfair to speak of a Washbrook-Baker model of South Indian politics. Supported by an overkill of political, economic and social data which may stun, even if it does not convince, the reader, the authors contend that at the start the British Government in Madras were only interested in the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order; for the rest, administration was carried on by or in the interests of men who independently possessed a large share of authority in society. The clientage network of these leaders was vertical rather than horizontal to the social order. Non-Brahmin magnates had Brahmin lawyers, clerks and priests and there was, particularly in the Andhra districts, considerable fraternizing among the various castes. These cross-caste structures were little influenced by the caste categories in which the Government were beginning to think for administrative convenience.

Meantime, as even our authors cannot fail to see, a new national sentiment was beginning to spread in Madras presidency as in the rest of India. Washbrook accepts this, as well as the fact that the Government promoted politicization of caste in an effort to weaken the Congress. But at this point the baton passes to Baker, and his interpretation is more imperceptive. He argues that the Justice party, which was brought into existence in 1916 with active official encouragement as a protagonist of non-Brahmin interests, was, like the Congress, only interested in jobs at the municipal, district board and provincial level. To sustain the contention that the Justice party did not take caste feelings seriously, attention is focussed on odd personal friendships between the leaders of the Justice party and members of the Brahmin community. All the activities of the party while in office to build up the narrow interests of the non-Brahmins are pushed under the carpet of the party manifestos, which utter the same radical objectives as the Congress party. The loyalism of the Justice party is explained away as no more than a front. To minimize the hostility of the non-Brahmins as a whole to the Brahmins, emphasis is laid on the rivalries and antagonism between various sub-castes among both the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins.

So much for the Justice party; but for the model to be sustained it is necessary to fit the Congress party to this Procrustean bed as well. For this purpose one has to reduce the significance of the mass campaigns which the Congress organized in various parts of the Presidency after 1920. So the no-tax campaign in Guntur 1920-22 is attributed to local grievances and the conduct of discontented village and forest officials (B. and W , pp. 98-141). Hardly anything is said in any of the books about the Vaikom Satyagraha of 1925. Rajagopalachari is stated to have utilized non-cooperation to build up a career (B. and W., p. 129)—a charge which even his most severe critic would regard as ridiculous. In the ding-dong tussle for office which Baker regards as the basic explanation for Madras politics from 1920, the Congress is seen as finally coming out on top in the 1937 elections because of better use of local men of prestige and its all-India contacts—the last being the only concession Baker makes to nationalism.[1]

In a sense, one wishes that all this were true. It would be more pleasing to Indian chauvinist vanity if South Indian society had not been caste-ridden and had lacked a social basis for a lasting non-Brahmin movement, if it had been faced with problems cast on modern lines, if politicization of caste had not been a serious phenomenon, and if caste confrontation had been mostly a matter of rhetoric The truth, of course, is very different. The people of South India during the last two hundred years were not as forward-looking as Baker and Washbrook suggest, nor the British rulers as innocent of political machinations. For centuries Brahmins had held a dominant position in the religious, economic and political life of this part of the country, and throughout these many years South India formed a multi-caste society with one dominant caste—the Brahmins. The high ritual status of the Brahmins was nowhere more unchallenged than here. Especially in the Tamil-speaking areas, the religious services of the Brahmins could not be dispensed with by raising the status of priests of lower ranking groups, and the Brahmins were able to extort their price, which was acceptance of the primacy of their ritual status, grants, exemption from taxes and other perquisites. So the Brahmins secured both deference and privilege. This was supported in the heart of the Tamil country—the districts, in the British period, of Madurai, Thanjavur and Salem—by Brahmin ownership of land. The Brahmin population of this area was six to seven times higher than elsewhere and much richer. It formed about a third of the mirasidar elite and its marriage and kinship network spread out over a wide area The Brahmin landowners would not, of course, themselves plough the land and had this done by subordinate tenants and labourers. All the other castes derived their living by a dependent relationship upon the dominant Brahmin caste. Even in villages where the Brahmins were not the landowners, they secured a special position; they were not tenants of the non-Brahmin landlords but had independent rights to maintenance from temple lands and were only subject to the jurisdiction of their caste assembly.

To round off their ascendancy, the Brahmins maintained, despite the best efforts of the local kings, their grip on village administration. The law too was codified by them and they assisted in its enforcement by the courts; but they themselves were regarded as above the general law and could only be tried by their own caste panchayats. The coming of the East India Company made no difference to this In 1816 the British created the office of village headman with police and judicial functions and in 1836 revenue collection was added to his duties. But in fact the village headman, frequently a Brahmin, functioned as merely one member of the Brahmin panchayat which administered the villages till the end of the century.

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[1] C. Baker, "The Congress at the 1937 Elections in Madras," *Modern Asian Studies*, October 1976, pp. 557-89.

Not being a static elite, the Brahmins were quick to take advantage of education in the English-teaching schools and colleges which sprang up in the nineteenth century. To ritual status, traditional literacy, landownership and official influence they now added the asset of the new learning. South India was the earliest field of missionary endeavour and attracted the largest share of missionary enterprise; and by 1850 there was a wide network of schools, seminaries and printing houses, covering almost every district and even extending into remote villages where the influence of the raj was almost imperceptible. As the missionaries concentrated more on schools than on colleges, Madras was more advanced in primary education and more backward in higher education than the other presidencies. The Brahmins did not allow their religious commitment and orthodoxy to inhibit their utilization of missionary institutions or their access to the occupational opportunities which a knowledge of English would provide. Even Christian proselytization did not worry them much, and it was the higher non-Brahmin castes who appear more resentful of this. There is a revealing description provided by the *Madras Native Herald*, a newspaper run by non-Brahmins, in August 1861 of the Scottish Free Church Mission School in Madras city: "the Sevastopol of southern India, the citadel of Satan, the centre of caste, pride and Brahminism."

By 1870 the Madras presidency had caught up in higher education, and here again it was the Brahmins who were in the forefront. By the end of the century, constituting about 3.6 per cent of the population, they provided about 69 per cent of the graduates, while the non-Brahmin Hindus, who formed about 88 per cent of the population, had about 20 per cent of the graduates. This lop-sidedness was reflected in the public services and the professions. The decision of the Madras Government in 1858 that recruitment to all posts, barring the lowest, should be by competitive examination facilitated this. Few Brahmins from Madras entered the Indian Civil Service because they were unwilling to cross the seas; but below the top level they secured a disproportionate share of the posts.

For long the British Government did not mind this Brahmin domination of education and official employment, for the Brahmins were basically loyal. As Sykes reported from Salem in 1853, "A Brahmin never considers himself of any nation; he is 'twice-born' and by virtue of this is bound by no such ties. . . . He and his fathers . . . have had nothing to do with one nation more than another. And whoever may rule India, he fully believes that all financial affairs will be administered as hitherto . . . through those 'twice-born'." The first stirrings of political awareness in Madras were among the high caste non-Brahmins, who first set up a branch of the British Indian Association and then, disliking its attitude, established their own Madras Native Association. Had this channel of political and social articulation remained open and gained strength, it might have precluded the later major development of Madras politics along caste lines. But the Government and the missionaries in alliance thwarted this effort. Thereafter, for many years the Government had little to worry about from either the Brahmins or the non-Brahmins; as Washbrook observes so sensitively, "between 1895 and 1916, scarcely a single anti-British dog barked on the streets" (W., p. 233). But the Brahmins were, from the 1890s, beginning to take an interest in politics and to join the Congress party. In 1909 they secured nine out of ten elected seats in the Councils, and in 1916 they held 14 out of 15 seats allotted to the Madras presidency in the All-India Congress Committee. With the Congress transforming itself from a moderate into an agitational party, the Government had at last to sit up and take notice. Tilak's activities in Maharashtra brought home to the officials that Brahmins were not above sedition; and in Madras itself Brahmins were enrolling themselves in considerable numbers in the Theosophical Society and the Home Rule Leagues. Annie Besant was bringing together nationalist sentiment, Hindu revivalist feeling and a general support of Brahmin authority.

To combat this growing strength of the Congress, the authorities in Madras could not utilize communal and provincial issues. The Muslims and Sikhs were too few to matter, and migrations from other provinces hardly existed. It is true that the Madras presidency was multi-lingual, but antagonism between Malayalis, Andhras and Tamils still lay below the surface. However, caste rancour was an obvious lever for promoting political dissension. The Brahmin monopoly of power, prestige and property was glaring even as late as 1918. In what was broadly a three-tier structure of Brahmins, non-Brahmins and *adi*-Dravidas, a strong dislike of Brahmin hegemony was beginning to develop among the other two sections of society. They were not anti-religious or anti-Hindu but anti-Brahmin. This feeling was not submerged by rivalries among the non-Brahmin castes, an acceptance of Brahmin ritual status and utilization of Brahmin services. The British were not loth to further this feeling for their own purpose. The Justice party was formed with their energetic support. In 1916 Tyagaraya Chetty attacked the Home Rule movement as a scheme devised by Brahmins who were not content with a virtual monopoly of official posts throughout the country but wished to take over the Government. Washbrook tries to explain this attitude by stating that Chetty's anti-Brahminism "was more political than racial". (W., p. 214) This statement, as it stands, is meaningless It is astonishing that in a book with pretensions to scholarship and published in 1977 it should be assumed that caste differences could possibly have a racial basis. To be charitable, what Washbrook presumably wants to say is that politicization of caste differences had occurred, which is true enough. In 1917, at the first non-Brahmin conference, T.M. Nair asked why a political non-Brahmin movement had come to the surface, and gave the answer: "We felt that we ought to give the British Government all the support we can in crushing out any movement in this country which is calculated to undermine their influence and much more to completely sever their connection as rulers of this country."[2] Willingdon on coming out as Governor of Madras in 1919, failed to understand the motivation of British policy and thought the stress on caste feeling overdone. "I really think," he wrote to Montagu,[3] "it is largely artificial." A few months later he was expressing his intense dislike of the non-Brahmins: "These non-Brahmins are certainly the dirtiest, meanest devils I've ever come across, and again I say why the d—l they were allowed this most unfair advantage [of separate representation] which they are most unfairly exploiting, I can't think."[4] But then came non-cooperation and the evidence of the Congress under Brahmin leadership gaining mass support. Washbrook recognizes this, grants that the vote-pulling capacity of the Congress had become so great that some local elections were practically decided in the Congress district offices, and points out that Brahmins like Venkatapayya in Bezwada and Kaleswara Rao in Guntur stood at the head of political networks (W., p. 182-83). Willingdon at the time saw this too, and his distaste for the non-Brahmins gave way to political considerations. Just over a year after drenching the non-Brahmins in invective he is reporting to Montagu: "Politically, the non-Brahmin is the most steady of our politicians and this should keep our presidency all right." And two weeks later, "Gandhi goes on organizing and is to my mind catching hold as there is no counter-propaganda. I am trying to get the non-Brahmins to start a counter-campaign."[5]

Washbrook and Baker might have been more discerning in this matter if they had paid more attention to the Malayalam-speaking district of Malabar as well as the neighbouring states of Travancore and Cochin. There the local Brahmins enjoyed a very high status in the social hierarchy; and the same status was claimed by the non-Malayali Brahmins, who appeared in these areas in increasing numbers from the early eighteenth century, secured most of the jobs and dominated trade and money-lending.[6] From 1817 to 1877 they held the diwanship of Travancore without a break, and for long stretches even thereafter. This Brahmin dominance was resented by the educated Nayars wanting employment. By the end of the century, Malabar was one of the most literate districts in the presidency. Many of these Nayars, failing to get jobs in Travancore and Cochin, migrated to Madras city and helped to fan anti-Brahmin agitation in the presidency as a whole.

So, while one is thankful to the industry of Washbrook and Baker, many facts which they have unearthed go against their own interpretation and suggest that politics cannot be explained by politics alone. That the Congress and the Justice party are both interested in jobs and patronage, that they voice identical slogans and set forth similar aims and intentions in their party documents do not add up to the total answer. The social antagonisms of caste had begun to seep into politics, and the British promoted and took the fullest advantage of this. One cannot run away from the fact that Brahmins and Congress and nationalist leadership in Madras tended to overlap, just as the Justice party became synonymous with non-Brahmin interests as well as loyalism. In 1923 the chief secretary of the Madras government reported, in a matter-of-fact way, that there was a fairly well-defined ministerial party composed of non-Brahmins, and the opposition consisted entirely of Brahmins.[7] Goschen, Willingdon's successor as Governor, reported seriously to the Secretary of State, Birkenhead, in 1925 that as Tyagaraya Chetty lay unconscious and dying, he kept saying, "Swarajists are humbugs, be loyal to the throne."[8]

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[2] Reported in *Justice*, 22 August 1917.

[3] Willingdon papers, India Office Library, MSS. EUR. F. 93, Vol. 4, 20 May 1919.

[4] *Ibid.*, 5 February 1920.

[5] *Ibid.*, 6 and 21 March 1921.

[6] For further details, see R. Jeffrey, *The Decline of Nayar Dominance*, Delhi, 1976.

In Madras presidency, unlike in other parts of India, with the spectacular exception of the Mapilla rebellion, peasant unrest neither erupted sporadically nor influenced provincial politics to any marked degree. These were, except for the peaks of Congress mass campaigns, broadly a matter of limited constitutional activity and elections on a restricted franchise. They could, therefore, be enclosed and articulated in a caste idiom. It was the political community of caste which, surmounting class differences, kept together Andhra landholders, Tamil businessmen and educated Malayalis; and it was the incongruity of this situation that, to a large extent, explains the defeats of the Justice party in 1934 and 1937 at the hands even of narrow electorates. The Congress boycotted the elections in 1920. But in all elections thereafter, despite limited suffrage, the Congress steadily increased its votes. This establishes that the nationalist groundswell was growing incessantly among even the non-Brahmins, despite the Justice party enjoying the advantages of office and the support of the officials. To underrate these trends and to seek full explanations on the basis of other categories is to miss many of the nuances, and some even of the deep tides, of Madras politics.

S. GOPAL

IMTIAZ AHMAD (Ed.), *Family, Kinship and Marriage among Muslims in India*, Delhi, Manohar, 1976, Pp. 367, Rs 75.

It is only during the present decade that some awareness has begun to emerge among Indian sociologists that, to understand Indian society and culture a study of the Hindu community only is not sufficient, and that, it is equally important to study non-Hindu communities which have deeply affected the present Indian society and have, in turn, been affected profoundly by the indigenous sanskritic and regional cultures. But little seems to have been done to carry this awareness further into empirical and analytical studies, to fill up what clearly is a significant gap.

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[7] Parliamentary papers, House of Commons, 1924-25, Vol. 10 (cmd. 2361), p. 266, 16 July 1923.

[8] Goschen papers, India Office Library, MSS. EUR. D. 595, Vol. 2, 13 May 1925.

It is in this context that Imtiaz Ahmad's effort to edit a series of books on Muslims is highly commendable. His first volume *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India* was well received. Encouraged by the success he has now edited *Family, Kinship and Marriage among Muslims in India*, the volume under review. This volume includes essays based on a dozen studies made both by Indian and foreign scholars on Indian Muslims and cover several facets of the institutions of marriage, family and kinship, among Muslims in different regions of the country, such as marriage customs and rituals, family patterns, purdah and status of women.

It is heartening to see that all the authors have deviated from the futile exercise of presenting the Indian Muslim society in the framework of the Islamic ideal. Although all the essays do not exhibit the same level of scholarship, and some are merely descriptive while others are more analytical, all of them are based on empirical data and explode the myth that the Indian Muslim society is based on the Arabian Islamic model, and highlights the basic Indianness. For example it is brought out clearly that the regional cultural heritage is the most pervading influence on social institutions of Muslims, and that its impact extends not only to Muslim marriage and family patterns but also to the details of rituals and practices. Thus D'Souza cites the example of the Moplahs of Kerala who give more importance to *kalyanam* than to *nikah* at the time of marriage. *Nikah*, the purely Islamic act of marriage, does take place but marriage is not completed until the *kalyanam* has been performed. Similar instances of a local custom superseding a purely Islamic one are reported by Ali and Lambat in their studies of Assamese Muslims and of the Surati Vohras respectively. The advocates of Pan-Islamism may find it difficult to digest this reality that Indian Muslim society is more a variant of Indo-Aryan culture rather than that of the Arabian Islamic culture.

The editor has been so carried away by the impact of indigenous culture on Indian Muslims that he devoted a greater part of his introduction to an attack on the advocates of reform in Muslim personal law which is based on Islamic injunctions. He takes the position that Muslim personal law is of no consequence in the functioning of social institution of Muslims. While no one will assert that only law is required either to shape or change social institutions, no one can deny that law ought to change with time and adherence to an outmoded legal code can sometimes adversely affect the pace of social change. And this is precisely what is happening in India. The fact that some Muslims do deviate from *shariat* (the Islamic Code) does not mean that *shariat* as it stands today should remain static and should not be subjected to the scrutiny of time and be re-interpreted. Can we for instance justify polygamy permitted in law, because the actual instances of polygamy are not numerous among Indian Muslims? In fact, the central theme that emerges from the present volume is that Muslims are an integral part of the Indian society; this in itself calls for a uniform civil code which should recognize this very fact. By attacking those demanding a reform in Muslim personal law, who are in fact asking for a uniform civil code for all Indians, Ahmad has contradicted the conclusions of this important volume.

ZARINA BHATTY

D. B. MILLER, *From Hierarchy to Stratification: Changing Patterns of Social Inequality in a North Indian Village*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1975, Pp. xviii+229, Rs 60.

A major concern of students of contemporary Indian society is the analysis of the manner in which the pattern of social life in rural India has been affected by economic and political changes initiated in the wider society. This concern is reflected in Miller's work, which analyzes how forms of social inequality in Badipur, a multi-caste village in Haryana, have been affected by planned economic development. Data were collected through intensive fieldwork over a period of thirteen months in 1968-69.

The book examines the impact of certain benefits of planning—such as electrification, better irrigation facilities, improved communications, and new educational opportunities—on the caste hierarchy in Badipur. In particular, we learn how the new opportunities have affected the traditional ties between persons and groups, such as those between patrons and clients or between *jajmans* and *kamins*. Unlike some earlier studies the unit for analyzing these changes is not the entire membership of a particular caste group (or *jati*) in the village community, but that segment of it which is part of the local *jajmani* system—either as landowners and receivers of services or as specialists and givers of services. In Badipur this system operated essentially in a *pana*: a sub-division of the village settlement. Following the same logic the author shows that the power of a dominant caste is articulated through the *jajmani* system by virtue of its control over material resources and men. Accordingly, the dominance of a particular caste group in Badipur finds expression in a *pana*, and not in the village as a whole.

It is the author's contention that groups which were the receivers of services in the *jajmani* system, such as the Kinha Jats, were able to benefit substantially from the new opportunities, whereas those who occupied a position of servitude as the givers of services, such as a section of Kaushik Brahmins and the Rang Chamars, did not experience any comparable benefits. This observation is substantiated by examining the responses of groups which were not bound in servitude to any masters, such as the Bhardwaj Brahmins and the Daniwal Chamars. In general, these groups have gained much more in terms of their ability to pursue higher levels of education and secure employment outside the village than their *kamin* counterparts. Among the Chamars, for instance, the prosperity of the Daniwal contrasts strikingly with the poverty of the subservient Rang and Atiwal. However, the author's argument that the inability of certain groups to avail of the new opportunities was a consequence of their subservience in the *jajmani* system should have been pursued more fully. His own explanation tends to be rather simplistic: "those who are poor and economically dependent now are in this position because they were poor and economically dependent in the past" (p. 210). Was subordination to their *jajmans* alone responsible for preventing the Rang Chamars or Kaushik Brahmins from improving their material conditions, or was this because not enough economic opportunities or incentives were available for them to repudiate their past? It is plausible to argue that new employment opportunities, for instance, were not commensurate with the growth of population, and therefore the options open to the residents of Badipur were limited. Hence, many subordinate groups may have had no choice but to earn their livelihood in the old way. The only awareness of the implications of population pressure that the author displays is in the form of a single sentence reference to the people who have been "squeezed. . .over the edge of the old village perimeter" (p. 4) because of the inadequacy of residential land.

An important dimension of the book is an examination of how the traditional ranking of caste groups has been affected by the new political and economic order. It is well known that the ranking of castes in a local area was religiously sanctioned and based on the notions of purity and pollution. This arrangement, which the author regards as hierarchical, was exemplified by the restrictions on the giving and receiving of food and on the smoking of the *hookah* and *chilum*. The author explicitly shows that the framework within which the hierarchical principle operated was the *jajmani* system. With the exception of the Brahmins, ritual rank was broadly congruent with control over economic resources and political power. In the new political environment the earlier values that sanctioned inequality are in conflict with the egalitarian values embodied in the Constitution. Further, the extention of the market economy, the scope for buying land, and new employment opportunities have led to the growth of individualism and made it possible for people to gain respect uninhibited by ritual considerations. But there is no substantial evidence to indicate that the old hierarchical values have lost ground in the *jajmani* system—the sphere where, following the author's own line of reasoning, they have their most potent expression. In fact, he himself asserts that "no new system is emerging" (p. 207), and hence it is apparent that traditional ritual sanctions continue to underlie the ranking of groups. In these circumstances the title of the book appears to be extremely misleading for it erroneously suggests that the hierarchical principle is yielding ground to a system of stratification—whereby the ranking of groups on the basis of wealth and power carries no normative sanctions.

The book is rich in ethnography. But the richness of one's field material cannot alone yield a good sociological monograph. Much depends on one's ability to pose a problem and marshal diverse evidence coherently and systematically in order to explain it. From this point of view Miller's work is far from satisfying While the problem posed by him is significant, the book is marred by his tendency to overload it with facts and themes which tend to detract from the main argument. This, together with the large number of obscure sentences, are a great burden on the reader. On the whole a disappointing book.

ANAND CHAKRAVARTI

VIJAYA B. PUNEKAR, *Assimilation: A Study of North Indians in Bangalore*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1974, Pp. ix+160, Rs 36.

The appearance of this book, which is based on fieldwork conducted during 1963-66, reflects the growing interest in urban sociology in India and the realization that there are few empirical studies on the subject. The I.C.S.S.R., who supported the publication of the book through a publications grant, undoubtedly intended to help fill this gap. The book is welcome, first, for the questions it raises about ethnicity in the Indian situation, and second for the extensive data on bilingualism which is presented in the second part of the book. The material on bilingualism will be of interest to linguists as well as to sociologists. I have three major criticisms of the book, however; the first relates to its theoretical orientation, the second to the methodology employed in the collection of data, and the third to the way in which the data are presented.

In the first chapter Punekar pursues the question of ethnicity in the Indian urban situation and points out that this concept has generally been mistakenly confused with "communalism" or "casteism," in the past, both of which have negative connotations. Punekar eventually comes to the conclusion that caste is the most pervasive and important element of ethnic identity in the Indian urban situation, and that "assimilation" is hardly occurring at all. While this discussion is interesting and pertinent to the development of an urban sociology in India, it has practically no relevance to the design of her research or the data collected which are presented in the rest of the book, The author admits that her conceptualization of the problem underwent significant change some years after she had collected this data, and this seems to be the crux of the problem. Thus the introduction presents an assessment of the various elements of ethnicity in urban India—religion, caste, region, language, and nation—and the relevance these have for the process of assimilation. The research itself focussed only on interaction among linguistic groups in the urban setting and what this means in terms of national integration. No attempt at all seems to have been made to integrate the two parts of the book which were clearly written at different points of time and were based on different sets of assumptions. This is indeed a most peculiar kind of scholarship.

The original research project sought to determine the extent of linguistic integration among the various linguistic groups residing in Bangalore. Thus the author set out to interview a random sample of North Indian migrants and a matching sample of their "local" (i.e., Kannada-speaking) neighbours. The sample was drawn from the Electoral Rolls of the Bangalore Corporation (1960-61) and sampling problems arose almost immediately, drawing into question why modifications in the research design were not made at this stage of the project. The North Indian sample and the local sample were chosen on the basis of their names on the assumption that (*i*) North Indians use surnames whereas South Indians do not and (*ii*) the names in the north are different from those in the south. She soon discovered that many Rajasthanis in her sample had not given their surnames, had to exclude Muslims and Christians from the sample because their names do not differ according to their regional background, found that a large number of her North Indian sample did not have a "local" neighbour within ten households in any direction, and discovered that South Indian sounding names include Tamils, Telugus, Marathis, Konkanis and Coorgis as well as Kannada-speakers. Nonetheless the author proceeded, undeterred, to try to test her original hypothesis with a sample of 118 North Indian households and 59 "locals," 24 per cent of which were non-Kannada speaking but, for the sake of numbers, were included and treated as a homogeneous sample. Just the discovery that linguistic and caste groups tend to congregate in different residential areas of the city should have been a clear warning that her assumption of urban residential integration was not valid, but treating non-Kannada-speaking neighbours as "locals" calls into serious question many of her conclusions.

In presenting the data on bilingualism, Punekar does little more than describe the numbers and percentages which are presented in the tables at the end of each chapter. This makes for heavy reading which is entirely unnecessary and tends to obscure the larger meanings of her findings. Explanations for differences are offered at the lowest possible level of analysis and often contradict those offered elsewhere or turn out to be totally irrelevant to the major thesis.

Despite these shortcomings, however, the book is not without merit. It does provide some interesting empirical data for those interested in multilingualism in the urban setting, and it is good that the question of ethnicity is now being openly discussed and seriously considered, although, as the author rightly points out, the questions she raises await further research before they can be answered.

ANDREA MENEFEE SINGH

FRANCIS ROBINSON, *Separatism among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims, 1860-1923*, Cambridge University Press, 1974, Pp. xiii+469, £ 9.00.

Francis Robinson has written a detailed account of the early development of Muslim politics in the United Provinces, which, he rightly claims, was a key region for Indo-Muslim politics in general. U.P. was the location of Aligarh College, the most important educational centre for Muslims in the late nineteenth century; it was the hub of Muslim League activity in the early twentieth century; and it was the home of most of the leading Muslims, both politicians and ulama, who became active in anti-British politics after World War I. For this province, Robinson seeks to answer a number of crucial questions: Why did political alignments based on religion arise at all? What was the attitude of government and its role in the development of Muslim separatism? Who were the men active in communal politics, and why and how did they organize? He takes a hard-headed approach to politics by asking: what were the advantages to be gained, and what were the calculations made, by Muslim politicians? All of these are questions which need to be asked and adequately answered. How well, then, does he accomplish the task?

To summarize, the work begins with an examination of the Urdu-speaking elite of the United Provinces in the late nineteenth century. Robinson states that the class of landholders and government servants was comprised of both Hindus and Muslims who had more in common with each other than with their co-religionists in the society at large. He clearly analyzes the threats to which this elite was exposed in the period 1860-1900 from the spread of Western education, the reform of the bureaucracy, the spread of elective government to the local level, and Hindu revivalist movements. Faced with such threats, most of them government-initiated, the Urdu-speaking elite tended to break up into communal groups. The Muslims in particular felt threatened and began to define themselves more and more, whether culturally or politically, as Muslims. This latter development is traced in a chapter on the growth of Muslim separatism before 1900, which discusses the work of

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his college at Aligarh. This educational centre became a focal point for Muslim political activity during "the high point of Muslim separatism," 1900-1909, when Muslim notables sought separate electorates from a government ready to concede them in order to keep the Muslims on its side.

Subsequent chapters analyze the factional divisions within the U.P. Muslim leadership down to 1923, factions which Robinson dubs, after the fashion of the British records, the "Young Party" and the "Old Party," groups which were later joined by a third, the ulama. This analysis pointedly breaks up the monolithic view of Muslim politics. While the "Old Party" became the pro-government group, the "Young Party" chose a more nationalistic path, influenced by events in the Middle East and the World War which cast Britain in an anti-Muslim role, and by the prospect of further reforms—and the political spoils they entailed—after the war. During the Khilafat and Non-cooperation movements, it was the young Muslims and their ulama allies who helped Gandhi capture the political initiative, and the Congress organization. The Young Party-ulama and the Khilafat-Congress alliances ultimately collapsed, however, not only from their inherent contradictions, but also because they led political activity too far from the concrete prizes of electoral office. Hindu-Muslim cooperation and the Khilafat movement ended, according to Robinson, not in 1922 with the cancellation of non-cooperation and the arrest of Gandhi, nor in 1924 with the abolition of the Caliphate by Turkey, but in 1923 with renewed electoral contests.

There is certainly much more to the book than this summary indicates. Robinson's research is painstaking, his analysis detailed, his style readable, and the evidence he marshalls to support his points impressive. The book contains maps, statistical tables, illustrations, a glossary, a bibliography, and four appendices (pp. 358-434) containing thumbnail biographies of the men he discusses.[1]

For all its virtues, however, Robinson's work is seriously flawed. For one thing, the book, while not based exclusively on government sources, tends to adopt their tone. Despite having read the personal papers of Muslim leaders and the newspapers of the nationalists, Robinson adopts the point of view which sees most Indian politics as "chicane, jobbery, and extortion."[2] In spite of his occasional references to "firm religious beliefs," he seems to view the use of religious ideas and symbolism in the political context as rank opportunism, designed to hoodwink the credulous masses and to increase circulation of the young Muslim press. This tone is more objectionable than witty. Furthermore, adopting the point of view of the bureaucrat seeking to maintain British rule is not very helpful for the historian. It is one thing to defend the *status quo* against its enemies; it is quite another to seek to understand the latter in their own terms.

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[1] This reviewer, however, has noticed a number of factual errors in the appendices. For example, the Bilgramis, Major Syed Hasan in App. I (p 369), and Syed Hosain in App. II (p. 395) were Shias, not Sunnis. In App. III, Maulana Husain Ahmad Madni has become Hasan. There are undoubtedly other errors.

[2] The quote is not from the present work, but from Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals* (reprint), p. 84.

The overall tone of the work is only one of its problems. Another, undoubtedly related to the first, is the central role Robinson assigns to the British government in the creation of the Muslims' separate consciousness. His analysis of the fragmentation of the Urdu-speaking elite into its religious components is highly sophisticated, but one questions whether this elite ever had the social solidarity he implies.[3] Muslim reform movements from the time of Shah Waliullah, or earlier, had emphasized Islamic purification and Muslim identity vis-a-vis other groups in society. Muslim self-consciousness was as much a product of Islamic reform movements as it was a reaction to assaults by Hindu reformers or a result of categorization by British bureaucrats, though these latter factors certainly accelerated a process already underway.

The British government, through the patronage it doled out, and through concessions in the various reforms, is also viewed by Robinson as the chief motive force behind the development of Muslim politics, especially in the competition between factions for the spoils of office. Problems of belief, of ideology, it seems, are irrelevant. One cannot deny that the constitutional changes of the successive reforms had a great deal to do with the development of Indian politics, but there must be place for other, less tidy and predictable factors.[4] The differences between the "Old Party" and the "Young Party" were based on ideological differences and on differences of style and personality as much as they were based on attitudes toward working with the government. In addition, there were numerous factions within the "Young Party," a fact which Robinson's binary classification tends to obscure.[5]

In his treatment of the ulama, Robinson is probably farthest from achieving an adequate understanding of his subject. He portrays them as powerful political figures during the pre-British period, which is highly problematical. He states that certain ulama sought to re-assert their power within the Muslim community, but does not really examine the nature of that influence. Much more needs to be done on the earlier organization of the ulama before their role in the political activity of the 1920s is fully understood.[6] Still, it is not very helpful to describe them as a "band of private school-masters" (p. 325), seeking to revive their trade with "fatwa power" (p 269) and by ties of the "old school turban" (p. 272). This is another instance where Robinson's tone obscures as much as it enlightens.

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[3] Robinson himself has suggested that more research needs to be done into what kind of a group the Urdu-speaking elite was. See proceedings of a workshop on Islam in South Asia held at Heidelberg in December 1974: Dietmar Rothermund, ed., *Islam in Southern Asia*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1975.

[4] For other opinions on this point, see Eugene F. Irschick's review of "Locality, Province, and Nation" (Cambridge, 1973) in *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXXIV, 2 (February, 1975), esp. pp. 461-63, 471-72; and G Pandey's review of the same work plus Anil Seal, *Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, and Gordon Johnson, "Provincial Politics and Indian Nationalism" in *IESHR*, XI, No. 1-2, June-September 1974, pp. 326-40.

[5] For another treatment of the interplay of Muslim factional groups, see David Lelyveld and Gail Minault, "The Campaign for a Muslim University, 1898-1920," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, April 1974, pp. 145-89.

Robinson's portrayal of the "Young Party" leaders also obscures important considerations. Certainly, the Ali brothers were no saints, but catching them with their hand in the till gets one no further toward understanding their tremendous popular appeal and political effectiveness. For that, one has to look at their writings in the press, their oratory, their triumphal tours throughout India in the periods before and after World War I. These were passionate men, with great religious zeal and political conviction. People not only believed them, but believed in their cause. And not all this emotion and belief were misplaced. At least, one cannot look at all the followers of the Khilafat and Non-cooperation movements as misguided simply because they were emotional, or—more importantly—because they sought to withdraw consent of the governed from the British government. The non-cooperators failed to oust the British at that time, but the Muslim Khilafat leaders and their Congress allies were remarkably successful in broadening political participation in India.

Robinson's work is basically the study of an elite, and does not seek to examine the nature of the interaction between the professional politicians and their followers. It is not enough, however, to analyze the deepening religious animosities of the 1920s chiefly as a result of renewed electoral competition in 1923. An adequate explanation of the development of separatism should do more than briefly mention the Mapilla rebellion, the burgeoning communal violence in 1922-24, and the effects that violence had upon the actions of the leaders. In excluding mass mobilization and its repercussions from consideration, Robinson fails to analyze adequately the anatomy of separatism. For that, considerations of myth, symbol, and ideology are necessary, and they are, admittedly, much harder to get at The explanation of separatism is still far off.

GAIL MINAULT

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[6] Barbara Metcalf has recently completed a Ph. D. thesis on the Deoband School, 1867-1900, for the University of California at Beikeley, which should greatly improve our knowledge of the Indian ulama.

B.S. UPADHYAYA, *Feeders of Indian Culture*, Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi, 1973, Pp. viii+127, Rs 16.50.

This little volume which claims "to present a panoramic view of India's integrated acquisitions across the centuries," is a collection of articles of Professor B.S. Upadhyaya which appeared in the *New Age* during 1971-72. A good deal gets talked about India's contribution to the world culture but what is generally forgotten, says our author, is that India has received likewise from many nations. "The way it has integrated the gains should speak of its glory." The present book deals with this aspect of Indian culture which affords a fresh vision and points towards a new intellectual horizon for the study of cultural history.

The author believes in the concept of "total history and total culture" and emphasizes the continuum of culture which according to him "is a contribution of all to all." Being a diffusionist he touches upon the role played by different incoming races—from prehistoric times to modern period—like the proto-Austroloids, Dravidians, Sumer-Assyrians, Aryans, Persians and the Europeans. India has received new ideas from time to time and yielded forth an unprecedented crop of social harvest and a complex culture.

The Sanskrit term *asura* signifies the Assyrians of history according to B.S. Upadhyaya (p. 23). The use of *nath* or nose ring by Indian women came from Assyria via the Arabs. The *asura* marriage of ancient times copied the marital vogue of the Asuras, the Assyrians. Another very important contribution of the Asuras or Assyrians was the erecting of pillars bearing inscriptions which reached India through the Iranians. The Rigvedic Panis are equated with the Phoenicians. The *minakari* work (enamelling) and the use of *hundi* as a means of economic transaction travelled to India through Iran (p. 31). The Indian word *stri* is equated with the Phoenician goddess Ishtar. The idea of self-immolation to redeem shame perhaps first arose among the Lydians (p. 32). The original word for Jauhar is Johar which comes from Hebrew and means illumination (p. 33). India was deeply influenced by the politics, social thinking, literature and arts of Iran. Panini is described as an Iranian citizen (preface). The influence of the Greeks who ruled over northwest India for about two centuries was felt in the sphere of striking coins, drama, script, vocabulary, astronomy, philosophy, medicine, sculpture and architecture. The Romans introduced their planetary calender of the week and the week names. The Shakas together with the Kushanas contributed to the Indian culture a style in Sanskrit prose, the long lived Shaka era, the image of Surya and new trends in art, the beginning of a national dress, and the cultivation of peach and pear. The establishment of the Kushana rule provided India with a liberal total vision and Buddhism acquired a universal view of culture. This period witnessed the development of the cults of Kartikeya and Vasudeva Krishna. The influence of Christianity added quite a few aspects to the child

Krishna cult. The Gandhara school of art created a recognizably common style and the appearance of the Buddha figure supported by the philosophical doctrines of Mahayana made Buddhism easily acceptable to both the thinkers and the masses of east and west. The Abhiras, Gurjaras, Jats and Hunas influenced the Indian social order. The contribution of Islam is of varied nature. It deeply influenced the Hindu ceremonies, social habits, thoughts and ideals, languages and literatures, sciences and arts, dress and ornaments, music, dance, painting and calligraphy. The impact of Europe, especially the English, was felt in the fields of politics, social life and industrial ventures, on arts and literature, in fact on everything visible and invisible.

For the early period the author has tried to underline the areas of borrowings primarily on linguistic basis. He has picked up terms and words of foreign import and on their basis has tried to show how Indian culture is heavily indebted to outside multinational influences. The book is rather weak when it comes to Abhiras, Gurjaras, Jats, Hunas and their successors. It seems to us that the contribution of these people who migrated into India in fairly large numbers during the post-Kushana period has not yet received its due at the hands of the historians.

The present book is a brief survey that attempts to analyze in very general terms as to how India holds within itself the gifts of various races and ages. It is a sort of a feeler thrown by the author to his readers and is not meant to be an exhaustive study on the subject. The result is there are no foot-notes and no citations. It is hoped that this feeler will serve as an introductory volume to more serious studies on the lines suggested. It is a well written, well produced and modestly priced book which should become popular.

PRATIPAL BHATIA

G.R. THURSBY, *Hindu-Muslim Relations in British India: A Study of Controversy, Conflict, and Communal Movements in Northern India, 1923–1928*, Leiden, E.J Brill, 1975, Pp. x+194, Guilders 48.

In this short work, G.R. Thursby wisely does not attempt to discuss the entire phenomenon of communalism, but rather limits his study to a brief period, 1923-28, and concentrates upon Arya Samaj-Muslim relations. He further delimits his subject into three topical chapters indicated by the subtitle: "controversy," "conflict," and "communal movements."

In the chapter on controversy, Thursby analyzes the rhetoric of the Arya Samaj in religious debate, in its missionary activities, and in the popular press. He makes the point that while proselytization is a legitimate aim of various religions, the aggressive style adopted by the Arya Samaj was calculated to offend and excite Muslims. He traces the rhetorical relations between the two groups from Swami Dayanand's analysis and condemnation of Islam in the late nineteenth century, through the heated *Shuddhi-tabligh* controversy of the mid-1920s. He quotes from the press of both sides and shows the descent from satire into sexual innuendo in the debate between the *shuddhi* leader, Swami Shraddhanand, and his Muslim adversary, Khwaja Hasan Nizami. He also traces the efforts on the part of the British government to control the press during the first third of this century, emphasizing that religious controversy was a particularly sticky question which prospered into "a traditional art form, calculated to provoke the reader and crafted to avoid the penalty." Thursby has a knack for textual analysis and a keen eye for complexities of inter-communal debate. This chapter is a skilful addition to our knowledge of the relationship between publicity and religio-political mobilization during the nationalist movement.

The chapter on conflict discusses the burgeoning of communal riots in the 1920s following the collapse of the Hindu-Muslim alliance during the Khilafat-Non-cooperation movement of 1919-22. Thursby discusses, in particular, the forms of provocation most likely to cause riots in that period: cow sacrifice, music before mosques, and the coincidence of festival dates (such as Muharram and Ram Lila). There were patterns of conflict, but violence was still difficult to predict. Much depended on local custom and whether it was followed or flaunted, and much depended on the overall atmosphere of communal relations, which, in the mid-1920s, was very volatile indeed.

The chapter on communal movements discusses the Khilafat-Non-cooperation movement and its varied legacy. It produced broader based political mobilization than ever before, but it also exacerbated communal differences. Particularly significant, in Thursby's view, is the link between the Mapilla Rebellion of 1921 and the fear it aroused among Hindus, and the subsequent flowering of the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements.

Thursby also discusses the question of British responsibility for communal divisions. It is, as he much too briefly points out, a very complex problem, involving the interaction of British policies and the emerging self-consciousness of various Indian communities during the process of the devolution of power over a long period of time. Accusing the British of a deliberate policy of divide and rule is much too simple-minded an explanation of the communal problem. It is a pity, however, that Thursby does not devote more space to this vexed question. A second interpretative problem which he passes over rather too hurriedly is that of the significance of communalism. He does not simply condemn it as a prostitution of religious values, but rather points out that it also played a positive role in the process of political mobilization. One would like him to say more, but it is certainly worthwhile to point out that communalism is there—like Everest—and must be surmounted, not ignored.

In addition to these interpretative shortcomings, there is another possible flaw in the work, and that is its topical approach. For example, one is exposed to the rhetoric of *shuddhi* in the "controversy" chapter, and to some of the riots in the era of *shuddhi-tabligh* ill will in the "conflict" chapter, but the *shuddhi* movement itself is not described untill very late in the work. A chronological treatment might have more impact, but the topical arrangement also has its benefits. Certainly, patterns of rhetorical controversy and communal combat become much clearer in the chapters devoted specifically to them.

Thursby's work, while limited, is nevertheless a thoughtful and intelligent contribution to the literature on communalism. In his foreword, he expresses the hope that the work might combine "disinterested scholarship and human empathy, with a touch of irony." This reviewer finds that he has succeeded in that aim. The greatest irony, however, is supplied by the publisher who, by charging a price which (unofficially calculated) is in excess of Rs 150, will surely keep the book out of the hands of most who would like to read it.

GAIL MINAULT

LETTERS

I would be grateful if you would allow me to correct a few errors in M.S.A. Rao's review of my book, *The Decline of Nayar Dominance: Society and Politics in Travancore, 1847-1908* (*IESHR*, XIII, 4, Oct.-Dec. 1976, pp. 536-38). The numbers in parentheses refer to the pages of my book where the correct information is to be found.

1. The Nayar-Izhava riots were in January-March 1905, not "mid 1904" (pp. 228-33).
2. The "inner contradictions" of the matrilineal joint-family and the role of the *karanavan* or manager, which Professor Rao suggests I have not grasped, are discussed on pages 181-84 and in an accompanying diagram, largely in the terms Professor Rao uses in his review.
3. Professor Rao's remarks that the Nambudiri Yogakshema Sabha discouraged Nambudiris from forming hypergamous liaisons with Nayar women are inappropriate in this context for three reasons. First, in the 1890s, powerful Nambudiris and Kshatriyas were very keen to *preserve* these hypergamous liaisons, as I have pointed out on pp. 188-89. Second, the Yogakshema was founded (in Cochin State) only in 1908, the year in which my study closes, and the movement of which Professor Rao writes did not gain momentum until the 1920s. Third, Nambudiri Brahmins were concentrated in Cochin State and Malabar District. In Travancore, they were found in significant numbers only in the north, near the Cochin border, and their influence was thus less pervasive than in Cochin or Malabar (pp. 11-13).
4. I am not quite sure what Professor Rao means when he writes that "the author is of the opinion that by 1908 the Nayar dominance had declined." The book is, I think, fairly clear in stating my belief that by 1908 the decline of Nayar dominance had begun (pp. 177, 202-3, 213-14, 243-52)—and that it would continue (pp. 256-58, 268-69).
5. Officials of the SNDP Yogam (the Izhava caste association) in Quilon will be surprised to learn from Professor Rao that "the Nayars . . . were fighting a losing battle with the Izhavas. . . ." This seems to imply that Professor Rao believes that Izhavas have supplanted Nayars. I do not believe this is so.
6. The almost human embodiment that Professor Rao imposes on various groups (e.g., "*the* Nayars," "*the* Izhavas") is his idea, not mine. Nayars, to be sure, shared common dilemmas, but to portray them as a monolithic group, is to oversimplify seriously.

ROBIN JEFFREY

Australian National University

REVIEWER'S REPLY

The numbers in parantheses refer to the numbers of paragraphs in the author's comments.

My main point of criticism (2 and 3) is that Professor Robin Jeffrey's analysis would have been richer if he had paid as much attention to the inner contradictions, as he has to the external forces. The former deserved more than what is discussed on pp. 181-84, on the basis of actual genealogical information. Secondly, the awareness, among Nayars (especially the educated middle class), of the contradictions regarding the matrilineal joint family and the hypergamous relations with the Nambutiris which, to a great extent, maintained the traditional social system, was complementary to the growth of such an awareness among the Nambutiris. Although the Yogakshema Movement was formally established in 1908, it was preceded by an awareness which, I do not think, can be completely brushed aside. Perhaps this whole point of criticism is a difference between sociological and historical approaches.

Two short clarifications: I do not imply that Izhavas had supplanted Nayars (5). I meant that with special reference to the admission of Izhava children to public schools, Nayars were fighting a losing battle. The use of "*the* Nayars" and "*the* Izhavas" (6) is justified in the context of segmentary opposition.

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Income from the Secondary Sector in India, 1900-47

S. SIVASUBRAMONIAN

This paper attempts to obtain annual estimates of national income originating in the secondary sector by direct computation on the basis of available data. The period covered is 1900-01 to 1946-47 and the territory, undivided India including the native states. The secondary sector comprises mining, manufacturing, and small-scale and cottage industries. The paper discusses methods of arriving at the net output of these sectors and presents the results obtained.

MINING

The contribution of mining and quarrying to national income can be estimated by the "output approach" as well as by the "income approach." The required material on factor payments not being readily available, the output approach is adopted. Estimation of the gross value of output of this sector is comparatively easy as statistics of quantity and value of most of the minerals extracted are available.

The principal sources of information regarding minerals are the *Annual Reports of the Chief Inspector of Mines* (CIM) and the annual and quinquennial *Reviews of Mineral Production in India* by the Director of the Geological Survey of India published in the *Records of the Geological Survey of India* (RGSI). The Annual Reports of the CIM covered only the British Indian Mines, which came under the Indian Mines Act of 1923. The reviews in RGSI contained data relating to non-act mines and covered less important minerals. The *Statistics of British India* and *Statistical Abstract for British India* contain production figures of only principal minerals. For the purpose of our estimates, therefore, the information available in RGSI are used.

The first quinquennial review of mineral production in India covering the period 1898-1903 was published in Volume 32 of RGSI in 1905. The minerals were classified into two groups: Group I contained those minerals for which approximately trustworthy returns were available and Group II those for which definitely recurring particulars could not be procured. In the first quinquennial review, relating to 1898-1903, only 13 minerals were included in Group I; but as years passed by, the methods of collecting the returns became more precise and the machinery employed more efficient; therefore, more and more minerals were included in this group. Thus the number had increased from 13 in 1898-1903 to 24 by the quinquennium ending 1928. It is to be noted that

> the values may often represent the additions of unlike denominations. For instance, the value of a mineral produced in an area and consumed nearby is less than that of the same mineral produced under more difficult conditions away from markets. It represents the pit-head values declared by the producers, these being in most cases much lower than the market value and liable to vary from one part of the country to another. Again, for minerals which are exported, the values are necessarily lower than what they would be if these minerals are consumed within the country. This is particularly the case with regard to manganese ore, chromite, kaynite, mica, and others which depend mainly on the export market. The ultimate value of these is reduced by the heavy transport charges which have to be paid on them before they reach the consumer, so that the producer really receives considerably less than their market value.[1]

The quantity and value figures of minerals in Groups I and II are used for the purpose of our estimates, after making necessary deduction for Burma from 1900-01 to 1936-37. For minerals, for which production figures are found to be uniformly lower than the corresponding export figures, the latter have been used. They have been valued at the pit-head price. The gross value of mineral output is obtained both at current prices and at 1938-39 prices.

Adequate data do not exist on the extent of deductions to be made in respect of mining expenses and depreciation from the gross output to obtain the net contribution of the sector. From the material available in the *Coal Statistics in India*, the cost of coal consumed in collieries is found to be roughly 6.25 per cent of its production. For other mining expenses and depreciation in the absence of reliable information, the procedure adopted by the National Income Committee[2] of allowing for at the rate of 5 per cent and 4.7 per cent of the gross output respectively is followed.

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

The contribution of an industry to gross national product is defined as the unduplicated aggregate value of the goods and services produced during a period of time including the increase in the value of works in progress less the value of goods and services bought from other industries and used up in the process of production. The contribution to net national output is

---

[1] Reports of the Geological Survey of India, *Mineral Production in India, 1934-46*, Vol. 80, Calcutta, 1949, p. 7.

[2] Government of India, *Final Report of the National Income Committee*, Delhi, 1954, p. 62.

TABLE 1

CONTRIBUTION OF MINERALS

(In million rupees)

Year	*At current prices*			*At 1938-39 prices*		
	Gross output	*Deduction*	*Net output*	*Gross output*	*Deduction*	*Net output*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
1900-01	60	7	53	100	11	89
1901-02	62	7	55	105	12	93
1902-03	62	7	55	106	12	94
1903-04	66	8	58	116	13	103
1904-05	70	8	62	123	14	109
1905-06	73	8	65	129	14	115
1906-07	91	11	80	138	16	122
1907-08	112	13	99	147	17	130
1908-09	107	14	93	149	18	131
1909-10	97	12	85	146	17	129
1910-11	99	12	87	154	18	136
1911-12	95	12	83	155	18	137
1912-13	113	14	99	166	20	146
1913-14	127	16	111	176	21	155
1914-15	123	16	107	173	21	152
1915-16	124	16	108	172	21	151
1916-17	140	17	123	184	22	162
1917-18	155	19	136	187	22	165
1918-19	186	24	162	194	24	170
1919-20	173	23	150	192	24	168
1920-21	190	24	166	176	21	155
1921-22	211	29	182	164	21	143
1922-23	215	30	185	159	20	139
1923-24	236	32	204	172	21	151
1924-25	248	34	214	182	23	159
1925-26	219	29	190	184	23	161
1926-27	196	25	171	189	23	166
1927-28	194	25	169	198	24	174
1928-29	181	23	158	199	25	174
1929-30	179	23	156	209	26	183
1930-31	172	23	149	198	25	173
1931-32	155	20	135	182	23	159
1932-33	133	17	116	167	21	146
1933-34	130	17	113	169	21	148
1934-35	141	18	123	191	24	167
1935-36	155	19	136	208	26	182
1936-37	151	19	132	211	26	185
1937-38	209	25	184	241	29	212
1938-39	234	29	205	234	29	205
1939-40	212	27	185	242	30	212

TABLE 1 (*Contd.*)

1940-41	231	29	202	294	36	258
1941-42	250	31	219	328	39	289
1942-43	286	36	250	335	30	305
1943-44	336	44	292	311	36	275
1944-45	424	58	366	237	29	208
1945-46	473	67	406	242	30	212
1946-47	502	72	430	221	29	192

obtained by subtracting the cost of maintaining capital intact. It can also be obtained as the aggregate of the incomes paid to factors of production. This will be equal to the sum of wages and salaries, income of unincorporated enterprises, corporate profit, interest, rents on land, buildings, etc. The contribution of industry to national income can, therefore, be obtained by output or by income method. Which method should be followed for any country depends on the nature and scope of the data available. For the former approach, detailed statistics of quantity and value of output of all industrial units, cost of raw materials, fuels, electricity, lubricants, etc., consumed and other costs will be necessary; while for the latter, information on the wages and salaries, rent, profit, interest, etc., is required. As far as India is concerned, even for this sector of organized industries, statistics available are scanty for the period concerned. The only study bringing together the available data on employment and output of some of the major industries is by N.S.R. Sastry entitled *A Statistical Study of India's Industrial Development* covering the period 1900-37. Before outlining the method followed for estimation, a brief review of the nature and scope of the data available is given.

Statistics of Employment

Collection of statistics of employment in factories can be traced back to the year 1881 when the first Indian Factories Act was passed. But the Factories Act underwent a number of changes in the subsequent years.[3] The Act excluded units, not using power since 1922, and the employment criterion changed from 50 or more before 1922 to 20 or more since then. In addition to the changes in the scope of the Act, the classification and presentation of statistics also underwent considerable changes. The *Financial and Commercial Statistics of British India,* issued by the Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, contains information relating to the number of units and average daily number of persons employed in cotton mills, jute mills, woollen mills, paper mills, breweries, and other sundry industries for the first few years of the period covered. The introductory note to the table containing employment figures in sundry industries for the period 1901-04 states:

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[3] Factories Act of 1891. A factory was defined as any premises in which 50 or more persons were employed. The Act empowered provincial governments to extend its operation to factories employing 20 or more persons. In the Act of 1911, the specification regarding the number of workers remained the same, but the hours of work were limited. In 1922, the Act was modified to apply only to units which employed 20 or more persons and which used mechanical power. It, however, empowered provincial governments to extend the operation of the Factories Act to any industrial undertaking wherein 10 or more persons were employed. In the Act of 1934, the definition remained the same, but the minimum age of employment of children was fixed at 12.

> The statistics are incomplete even as regards large industries which ought to find a place in the tables and the figures given are sometimes of doubtful accuracy. Domestic industries are excluded even though, like weaving, they may give employment to a very large number of persons. From 1901, no returns have been made for any factory or establishment which employs an average of less than 25 persons throughout the year or the working season and from 1902 the returns from the Bombay Presidency exclude all establishments with an average of less than 50 persons as this is the limit which makes a factory liable to inspection under the Indian Factories Act. . . .

The tabulated results of the returns from 1901 are, therefore, not comparable with the figures of the previous years when each reporting officer exercised his own discretion as to what constituted a "large industry."[4] The fact that the figures for 1900 and 1901 are not comparable with those of the subsequent years makes it necessary for us to estimate comparable figures for these two years.

The *Statistics of British India* (Vol. I, Commercial) contains information relating to the number of units and the average daily number of persons employed in industries in British India and Indian states up to 1919. The industries are divided into: (*a*) factories owned by government, local fund and state durbars—categorywise and (*b*) factories owned and worked by individuals, the latter classified according to those using mechanical or electrical power and those not worked by power. Under each part the industries are subdivided into nine groups.[5]

From 1920 to 1940 employment data are taken from *Statistical Abstract for British India* (including Indian states whenever available). The classification of industries has been broadly the same, except for certain minor changes. Since 1922, "gins and presses" were separated from "miscellaneous," the group "transport" was changed "to engineering and transport," and "minerals" to "minerals and metals." "Engineering" became a separate group in 1924. Factories were distinguished according to perennial and seasonal in 1931 for British India and in 1932 for Indian states.

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[4] *Financial and Commercial Statistics of British India,* 12th issue, Calcutta, 1906, p. lxiv.

[5] The groups are: I—Textiles, II—Minerals, III—Transport, IV—Food, drink, and tobacco, V—Chemicals, dyes, etc., VI—Paper and printing, VII—Process relating to wood, stone, and glass, VIII—Process relating to hides and skins, and IX—Miscellaneous.

From 1941 to 1944 figures are available in the *Statistical Abstract, India* for British India only and not for the native states. For 1945 and 1946, however, employment figures are available for the whole of India including the native states. From the above account, it would be clear that the employment data available for the whole period are not strictly comparable. The increase in the number of workers is partly due to the increase in the number of larger factories or of persons employed therein. Though it has not been possible to make satisfactory adjustments to render the data comparable, for want of sufficient information, some attempts have been made in this direction.

An attempt is made to estimate the number of persons employed in industries in the native states for 1941, 1942, 1943, and 1944. An index of employment in British India is first worked out for 1941-44 with 1936-40 as the base. This index is then applied to the average number employed during 1936-40 in native states to obtain the employment figures for the years for which such figures are not available from the published sources. This naturally involves the assumption that the trend in employment in factories in native states was similar to that in British India.

It has been mentioned that the published figures of employment for 1900 and 1901 are not comparable with the data for the subsequent years due to the differences in the definition of factories, changes in the instructions issued to agencies engaged in the collection of such data. The figures for these two years are, therefore, estimated by extending backwards the employment data of 1903-05, using the index of employment of some of the principal industries like cotton, jute, paper, and woollen mills.

Adjustments are also required on account of the changes in the employment limit prescribed in the Indian Factories Act. It may be noted that before 1922 the Factories Act included units employing 50 or more persons while from 1922, the Act was modified to include units employing 20 or more persons and using power. This change in the scope of the Act calls for adjustment in employment figures to make them comparable but due to the absence of adequate data the employment figures are taken without any adjustment. The total number of persons employed in industries classified according to broad industrial groups is given in Table 2. As mentioned earlier the aggregate employment figures for the first two years were estimated and therfore the detailed groupwise breakdown of employment is not shown for them.

TABLE 2

AVERAGE DAILY NUMBER OF WORKERS EMPLOYED IN FACTORIES IN INDIA

(Figures in thousands)

Year	*Govt. and local fund factories*	*Tex-tiles*	*Metals and minerals excluding mines*	*Engi-neering*	*Food, drink and tobacco*	*Che-micals*	*Paper and printing*	*Wood, stone and glass*	*Mis-cellaneous*	*All Indus-tries*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*
1900-01	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	584
1901-02	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	617
1902-03	..	407	20	73	14	10	17	10	91	642
1903-04	..	427	23	75	15	12	16	10	88	666
1904-05	..	460	24	85	15	12	17	17	136	766
1905-06	34	492	25	88	15	13	17	18	101	803
1906-07	42	526	29	94	16	12	19	21	134	893
1907-08	72	426	30	86	19	38	15	29	156	871
1908-09	73	445	28	74	21	55	22	28	148	894
1909-10	66	454	27	82	20	68	18	28	166	929
1910-11	67	456	28	82	24	62	18	39	181	957
1911-12	68	441	28	87	27	50	18	47	167	933
1912-13	78	476	21	97	32	41	20	38	200	1003
1913-14	72	484	24	108	36	30	21	38	210	1023
1914-15	108	508	31	103	40	26	26	42	205	1089
1915-16	97	534	24	90	37	25	20	47	199	1073
1916-17	112	557	28	103	47	23	21	42	208	1141
1917-18	115	559	29	102	47	22	22	48	219	1163
1918-19	128	577	35	103	48	25	23	50	224	1213
1919-20	121	598	67	106	50	27	24	62	248	1303
1920-21	127	623	54	123	56	32	25	80	269	1389
1921-22	134	648	57	113	71	39	26	98	281	1467
1922-23	123	698	76	152	67	34	25	35	209	1419
1923-24	123	704	58	148	107	32	26	45	215	1458
1924-25	109	720	49	170	126	36	26	40	230	1506
1925-26	152	732	43	146	128	42	26	42	236	1547
1926-27	155	728	41	151	133	48	28	68	233	1585
1927-28	159	733	40	153	140	50	28	49	236	1588
1928-29	172	720	29	146	146	49	30	45	239	1576
1929-30	164	751	41	152	153	52	31	55	258	1657
1930-31	156	755	41	139	143	54	32	59	245	1624
1931-32	144	725	36	125	139	51	30	55	236	1541
1932-33	137	731	33	111	162	48	30	50	220	1522
1933-34	131	704	35	114	177	51	31	50	233	1526
1934-35	148	736	52	127	242	58	34	66	243	1706
1935-36	147	814	46	133	213	60	34	68	244	1759

TABLE 2 *[Contd.]*

1936-37	159	818	48	131	227	60	36	72	268	1819
1937-38	177	904	55	138	244	65	39	61	275	1958
1938-39	171	954	57	147	259	67	44	73	265	2037
1939-40	171	935	62	154	269	69	46	86	258	2050
1940-41	199	948	73	165	288	73	50	88	260	2144
1941-42*	221	953	76	204	280	73	48	78	223	2156(2492)
1942-43*	299	965	82	224	284	74	49	82	223	2282(2638)
1943-44*	356	1002	93	254	293	84	51	90	213	2436(2816)
1944-45*	420	993	91	265	295	91	53	96	310	2614(2916)
1945-46	496	1028	155	291	365	122	62	141	461	3121
1946-47	394	1156	94	240	375	123	61	134	267	2844

*Figures for 1941-42 to 1944-45 relate to British India only. Figures in brackets in the last column indicate adjusted figures including native states.

Wage Statistics

The position regarding statistics of wages is far from satisfactory. The different issues of the *Prices and Wages in India* contain data on wages paid by a few industrial concerns[6] for selected categories of workers in different provinces in the country. Apart from the lack of representative character of the units covered in this publication, the wage data were found to suffer from other serious defects, viz., (*a*) the classification of labourers in all the departments of an industry was not uniform; (*b*) in arriving at the average monthly wage of a worker in a particular department, the simple arithmetic average was taken which was affected by the high wage of a highly skilled labourer and the low wage of an unskilled worker. The data are available up to 1922, as this publication was discontinued from 1923.

Another source of wage statistics of industrial workers[7] is the *Report on an Enquiry into the Rise in Prices* by K.L. Datta. The data contained herein were collected by Datta in the course of his enquiry, and covered the period 1890-1912. The *Annual Reports on the Working of the Indian Factories Act* in the various provinces contained the average wage rates for a few selected jobs in different provinces. In an effort to assemble the wage data available from this source, the material in the Annual Reports for the provinces Bombay, United Provinces, Assam, Madras, Bihar, Orissa, Punjab, NWFP, and Delhi for the period 1911-38 were collected. But the data available were found to suffer from many shortcomings. It is found that the wages for

[6] The industrial units covered in the *Prices and Wages* are: a paper mill in Bengal, Muree Brewery in Punjab, British India Steam Navigation Company, a coal company in Bengal, an Army Boot Factory at Cawnpore, a cotton mill and a woollen mill in North India, a cotton mill in Bombay, Binny and Company in Madras, a jute mill in Bengal, etc.

[7] Datta covered the jute, cotton, wool, sugar, tea, coal, leather, and paper industries, breweries and railway workshops.

a few jobs, like those of supervisor, engine driver, fitter, carpenter, mechanic, moulder, greaser, coolie, sweeper, etc., are quoted without even mentioning the name of the industry and the nature of the work.[8] Further, the figures are the simple arithmetic average of the wages paid by all the employers in a province, submitting returns. No data were available either, regarding the number of workers at various wage levels without which no reasonably reliable average wage could be obtained. It is only from 1939 that reliable wage data are available for industrial workers. These data are collected under the Payment of Wages Act, 1936, and are published in the *Indian Labour Year Book*. Apart from this there have been some ad hoc wage censuses and enquiries in different provinces, particularly in Bombay. But these could at maximum give data only for certain specific years for particular localities and hence could not be considered for building up an all-India wage series for the long period covered by the study.

The wage data available being scanty and unreliable, the factor payments approach to estimate the contribution of industry to national income cannot be adopted. This is also supported by the fact, that apart from the inadequacy of wage data, no details are available on salaries, rent, profit, interest, etc.

The unsatisfactory position of wage statistics naturally leads one to follow the output approach to estimate the contribution of manufacturing industries. But here again one faces insurmountable difficulties due to the gaps in production data and information on deductible items to obtain net output.

Statistics of Production

The annual production of manufacturing industries for the period 1900-19 is given in the *Statistics of British India* (Vol. II, Commercial), issued annually by the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics. The industries covered in this are cotton, jute, paper, woollen mills, and breweries. As regards cotton, the information available relates to the number of mills, the number of persons employed, looms, spindles and the quantity of yarn and woven goods produced. For jute, in addition to the number of units and employment, only the quantity of raw jute consumed in mills is available and not the output of jute mills. For woollen and paper mills, in addition to the number of units, employment and volume of production, the value of production is also given, while in the case of breweries the value figures are not provided. The data in all cases relate to British India and certain native states. The production data, therefore, relate only to five industries. Similar data are available for the later period covered by the study in the *Statistical Abstract for British Indi ι*. The position regarding the availability of production statistics improved considerably with the starting of the *Monthly Statistics of the Production of Selected Industries in India* in 1933, covering the jute, paper, iron and steel, petroleum, kerosene, cement, wheatflour, paints, heavy chemicals, sugar, and match industries, distilleries and breweries. The statistics of production given in this publication are based on voluntary returns and are, therefore, not complete except for sugar and matches which are subject to excise duty.[9] Though for the period beginning from 1933-34, the production data are available for a larger number of industries, this does not make the position easier, as in addition to the volume of production, data are required for evaluation of output and also for deduction to obtain net output. The absence of price and cost of production data severely limit the scope of the output approach. But as there is no other alternative, short of abandoning the attempt, one has to resort to various expediencies to arrive at a measure of net output. It is first proposed to estimate the net output of cotton, jute, sugar, paper, cement, woollen, iron and steel, and match industries from the available material, details of which are discussed in the following paragraphs.

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[8] The sole exception to this was the *Annual Report of the Inspector of Factories, 1912*, Madras, where the daily average wages of different categories of workers in the various industries were given with a comparison of wages for similar occupations in rural areas. But this was followed by the following explanation at the end of the Report. "The Inspector has not correctly understood the instructions . . . what is devised is a record of average wages of regular hands in the main classes of labour in factories and a comparison in the body of the report between the wages and conditions of workers in factories and of those corresponding classes employed outside factories. Nothing in the way of a figured statement is required . . . ." Extracts from order No. 1551, Judicial, 1 August 1913, *Annual Report of the Inspector of Factories, 1912*, Madras. It may be noted that from the next year the procedure followed was similar to the one for the other provinces, viz., the name of the industry and the nature of the work were not mentioned.

Cotton Industry

This is the oldest large-scale industry in India. Detailed statistics relating to the number of cotton mills, number of looms and spindles at work, number of persons employed, production, etc., are available in the various issues of *Statistical Abstract*, *Annual Reports of the Bombay Mill Owner's Association*, and *Monthly Statistics of Cotton Spinning and Weaving in Indian Mills*. The total quantity of piecegoods produced by cotton mills in India, classified according to the categories of chaddars, dhoties, drills and jeans, shirting and longcloth, T-cloth, etc., is available for the entire period. Average wholesale prices for most of these varieties are published in the *Report of the Bombay Mill Owner's Association*. From these data relating to production and prices, the value of woven goods is obtained on the assumption that the average per unit price for such categories for which price data

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[9] N.S.R. Sastry, *A Statistical Study of India's Industrial Development*, Bombay, 1947, p. 12.

TABLE 3

COTTON MILL INDUSTRY IN INDIA

Year	*Average working* *Spindles (000)*	*Average working* *Looms (000)*	*Cotton consumed bales of 392 lbs. (000)*	*Yarn spun bales of 400 lbs. (000)*	*Cotton woven (million yards)*	*Average number of persons employed (000)*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
1900-01	—	—	1352	882	341	173
1901-02	—	—	1765	1432	410	181
1902-03	4715	39	1739	1441	406	181
1903-04	4701	45	1745	1444	461	185
1904-05	4815	46	1879	1446	550	195
1905-06	5018	49	2023	1702	565	209
1906-07	5038	52	1980	1634	708	206
1907-08	5291	61	1991	1596	808	221
1908-09	5526	66	2109	1642	824	237
1909-10	5290	70	1935	1568	964	234
1910-11	5393	74	1906	1524	1043	231
1911-12	5493	77	2050	1563	1136	244
1912-13	5737	83	2096	1721	1220	254
1913-14	5848	85	2143	1706	1164	260
1914-15	5704	87	2103	1630	1136	265
1915-16	5901	96	2198	1806	1442	274
1916-17	6068	101	2198	1703	1578	277
1917-18	5988	101	2086	1651	1614	282
1918-19	6046	103	2044	1538	1451	293
1919-20	6239	105	1952	1589	1640	311
1920-21	6407	111	2120	1650	1582	332
1921-22	6549	117	2203	1734	1732	344
1922-23	6760	121	2151	1765	1725	347
1923-24	6963	128	1918	1522	1702	357
1924-25	7454	136	2226	1798	1970	368
1925-26	7264	136	2113	1716	1954	374
1926-27	7522	146	2417	2018	2259	385
1927-28	6505	126	2010	2022	2357	361
1928-29	6957	134	2161	1621	1893	347
1929-30	7979	157	2574	2084	2419	384
1930-31	8094	158	2633	2168	2561	395
1931-32	8323	161	2911	2416	2990	403
1932-33	8202	163	2837	2541	3170	400
1933-34	7845	159	2704	2303	2945	385
1934-35	8441	174	3123	2502	3397	414
1935-36	8504	178	3110	2646	3571	418
1936-37	8441	178	3147	2635	3572	417
1937-38	8902	183	3663	2899	4084	438
1938-39	8986	183	3811	3258	4269	442

TABLE 3 (*Contd.*)

1939-40	8847	179	3680	3084	4013	430
1940-41	9083	184	4251	3373	4269	460
1941-42	9166	185	4741	3943	4494	480
1942-43	9402	187	4890	3834	4169	503
1943-44	9494	189	4843	4201	4871	504
1944-45	9466	191	4909	4127	4726	510
1945-46	9548	187	4550	4037	4675	495
1946-47	9584	185	3972	3345	3890	488

SOURCE: *Annual Reports of the Mill Owner's Association*, Bombay.

are not available will be the same as for the rest. Cotton piecegoods are produced in a variety of types. It is also possible that over the long period covered by this study the quality of goods produced might have undergone changes. The estimates of value are, therefore, to be considered as rough approximations. The only other estimates of value of woven goods are those made by V.K.R.V. Rao for 1925-29,[10] by A.C. Coubrough[11] for 1909-10 to 1920-21, and those in the *Statistical Abstract for British India*[12] for 1917-18 to 1925-26. The procedure followed by Rao was to evaluate the woven goods produced on the basis of available price data. Coubrough obtained his estimates on the basis of the price of mill-produced goods derived from the statement of the amount of excise duty realized from goods woven in the cotton mills in India under the Cotton Duties Act of 1896, as published in the *Monthly Statistics of Cotton Spinning and Weaving in Indian Mills*. The data on the value of woven goods given in the *Statistical Abstract* were also based on the excise duty returns. The estimates obtained from different sources are shown in Table 4. Our estimates are found to agree closely with the figures given in the *Statistical Abstract* for 1921-22 and the estimates of Rao for 1926-27 and 1929-30. For the other years, however, there are considerable variations, the divergence being the highest from the estimates of Coubrough.

In addition to piecegoods, the mills also produce yarn. But it is not necessary to find the money value of all the yarn produced by mills as a considerable portion of this is used up in the production of piecegoods. To obtain the unduplicated value of goods produced by mills, it will be necessary to subtract the value of yarn so consumed by mills from the value of cloth produced. This intermediate step is avoided by taking only the value of yarn produced by Indian mills but not consumed by them. This will, therefore, include the value of yarn exported and of that portion consumed by handlooms.

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[10] V.K.R.V. Rao, *An Essay on India's National Income, 1925-29*, p. 125.

[11] A.C. Coubrough, "Notes on Indian Piecegoods Trade," *Bulletin of Industries and Labour*, No. 16, November 1921, pp. 1-15.

[12] *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1919-20 to 1928-29 (various issues).

To complete the deduction for yarn used for producing cloth, it will be necessary to subtract the value of imported yarn used up in cloth production. To the indigenous production of yarn, the quantity imported is added to give the total quantity of yarn available. Subtracting the yarn consumed by Indian mills from this total of indigenous production plus imports, we obtain the quantity of yarn for which the value has to be estimated. Part of this forms the exported yarn for which value figures are available. The total value of yarn is obtained on the basis of the quantity-value relationship of the exported yarn. This procedure does not make any allowance for the quantity of imported yarn used by handlooms and also for the variations in the counts of yarn produced. Adding to the value of woven goods the value of yarn obtained by the above procedure, we obtain the total value of cloth and yarn produced by mills excluding the yarn consumed by them.

TABLE 4

VALUE OF WOVEN GOODS PRODUCED IN INDIA

(In million rupees)

Year *1*	*Our estimate* *2*	*Coubrough's* *3*	*Statistical Abstract* *4*	*V.K.R.V. Rao's* *5*
1909-10	128	145	..	..
1910-11	144	161	..	..
1911-12	170	185	..	..
1912-13	187	205	..	..
1913-14	182	198	..	..
1914-15	164	191	..	..
1915-16	176	235	..	..
1916-17	253	327	..	..
1917-18	369	450	271	..
1918-19	577	550	444	..
1919-20	615	688	578	..
1920-21	661	743	629	..
1921-22	604	..	608	..
1922-23	630	..	593	..
1923-24	566	..	529	..
1924-25	622	..	593	..
1925-26	552	..	472*	563
1926-27	535	..	..	535
1927-28	524	..	..	562
1928-29	419	..	..	442
1929-30	532	..	..	528

*Value figures subsequent to 1925-26 are not available owing to the repeal of the Cotton Duties Act of 1896.

The next step is to make deductions for the cost of raw materials consumed, fuel, lubricants and power used, depreciation and other deductible costs from the total value of output to obtain the net contribution. But the question of arriving at a reliable estimate of these items has been beset with the most formidable difficulties due to lack of sufficient data. As the Tariff Board in its report observed:

> It is necessary to emphasise at the outset that in an industry represented by over 300 different units situated in different localities and working under widely varying conditions, it is impossible to arrive with any degree of accuracy at an estimate of standard costs. The equipment of mills necessarily shows vast range of variations both in the character of machinery employed and in capacity and actual output. They also differ greatly in the standard of efficiency attained in the various processes. Further the classes of goods produced represent an enormous degree of variation in respect of dimensions, texture, design, finish and quality. These difficulties which are inherent in the conditions of the industry are greatly accentuated by the differences in the system of costing followed by mills and in many cases by the absence of any costing system at all.[13]

Arno Pearse in his report of the Indian Cotton Industry mentions the fact that few cotton spinners and manufacturers can swear to the exactness of the calculations and the Tariff Board endorses this in its statement that "this is in the main borne out by our experience."[14] In view of this, any attempt to estimate the share of deductions is bound to yield only approximate results. But for the cotton textile industry, raw material accounts for a large portion of the cost of the finished product. The quantity of raw cotton consumed by the mills is available. Multiplying this by the weighted average wholesale prices of raw cotton obtained while evaluating agricultural output, value of the principal element in the cost of production can be obtained. Though the Tariff Board places the share of raw cotton at 40 per cent of the "works cost" it is found that this varies considerably as the price of raw cotton has been widely fluctuating. Further, the Tariff Board does not take into account the cost of raw material, the problem of raw material being dealt with separately, and gives the distribution of other items of cost like labour and supervision, fuel and power, rents, rates and taxes, insurance, etc., excluding depreciation and managing agents' commission, in addition to raw material.[15] The share of some of these components in the total manufacturing cost, taking raw material as 40 per cent, is as follows:

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[13] *Report of the Indian Tariff Board regarding the Grant of Protection to the Cotton Textile Industry*, Calcutta, 1932, p. 94.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] "... the terms work cost was meant to exclude the cost of raw cotton and also such charges as depreciation, commission of managing agents and interest on working capital.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MANUFACTURING COST[16]

	Labour and supervision	*Fuel and power*	*Repairs and maintenance*	*Rent rates and taxes*
Bombay	34.14	6.52	1.50	1.68
Ahmedabad	37.14	5.54	1.58	0.68
Cawnpore	31.41	9.35	2.48	1.52
Delhi	30.96	4.48	3.48	0.66
Calcutta	30.06	4.92	4.20	1.86
Nagpur	32.15	5.85	(a)	1.68
Baroda	36.90	3.73	(a)	1.31

(a) Not given separately.

These can be taken as relating to 1930-31. The share of other deductible costs like fuel and power, repairs and maintenance, rents, rates and taxes range between 7.80 per cent and 13.35 per cent excluding Nagpur and Baroda. Arno S. Pearse[17] gives a consolidated statement of the profit and loss account of 73 mills of Bombay for 1928 from which the distribution of the various items of cost can be worked out. According to this source, the total deductible costs including raw material, fuels and power, depreciation, rents, rates and taxes, and other miscellaneous expenses work out to 68.90 per cent of the total sales value. This ratio is worked out on the basis of the total proceeds of sales, and not on the basis of the total value of goods produced, as the figures for the latter are not available in the source quoted.

George Rosen gives gross value added (excluding depreciation) and sales value per unit of output for a number of years in his book on *Industrial Change in India.*[18] The ratio of gross value added to sales value obtained from the figures given by Rosen based on the analysis of balance sheets of selected mills are shown in the table on the next page.

Since it excludes depreciation, it is not possible to have an idea of the share of net output from these figures. One can only infer that leaving out depreciation, the share of deductible items varies between 41 per cent and 64 per cent.

Income and super taxes were also to be excluded." *Report of the Indian Tariff Board on Cotton Industry*, 1932, p. 94.

[16] This table is compiled from the data contained in *Report of the Indian Tariff Board regarding the Grant of Protection to the Cotton Textile Industry*, Calcutta, 1932, p. 98.

[17] Arno S. Pearse, *The Cotton Industry of India, Being the Report of the Journey to India*, Manchester, 1930, p. 67.

[18] George Rosen, *Industrial Change in India*, Bombay, 1962, pp. 62-63.

GROSS VALUE ADDED AS PERCENTAGE OF SALES VALUE IN COTTON INDUSTRY

Year	*Bombay*	*Ahmedabad*
1937	36.11	36.32
1938	39.47	42.22
1939	39.47	42.63
1940	38.64	40.00
1941	44.41	43.79
1942	53.77	51.25
1943	53.65	58.62
1944	49.85	53.03
1945	47.55	48.75
1946	45.16	49.14
1947	45.59	48.84

The Census of Manufacturing Industries (CMI) conducted by the Directorate of Industrial Statistics, covering 29 industries and units employing 20 or more persons and using power, gives the different components of cost, gross output, value added, etc., for the cotton textile industry. The share of these different components in the total value of output of cotton mills covered by the Census during 1946 and 1947 are given below:[19]

(*Percentages*)

	1946	*1947*
Cost of raw materials	51.84	52.75
Cost of fuel, power, etc.	3.62	3.81
Depreciation	1.53	1.31
Total	56.99	57.87
Value added as percentage of total output	43.01	42.13

From the above data on deductible costs available from various sources, it is not possible to arrive at any precise formulation as to the relation between gross and net output. Estimates of A.S. Pearse and CMI include depreciation while those of Rosen exclude depreciation. The Tariff Board does not take into account "raw material" in view of the high degree of fluctuations it is subject to and considers only the other items excluding depreciation and managing agents' commission, etc. In view of these limitations of the available data,[20] deductions for deriving net output from gross output have to be made on the basis of certain notional magnitudes. As far as cotton industry is concerned, the arbitrariness involved in such a procedure is considerably reduced as the share of the principal component, viz., raw cotton, is directly estimated from the available data on consumption of raw cotton by mills. Rao in his estimates of 1925-29 deducted only raw cotton consumed from the value of total output. It is, however, proposed to make deductions for other costs as well in our estimates. From the evidence available from CMI for 1946 and 1947, from the estimates of A. S. Pearse for 1928, and the Tariff Board for 1930-31, the share of fuel and power, and depreciation, etc., is assumed to be of the order of 5 per cent. The Tariff Board figures are slightly higher as they are expressed as percentages to works cost which exclude depreciation, managing agents' commission, etc. The net output of the cotton mill industry at current prices and 1938-39 prices is given in Tables 5 and 6.

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[19] Government of India, *Second Census of Manufactures, 1947*, Delhi, 1949.

TABLE 5

NET OUTPUT OF COTTON MILLS AT CURRENT PRICES

(In million rupees)

Year	*Woven goods*	*Yarn**	*Total*	*Deductions*	*Net output*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
1900-01	43	103	146	114	32
1901-02	62	169	231	155	76
1902-03	61	167	228	164	64
1903-04	67	165	232	201	31
1904-05	82	180	262	177	85
1905-06	97	242	339	217	122
1906-07	100	232	332	199	133

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[20] The observations of N.S.R. Sastry may be noted:

> . . . if we add to the works-cost of the Tariff Board, their estimated overhead charges and normal profits we get a figure which roughly gives an idea of the net output. . . . But this method suffers from two important shortcomings. The first is that the net output is not the aggregate of all the individual establishments of the industry, but those which would be got from "typical mills." For each industry, the Board fixes up a particular mill of optimum size and they estimate the average cost of a unit of the product of the typical mill. Hence the net output got by valuing the total output at this price will not be the actual net output. . . . This is an additional difficulty in the case of cotton industry. Protection is mainly required for the higher qualities of cloth and the net output for those varieties is high. But their share in the total production is not considerable. If we estimate the net output on the basis of these figures we will get an inflated value of net output.

See N.S.R. Sastry, *A Statistical Study of India's Industrial Development*, pp. 134-35.

TABLE 5 (*Contd.*)

1907-08	109	211	320	195	125
1908-09	110	217	327	236	91
1909-10	128	198	326	278	48
1910-11	144	199	343	290	53
1911-12	170	214	384	275	109
1912-13	187	235	422	292	130
1913-14	182	238	420	239	181
1914-15	164	211	375	201	174
1915-16	176	194	370	306	64
1916-17	253	175	428	381	47
1917-18	369	214	583	570	13
1918-19	577	151	728	544	184
1919-20	615	373	988	473	515
1920-21	661	472	1133	300	833
1921-22	604	373	977	431	546
1922-23	630	398	1028	512	516
1923-24	566	197	763	591	172
1924-25	622	370	992	543	449
1925-26	553	296	849	400	449
1926-27	535	282	817	384	433
1927-28	524	277	801	370	431
1928-29	419	242	661	357	304
1929-30	532	293	825	346	479
1930-31	475	251	726	267	459
1931-32	466	235	701	327	374
1932-33	467	233	700	267	433
1933-34	413	187	600	249	351
1934-35	463	175	638	348	290
1935-36	472	213	685	330	355
1936-37	463	192	655	360	295
1937-38	540	208	748	333	415
1938-39	539	261	800	307	493
1939-40	482	243	725	451	274
1940-41	629	250	879	380	499
1941-42	1027	480	1507	433	1074
1942-43	1510	636	2146	1001	1145
1943-44	2787	1005	3792	1169	2623
1944-45	2238	759	2997	1073	1924
1945-46	1702	586	2288	1083	1203
1946-47	1306	478	1784	915	869

*Excluding mill consumption.

TABLE 6

NET OUTPUT OF COTTON MILLS AT 1938-39 PRICES

(*In million rupees*)

Year	*Woven goods*	*Yarn**	*Total*	*Deductions*	*Net output*
1	2	3	4	5	6
1900-01	57	150	207	105	102
1901-02	68	253	321	140	181
1902-03	71	251	322	138	184
1903-04	80	243	323	138	185
1904-05	91	235	326	148	178
1905-06	94	291	385	161	224
1906-07	95	273	368	157	211
1907-08	110	254	364	158	206
1908-09	111	265	376	166	210
1909-10	132	232	364	153	211
1910-11	141	212	353	151	202
1911-12	154	215	369	162	207
1912-13	164	242	406	167	239
1913-14	159	241	400	170	230
1914-15	160	224	384	166	218
1915-16	203	224	427	175	252
1916-17	215	188	403	174	229
1917-18	218	171	389	165	224
1918-19	202	171	373	161	212
1919-20	219	155	374	155	219
1920-21	211	190	401	169	232
1921-22	235	196	431	175	256
1922-23	236	203	439	173	266
1923-24	233	104	337	151	186
1924-25	267	185	452	178	274
1925-26	271	163	434	169	265
1926-27	313	191	504	194	310
1927-28	330	183	513	166	347
1928-29	261	152	413	171	242
1929-30	330	193	523	206	317
1930-31	347	189	536	210	326
1931-32	393	199	592	233	359
1932-33	407	219	626	230	396
1933-34	379	187	566	217	349
1934-35	430	190	620	250	370
1935-36	451	213	664	251	413
1936-37	458	193	651	252	399
1937-38	503	209	712	292	420
1938-39	539	261	800	307	493
1939-40	513	250	763	296	467
1940-41	568	238	806	338	468
1941-42	621	296	917	377	540

TABLE 6 (*Contd.*)

1942-43	599	285	884	387	497
1943-44	682	299	981	388	593
1944-45	682	281	963	392	571
1945-46	675	274	949	366	583
1946-47	549	239	788	317	471

*Excluding mill consumption.

Jute Industry

Next to cotton textiles, jute comes in order of importance. The problem of estimating the contribution of this industry to national income is, however, more complicated than that of the cotton textile industry due to the inadequacy of data. The figures of production of jute goods are not available till 1932. It is only from 1932-33 that production of jute goods is shown in the *Monthly Statistics of the Production of Selected Industries in India*. But the figures relating to the quantity of raw jute consumed by mills which are published can be taken as a reasonably good index of the trend of production, on the assumption that the quality of goods produced did not change considerably during the period. Commenting on the use of the figures of quantity of jute consumed as an indicator of the trend of jute production, N.S.R. Sastry has observed: "Though they do not give us the whole picture, they give us a fairly reliable index of the trends in production, considering the fact that the quality of the goods did not change materially during the period."[21] In order to estimate the total value of the output of jute goods for the period covered by this study, in addition to production figures or at least of estimates of production, price data are also required. Price quotations of two types of jute goods "B-Twills" and "hessian" are available from 1931-32 onwards from the *Statistical Abstract*. The price quotations are given for units of 100 bags of B-Twills and 100 yards of hessian while production figures are given in weights (tons).

For the period before 1931-32, price quotations are available only for the first category from the *Index Number of Indian Prices*. The difficulty in the way of estimation of the total value of output of jute industry are, therefore, due to the absence of production data for the first 31 years of the study and also due to inadequate price statistics. The estimates are, therefore, made on the basis of available material adopting the following procedure. The *Monthly Survey of Business Conditions* gives monthly price quotations for the two types of jute goods manufactured in India on the basis of their weight. From these, the average price for gunny bags and hessian are worked out for 1938-39. The value of output of jute manufactures for 1938-39 is obtained on the basis of published production figures and the average monthly prices for the same year. Using this as the base year-value, the estimates of the other years—1900-01 to 1937-38 and 1939-40 to 1946-47—are obtained with the help of the index numbers of production and prices. Up to 1931-32, since production data are not available, the index of raw jute consumed by mills (with 1938-39 = 100) is used to represent the production index. Thereafter the index of production is worked out on the basis of actual production figures. The estimates at current prices are obtained with the help of the production index and price index of jute manufactures compiled from the available data. The value of output at current prices and 1938-39 prices are shown in Table 7.

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[21] Sastry, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

TABLE 7

NET OUTPUT OF JUTE INDUSTRY

(*In million rupees*)

Year	*Number of persons employed (000)*	*Mill consumption of raw jute (000 bales)*	*Value of output at*		*Net output at*	
			Current prices	*1938-39 prices*	*Current prices*	*1938-39 prices*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
1900-01	111	2485	138	127	78	52
1901-02	115	2655	143	136	78	56
1902-03	119	2825	138	145	59	60
1903-04	124	2975	147	153	61	63
1904-05	133	3164	171	162	59	67
1905-06	145	3043	186	156	38	64
1906-07	167	3531	259	181	117	74
1907-08	188	3763	310	193	194	79
1908-09	192	3697	265	190	156	78
1909-10	204	4588	294	235	149	97
1910-11	216	4094	267	210	101	87
1911-12	201	3863	283	198	114	82
1912-13	204	4561	383	234	143	96
1913-14	216	4499	407	231	193	95
1914-15	238	4944	484	253	314	104
1915-16	254	5770	517	296	260	122
1916-17	263	5678	602	291	348	120
1917-18	266	5447	623	279	457	115
1918-19	276	5139	953	264	695	109
1919-20	280	5227	757	268	520	110
1920-21	288	5623	694	288	493	119
1921-22	288	4358	376	223	228	92
1922-23	321	4747	567	243	306	100
1923-24	330	5148	589	264	329	109
1924-25	342	5676	748	291	371	120
1925-26	331	5497	805	282	249	116
1926-27	334	5527	673	284	415	117
1927-28	336	5794	701	297	429	122

TABLE 7 (*Contd.*)

1928-29	344	6047	751	310	444	128
1929-30	343	6424	649	329	359	136
1930-31	336	4564	334	234	236	96
1931-32	277	4269	270	219	166	90
1932-33	263	5002	296	245	194	95
1933-34	257	5004	304	245	202	95
1934-35	264	5357	319	257	209	97
1935-36	278	6023	326	274	166	94
1936-37	289	7191	350	339	152	124
1937-38	306	7356	382	356	170	135
1938-39	295	6463	331	331	136	136
1939-40	299	7571	568	346	177	120
1940-41	304	5952	517	300	353	121
1941-42	311	7280	765	347	430	128
1942-43	310	7091	745	338	352	125
1943-44	302	5692	879	289	523	118
1944-45	289	6023	947	297	580	116
1945-46	303	6518	957	302	517	107
1946-47	313	6081	1034	287	516	115

As regards the deduction necessary to obtain net output, practically no data are available except the quantities of raw jute, the principal raw material, consumed by the mills. This has been evaluated at average annual wholesale prices. As for other deductions the most important of which are fuel, power, repairs and maintenance and depreciation, the only available indications about their magnitudes are from CMI. According to the Census, the distribution of the various elements is as follows:

	1946	*1947*
Cost of materials as per cent of gross output	54.19	68.15
Cost of fuels as per cent of gross output	2.60	2.18
Depreciation as per cent of gross output	1.32	0.92
Total	58.11	71.25
Value added	41.89	28.75

From this it can be seen that while the share of raw material showed a high degree of variation from 54.19 to 68.15, the share of fuels and power, and depreciation stood at 3.92 and 3.10 per cent respectively. This may be due to the highly varying prices of raw jute. As this component has been directly estimated, the remaining portion is only a relatively small fraction of the total deductible items. In view of the fact that some other costs like insurance, rents, rates and taxes would fall within the scope of this, the share of all other deductible costs has been taken at 5 per cent, the same as for the cotton textile industry. The net output of jute industry at current and constant prices are shown in Table 7.

Sugar Industry

Sugar is produced by three different processes in India: (1) direct from cane in modern vacuum factories, (2) from gur refined in modern refineries, and (3) from cane by indigenous open-pan factories, i.e., *khandsaris*. The production of sugar by the indigenous process was carried on by small establishments following primitive and uneconomical means. This method, however, was very commonly adopted especially in the earlier years before the modern methods could find their place. Statistics relating to the production of sugar from modern factories are available for the period beginning 1919-20 onwards in *Review of the Sugar Trade of India*, issued as a supplement to the *Indian Trade Journal*[22] and in the *Report on the Marketing of Sugar in India* (1945). But this is not the case with sugar made by indigenous processes. In the absence of reliable information, one has to depend on the estimates made by various bodies from time to time. Indian Sugar Committee (1920) estimated the production of *khandsari* sugar in 1919-20 at 250,000 tons. The Tariff Board's estimate for 1927-28 amounted to 200,000 tons.[23] At the instance of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, the governments of UP and Punjab undertook a census of *khandsaris* in 1933 on the basis of the results of which the all-India production was estimated to be 150,000 tons. These estimates are used by the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics in its official statistics of sugar production. The total production of refined sugar during 1919-20 to 1946-47 is given in Table 8. For the period before 1919-20, the only information available relates to the number of modern factories and average daily number of workers employed in them given in the *Statistics of British India* later known as *Statistical Abstract for British India*. Production figures of refined sugar are not available. The *World Sugar Situation* by League of Nations giving "World Sugar Production Statistics" contains production of raw sugar only and not of refined sugar in India. The publication *Cane Sugar Production 1912-37*[24], giving statistics of production of principal sugar-producing countries of the world, contains figures of output of white sugar in British India only from 1924-25. In the absence of production figures, an attempt is made to estimate the production for the period 1900-01 to 1918-19 on the basis of the number of workers employed. The average production during the ten-year period, 1919-20 to 1928-

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[22] *Indian Trade Journal*, Supplement of 1 January 1925, *Review of the Sugar Trade of India for the Official Year 1923-24*, Calcutta, 1925.

[23] *Report of the Indian Tariff Board on Grant of Protection to Sugar Industry*, 1930, p. 22.

[24] H.G. Prinsen Geerligs and R. J. Prinsen Geerligs, *Cane Sugar Production, 1912-37*, Supplement to the *World's Cane Sugar Industry, Past and Present, 1912*, London, 1938, pp. 55-64.

TABLE 8

SUGAR PRODUCTION—1919-20 TO 1946-47

(Production in thousand tons)

Year	*Direct from cane*		*Refined from gur*		*Indigenous process (khandsari)*	*Total production*	*Price per ton (Rs)*	*Value of output*	
	No. of factories	*Production*	*No. of factories*	*Production*				*Current prices (million rupees)*	*1938-39 prices (million rupees)*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*
1919-20	. .	23	. .	44	200	267	528.5	141	62
1920-21	. .	25	. .	49	200	274	773.9	212	63
1921-22	18	28	. .	48	200	276	614.3	169	64
1922-23	19	24	18	50	200	274	442.5	121	63
1923-24	23	38	22	56	200	294	469.7	138	68
1924-25	23	34	13	34	200	268	445.8	119	62
1925-26	23	53	19	38	200	291	355.6	103	67
1926-27	25	63	22	58	200	321	342.0	110	74
1927-28	26	68	19	52	200	320	308.0	99	74
1928-29	24	68	14	31	200	299	281.0	84	69
1929-30	27	90	11	23	200	313	282.4	88	72
1930-31	29	120	10	30	200	350	272.3	95	81
1931-32	32	159	17	62	250	471	241.8	114	109
1932-33	57	290	27	78	275	643	255.2	164	149
1933-34	112	454	16	65	200	719	231.5	166	166
1934-35	130	578	13	44	150	772	255.2	197	179
1935-36	137	932	13	48	125	1105	245.1	271	256
1936-37	137	1111	9	26	100	1237	224.6	278	286
1937-38	136	931	10	17	125	1073	190.6	205	248
1238-39	139	651	10	15	100	766	231.5	177	177
1939-40	145	1242	11	27	125	1394	292.7	408	323
1940-41	148	1095	14	45	200	1340	285.9	383	310
1941-42	150	778	11	20	100	898	299.5	269	208
1942-43	150	1071	5	8	214	1293	381.2	493	299
1943-44	151	1216	4	8	150	1374	403.3	554	318
1944-45	140	945	3	6	125	1085	435.7	473	251
1945-46	145	945	. .	4	117	1066	442.5	472	247
1946-47	145	921	. .	4	105	1030	568.6	586	238

SOURCE: *Review of the Sugar Trade of India*, Supplement to the *Indian Trade Journal*, from 1925 onwards. *Report on the Marketing of Sugar in India*, 1941. *Statistical Abstract of India.* M.P. Gandhi, "Prices and Wages in India," *Indian Sugar Industry* (Annual), 37th issue.

29, was adjusted backward using the index number of employment in sugar factories in British India. The estimates are presented in Table 9.

TABLE 9

ESTIMATED SUGAR PRODUCTION IN INDIA—1900-01 TO 1918-19

Year	*Total production (000 tons)*	*Price per ton (Rs)*	*Value of output*	
			At current prices (million rupees)	*At 1938-39 prices (million rupees)*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
1900-01	90	276.7	25	21
1901-02	90	274.8	25	21
1902-03	92	242.1	22	21
1903-04	85	238.8	20	20
1904-05	90	243.4	22	21
1905-06	86	271.5	23	20
1906-07	108	247.8	27	25
1907-08	122	256.2	31	28
1908-09	121	164.4	32	28
1909-10	102	243.4	25	24
1910-11	115	259.8	30	27
1911-12	143	248.1	36	33
1912-13	167	266.9	45	39
1913-14	131	277.7	36	30
1914-15	182	268.2	49	42
1915-16	160	347.2	56	37
1916-17	196	377 9	74	45
1917-18	203	388.8	79	47
1918-19	215	372.2	80	50

Next comes the question of evaluation of the output. Average annual wholesale prices of refined sugar in six centres in the United Provinces are available for the period 1900 to 1922 in the *Prices and Wages in India.* For the period 1922 to 1938-39, *Report on the Marketing of Sugar in India* gives wholesale prices in three centres, Cawnpore, Bombay, and Madras, as well as a weighted average of the three wholesale price quotations. For the period subsequent to 1938-39, the price data available in *Statistical Abstract, Economic Adviser's Index Number of Wholesale Prices* and *Indian Sugar Industry* by M.P. Gandhi have been used. In all these, only the price quotations prevalent in Cawnpore, representing the bulk of the sugar production in the country, have been used. No attempt is made to distinguish between different kinds of sugar. It is also noticed that the indigenous method of production is inefficient and uneconomical and hence the cost is found to be almost the same as factory sugar.[25] The value of output at current prices and at 1938-39 prices is given in Tables 8 and 9.

Having obtained the value of gross output of sugar at current prices and 1938-39 prices the next problem is to derive the net output after deductions for raw materials, fuels, lubricants, electricity consumed, cost of repairs and maintenance charges, miscellaneous payments and provision for depreciation. The information on the items to be deducted is scanty, especially as regards depreciation.[26] The only recourse is to use the limited material available.

M.P. Gandhi has given the cost of sugar production in India during 1932-49 with the following details:

PERCENTAGE OF COSTS OF SUGAR PRODUCTION IN INDIA[27]

Item	*1932-33 to 1937-38*	*1938-39 to 1940-43*	*1943-44 to 1945-46*	*1946-47 to 1948-49*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
1. Cane	44.36	50.67	54.37	59.64
2. Manufacturing expenses	20.39	13.46	15.39	10.53
3. Salaries and wages	8.06	5.64	6.04	9.74
4. Government	14.21	24.22	20.75	16.89
5. Profit	12.40	6.01	3.85	3.20

[25]COST OF PRODUCING 1 MAUND OF SUGAR IN RUPEES

	Cost per maund excluding molasses produced	*Relative values taking factory sugar as standard and allowing for quality*
Khand from		
(*a*) Rab by kanchi process	8.51	7.59
(*b*) By centrifuging	7.20	6.94
Gur refined in vacuum pan factories	9.40	7.59
Cane sugar	7.59	7.59

SOURCE: *Report on the Marketing of Sugar in India*, Delhi, 1941, p. 309.

[26] "Gross value added [i.e., sales value—raw materials and fuel] rather than net value added [i.e., after allowing for depreciation] was used as the measure of output in this research, since the measurement of depreciation raises problems. . . ." George Rosen, *Industrial Change in India*, p. 44.

[27] M.P. Gandhi, *The Sugar Industry*, 1950 Annual, Bombay, 1950, p. 59. This table has two discrepancies: one in column (2) and another in column (4), where the percentages do not total to hundred. These may be printing errors in the source, but the mistakes could not be rectified and hence they are left uncorrected.

The explanation of the term "manufacturing expenses" is, however, not, given in Gandhi's study. From the Tariff Commission's Report, the term "manufacturing expenses" is found to include power and fuel, stores, salaries and wages, packing, repairs and renewals, and miscellaneous, viz., water, lighting, etc. Since salaries and wages are given separately in the above table, it can be taken that the manufacturing expenses include the rest of the items. In other words, the first items, i.e., cane cost and manufacturing expenses, will form the deductible cost to which depreciation provision must be added to obtain the contribution to national income. The Tariff Board, during its enquiry on the grant of protection to the sugar industry, collected detailed information on the costs of production but these details are not printed in the Report. The Tariff Board Report gives the cost of producing sugar in a typical factory in 1930 as follows:

COST OF PRODUCING ONE MAUND OF SUGAR IN A TYPICAL FACTORY IN 1930[28]

	Rupees	*Percentage*
Cane	5.56	55.49
Other raw materials	0.12	1.20
Power and fuel	0.08	0.80
Total materials and fuel	5.76	57.49
Salaries and wages	1.20	11.97
Miscellaneous expenses	1.23	12.28
Overhead charges[29] and profit	1.83	18.26
Total	10.02	100.00

The cost of production figures given above includes overhead charges and profit as one item while Gandhi gives only profit. The Indian Sugar Committee (1920)[30] has also given the value of producing a maund of sugar:

	Cost of cane (*Rs*)	*Cost of manufacture* (*Rs*)	*Total* (*Rs*)
U.P.	5.81 (42.07)	8.00 (57.93)	13.81 (100.00)
Bihar	3.67 (31.45)	8.00 (68.55)	11.67 (100.00)

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[28] *Report of the Tariff Board on the Grant of Protection to the Sugar Industry*, Calcutta, 1930, p. 69.

[29] "Overhead charges include depreciation and interest on working capital." *Tariff Board Report.*

[30] *Report of the Indian Sugar Committee, 1920*, Simla, 1921, p. 256.

The estimated sales value of output per ton and gross value added per ton, i.e., after deducting only raw materials and fuel given by George Rosen for the sugar industry,[31] obtained on the basis of an analysis of individual sugar company balance sheets are as follows:

RAW MATERIALS AND FUELS AS PERCENTAGE OF SALES VALUE

Year	*Sales value per ton (Rs)*	*Gross value added per ton (Rs)*	*Raw materials and fuels per ton*	*Raw materials and fuels as per cent of sales value*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
1937	166	50	116	69.87
1938	210	78	132	62.86
1939	412	136	276	66.99
1940	262	82	180	68.70
1941	266	143	123	46.24
1942	477	188	289	60.59
1943	465	160	305	65.59
1944	452	139	313	69.25
1945	493	149	344	69.78
1946	565	147	418	73.98
1947	816	222	594	72.79

The percentage shares of the cost of materials consumed and depreciation to gross output compiled from the Reports of CMI are given below:[32]

	Percentage of gross output	
	1946	*1947*
(*a*) Cost of materials, fuels, electricity, etc. consumed	76.46	66.48
(*b*) Depreciation	2.63	1.35
Total	79.09	67.83

The data on deductible costs available from the different sources can be summarized as follows:

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[31] George Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[32] *Census of Manufactures, 1947*, Delhi, 1949.

SHARE OF RAW MATERIALS, POWER, FUEL, ETC., IN GROSS OUTPUT

Year	*Tariff Board*	*George Rosen*	*M.P. Gandhi*	*Census of Manufacturing Industries*	
				Including depreciation	*Depreciation only*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
1930	69.77*	—	—	—	—
1932	—	—	—	—	—
1933	—	—	64.75	—	—
1934	—	—	—	—	—
1935	—	—	—	—	—
1936	—	—	—	—	—
1937	—	69.87	—	—	—
1938	—	62.86	—	—	—
1939	—	66.99	—	—	—
1940	—	68.70	64.13	—	—
1941	—	46.24	—	—	—
1942	—	60.59	—	—	—
1943	—	65.59	—	—	—
1944	—	69.25	69.76	—	—
1945	—	69.78	—	—	—
1946	—	73.98	—	76.46	2.63
1947	—	72.79	70.17	66.48	1.35

*Includes only cost of materials and miscellaneous expenses.

From the above data it is difficult to adopt a satisfactory procedure to obtain the net output. The ratio of raw materials, fuel, power, etc., to sales value given by Rosen varies between 62.86 per cent in 1938 to 73.98 per cent in 1946 leaving out the very low figure of 46.24 in 1941. The figures quoted by Gandhi cover the period 1932-33 onwards and also exclude depreciation. No data whatsoever are available for the period before 1930. It appears that on the average the deductible costs are likely to be between 60 and 75 per cent. From the time series available, it is proposed to adopt the ratios provided by Gandhi with adjustment to the extent of 2 per cent for depreciation. Thus the deductions will be 72 per cent for the period 1943-44 to 1946-47 and 67 per cent for the period prior to 1943-44. The net output at current prices and 1938-39 prices of sugar industry are shown in Table 10.

Paper Industry

Data regarding the number of paper mills, the number of persons employed, the quantity and value of paper produced in British India and Indian states are published in *Statistics of British India* (Vol. I) up to 1922 and thereafter in *Statistical Abstract for British India.* Production of paper and paper products classified by variety is available from 1932-33 onwards in *Monthly Statistics of the Production of Selected Industries in India.* From these data relating to the quantity and value, the value of output at 1938-39 prices is also obtained.

TABLE 10

NET OUTPUT OF SUGAR INDUSTRY

(*In million rupees*)

Year	*At current prices*	*At 1938-39 prices*	*Year*	*At current prices*	*At 1938-39 prices*
1	*2*	*3*	*1*	*2*	*3*
1900-01	8	7	1924-25	39	21
1901-02	8	7	1925-26	34	22
1902-03	7	7	1926-27	36	25
1903-04	6	7	1927-28	33	25
1904-05	7	7	1928-29	28	23
1905-06	8	7	1929-30	29	24
1906-07	9	8	1930-31	32	27
1907-08	10	9	1931-32	38	36
1908-09	11	9	1932-33	54	49
1909-10	8	8	1933-34	55	55
1910-11	10	9	1934-35	65	59
1911-12	12	11	1935-36	89	64
1912-13	15	13	1936-37	92	94
1913-14	12	10	1937-38	68	82
1914-15	16	14	1938-39	58	58
1915-16	18	12	1939-40	135	108
1916-17	24	15	1940-41	126	103
1917-18	26	15	1941-42	89	69
1918-19	26	16	1942-43	163	99
1919-20	47	21	1943-44	155	106
1920-21	70	21	1944-45	132	83
1921-22	56	21	1945-46	132	82
1922-23	40	21	1946-47	164	79
1923-24	46	23			

TABLE 11
NET OUTPUT OF PAPER INDUSTRY

Year	*No. of units*	*No. of persons employed (000)*	*Production (000 tons)*	*Value of output at*		*Net output at*	
				Current prices (million rupees)	*1938-39 prices (million rupees)*	*Current prices (million rupees)*	*1938-39 prices (million rupees)*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*
1900-01	8	4.9	20.5	6	9	1.5	2.3
1901-02	9	5.0	20.9	7	9	1.8	2.3
1902-03	8	4.9	20.8	6	9	1.5	2.3
1903-04	9	4.5	19.5	6	8	1.5	2.0
1904-05	7	4.3	20.0	6	8	1.5	2.0
1905-06	6	4.0	20.0	5	8	1.3	2.0
1906-07	7	4.4	21.0	6	9	1.5	2.3
1907-08	8	5.2	24.1	7	10	1.8	2.5
1908-09	9	5.0	25.6	8	11	2.0	2.8
1909-10	9	4.8	25.7	8	11	2.0	2.8
1910-11	9	4.7	26.6	8	11	2.0	2.8
1911-12	9	4.7	26.6	8	11	2.0	2.8
1912-13	8	4.1	27.0	8	11	2.0	2.8
1913-14	8	4.6	27.0	8	11	2.0	2.8
1914-15	9	4.6	29.0	8	12	2.0	3.0
1915-16	9	4.7	30.4	9	13	2.3	3.3
1916-17	10	5.1	32.0	12	13	3.0	3.3
1917-18	10	5.5	31.9	19	13	4.8	3.3
1918-19	9	5.7	31.4	21	13	5.3	3.3
1919-20	9	6.1	30.9	21	13	5.3	3.3
1920-21	8	6.1	29.3	22	12	5.5	3.0
1921-22	8	5.6	28.7	23	12	5.8	3.0
1922-23	8	5.3	24.0	15	10	3.8	2.3
1923-24	8	5.4	26.0	14	11	3.5	2.8
1924-25	8	4.3	25.7	14	11	4.2	3.3
1925-26	8	5.2	28.6	14	12	4.2	3.6
1926-27	8	5.6	32.2	16	13	4.8	3.9
1927-28	9	5.6	33.9	16	14	4.8	4.2
1928-29	9	5.9	38.1	13	16	3.9	4.8
1929-30	10	6.8	40.8	19	17	5.7	5.1
1930-31	11	7.1	39.8	17	17	6.0	6.0
1931-32	10	6.3	40.8	19	17	6.7	6.0
1932-33	10	6.2	40.6	19	17	6.7	6.0
1933-34	9	6.6	43.4	18	18	6.3	6.3
1934-35	9	6.7	44.5	17	19	6.0	6.7
1935-36	10	7.3	47.6	19	20	6.7	7.0
1836-37	12	7.7	48.5	19	20	6.7	7.0

TABLE 11 (*Contd.*)

1937-38	13	8.8	57.1	25	24	8.8	8.4
1938-39	14	9.8	60.8	25	25	8.8	8.8
1939-40	18	12 4	73.2	31	31	11.5	11.5
1940-41	18	14.6	86.3	40	36	14.8	13.3
1941-42	14	15.4	87.7	46	37	17.0	13.7
1942-43	14	16.8	93.6	57	39	21.1	14.4
1943-44	14	19.2	93.6	66	38	24.4	14.1
1944-45	16	20.7	87.6	87	37	32.2	13.7
1345-46	17	21.3	97.4	124	42	45.9	15.5
1946-47	24	20.3	94.0	104	41	38.5	15.2

Details relating to the cost of production of paper for 1914 and 1921 to 1930 for individual paper mills are available in the volumes containing the evidence submitted by these mills to the Tariff Board in 1925 and 1932. They, however, relate only to "works cost" and, therefore, do not include the overhead charges like head office expenses, managing agent's remuneration, depreciation, etc. The relevant ratios obtained from this data are shown below:

SHARE OF RAW MATERIALS, POWER AND FUEL, AND REPAIRS AND MAINTENANCE IN TOTAL "WORKS COST"

Year	*Raw materials*	*Power and fuel*	*Repairs and maintenance*
1914	59.64	11.43	8.91
1921	64.76	9.71	7.92
1922	56.98	13.49	8.91
1923	55.33	13.55	9.15
1924	57.27	11.95	9.05
1925	59.06	10.94	8.20
1926	60.41	10.25	8.30
1927	59.80	8.17	9.53
1928	60.33	7.20	9.05
1929	62.20	7.31	9.68
1930	60.37	6.32	9.02

Rosen[33] gives the sales value and gross value added per ton for the paper industry from 1937 onwards. The ratio of gross value added to sales value per unit computed from these data is given below:

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[33] George Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

Year	*Sales value per ton (Rs)*	*Gross value added per ton (Rs)*	*Percentage share of raw materials, fuels and power, etc., to sales value*
1937	418	178	57.42
1938	427	162	62.06
1939	396	149	62.37
1940	482	226	53.11
1941	618	322	47.89
1942	894	464	48.10
1943	1084	603	44.37
1944	953	410	56.98
1945	974	411	57.81
1946	915	443	51.58

The share of raw materials, fuels and power, etc., and depreciation in the total value of output computed from the data given in Census of Manufacturing Industries is as follows:

	Raw materials	*Fuel and power, etc.*	*Depreciation*	*Total*	*Value added*
1946	47.95	11.84	2.85	62.64	37.36
1947	46.46	12.02	4.34	62.82	37.18

The data on deductible costs obtained from various sources are not comparable because of differences in the items included. The available data do not give a clear magnitude of the amount of deduction to be made. The share of raw materials is seen to be high before the 1930s due to the use of the costly imported pulp. After the grant of protection and the consequent use of indigenous raw material, this part of the cost has been considerably reduced, leading to a reduction in the overall cost. It may not, therefore, be unrealistic to assume the share of deductible costs as 63 per cent from 1939-40 to 1946-47, 65 per cent from 1930-31 to 1938-39, 70 per cent from 1924-25 to 1929-30, and 75 per cent for the earlier period. These dates coincide with the various measures taken to protect the industry based on the recommendations of the Tariff Board from time to time. The sliding scale attempted is to a certain extent arbitrary, but the error as a result of this is not likely to be serious in view of the relatively low value of the gross output of paper industry, the highest value figures being Rs 42 million and Rs 124 million at constant and current prices recorded during 1945-46.

Cement Industry

Portland cement was first manufactured in Madras in 1904 but the real foundations for this industry were laid only just before World War I, with the establishment of three companies in 1912-13. The production figures are not available for the years before 1914. Even in 1914, it was only of the order of one thousand tons and, therefore, the production, if any, in the earlier period can be considered to be insignificant. As regards price data, wholesale prices of portland cement are given for the period 1931-32 to 1940-41 in the *Statistical Abstract for British India.* For the period 1941-42 to 1946-47 the *Index Number of Wholesale Prices of Certain Articles in India* and *Economic Advisor's Weekly Index Number of Wholesale Prices in India* contain price indices of cement. The prices for the period 1941-42 to 1946-47 have been estimated using these price indices. But the problem of obtaining price data for the years before 1931-32 proved difficult. The prices of cement are estimated by applying the general index of wholesale prices to 1938-39 prices of cement on the assumption that the movements in the two price series would be more or less the same. Though this is not a satisfactory solution, in the absence of price data, this assumption is unavoidable. From the physical production figures and corresponding price data, the total value of cement output at current and constant prices is estimated. The next problem is to obtain the net output of the industry.

Report of the Tariff Board on the Grant of Protection to the Cement Industry (1925) contains the analysis of "works cost" per ton of cement produced. It gives breakdown of cost according to raw materials, power and fuel, labour, repairs and maintenance, packing and miscellaneous charges, etc. "Works cost" does not include overhead charges and depreciation.

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKS COST OF CEMENT—192[34]

	Works cost per ton in rupees							
	Indian cement	*Katni cement*	*Bundi cement*	*Jubbulpore cement*	*Gwalior cement*	*Punjab cement*	*Central*	*All factories** *(000 Rs)*
Materials	3.50	5.00	2.60	3.14	3.10	1.66	4.38	645 (8.90)
Labour	4.18	1.06	3 08	1.74	1.93	3.57	2.27	436 (6.01)
Repairs and maintenance	6.67	4.44	3.58	1.63	5.17	3.21	. .	718 (9.90)
General and miscellaneous	8.11	3.50	4.65	5.62	8.80	5.73	6.17	981 (13.53)
Power and fuel	20.50	13.00	16.90	19.83	13.93	11.13	9.89	2868 (39.56)
Packing	9.25	8.00	9.17	8.00	9.00	8.80	7.15	1602 (22.10)
Total cost excluding overheads	52.21	35.00	39.98	39.96	41.93	34.10	29.86	7250 (100.00)

*Figures in brackets indicate percentage to total.

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[34] *Report of the Tariff Board on the Grant of Protection to Cement Industry*, Calcutta, 1925, Appendix III.

The figures in the last column which provide an estimate of the combined total works cost of cement for all the seven factories is obtained by multiplying the works cost per ton for each factory by its production in 1923.

As the "works cost" excludes overhead charges, it is not possible to get a full picture of the share of different elements. This, however, gives only an idea of the relative importance of different items in the total "works cost."

The estimates of sales value and gross value added are available in *Industrial Change in India* by George Rosen. The difference between the two gives the share of raw materials and fuels and power excluding depreciation and certain other costs.

An attempt is also made to estimate the deductions to be made from the data contained in the Profit and Loss statements of the Associated Cement Companies (ACC) for the period 1937-38 to 1946-47. The estimates could not be made for the earlier period as the salaries and wages are not given separately from the material expenses in the accounts of the companies. The ACC represents the merger of a number of principal companies and can, therefore, be taken to be representative. The total output of the factories covered by the ACC is not available. But the total sales of cement including the quantity used for construction, adjusted for changes in stocks, is taken to represent output. The share of the deductions including depreciation and excluding depreciation computed from the profit and loss statements of the ACC and those given by Rosen are given below:

SHARE OF DEDUCTIBLE COSTS TO TOTAL SALES VALUE

Year	*From the Accounts of Associated Cement Companies Ltd.*		*George Rosen*
	With depreciation	*Without depreciation*	
1	2	3	*4*
1937-38	68.78	61.51	51.72
1938-39	78.76	69.40	53.08
1939-40	76.69	67.12	58.44
1940-41	71.68	60.59	51.22
1941-42	61.35	51.36	56.22
1942-43	63.31	54.44	50.57
1943-44	61.20	53.32	54.75
1944-45	61.05	54.09	54.62
1945-46	62.59	55.46	54.92
1946-47	66.77	58.21	55.66

The figures in the last column are lower than those in column 3 because the former includes only raw material and fuel while the latter includes other deductible items like rents, rates and taxes, insurance, packing charges, etc.

The estimates of value added and deductions to be made as percentage of gross output obtained from CMI are as follows:

	1946 (*percentage*)	*1947* (*percentage*)
Cost of materials	31.17	37.67
Cost of fuel, power, etc.	23.90	25.85
Depreciation	5.97	6.81
Total deductions	61.04	70.33
Value added	38.96	29.67

The figures for 1945-46 obtained from the accounts of the ACC and those derived from CMI show close agreement. The Tariff Board figures relating to 1923 cannot be used as they relate to "works cost" only. Since 1941-42, the share of deductible items is much lower than the earlier years. It may also be noted that during the initial years, the industry faced serious difficulties due to external as well as internal competition. The share of deductions is, therefore, taken as 65 per cent from 1941-42 to 1946-47 and 70 per cent for the earlier years.

Woollen Industry

Statistics relating to the quantity and value of woollen goods produced in the mills in British India and native states are available up to 1930. From 1931, figures of production and value are given only for the native states as the returns for Brilish India were reported to be incomplete. But data relating to the number of workers employed in British India and native states are separately available. Assuming that the physical output in British India would have moved in the same way as the employment, the production in British India is estimated by applying the index of employment worked out with base 1925-29=100 to the average annual production of 1925-29. The value of output is arrived at on the basis of the quantity value relationship of the production of native states.

Very little evidence is available to estimate the amount of deductions to be made for obtaining the net output. The Tariff Board (1935) while attempting to estimate the cost of erecting a mill observed that "detailed cost of production figures are not available for the woollen industry."[35] Even the quantity of raw wool consumed by mills is not available. According to the data given in CMI,

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[35] *Report of the Tariff Board on the Grant of Protection to the Woollen Industry*, Calcutta, 1935, p. 52.

TABLE 12
NET OUTPUT OF CEMENT INDUSTRY

(In million rupees)

Year	*Number employed (000)*	*Production (000 tons)*	*Value of output at*		*Net output at*	
			Current prices	*1938-39 prices*	*Current prices*	*1938-39 prices*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
1914-15	0.5	1	0.1	(a)	(a)	(a)
1915-16	0.4	18	1.0	0.7	0.3	0.2
1916-17	0.5	39	2.1	1.5	0.6	0.4
1917-18	1.0	74	4.0	2.8	1.2	0.8
1918-19	2.3	84	5.3	3.1	1.6	0.9
1919-20	1.2	87	7.7	3.2	2.3	1.0
1920-21	5.1	91	8.0	3.4	2.4	1.0
1921-22	4.5	133	10.6	4.9	3.2	1.5
1922-23	6.7	151	11.7	5.6	3.5	1.7
1923-24	5.4	244	18.2	9.1	5.5	2.7
1924-25	5.5	264	19.1	9.8	5.7	3.0
1925-26	5.2	361	28.1	13.5	8.4	4.0
1926-27	6.9	388	29.6	14.5	8.9	4.3
1927-28	7.5	478	36.1	17.8	10.8	5.3
1928-29	7.9	558	42.6	20.8	12.8	6.2
1929-30	8.4	561	41.8	20.9	12.5	6.3
1930-31	6.1	570	35.7	21.2	10.7	6.4
1931-32	5.3	583	26.8	21.7	8.1	6.5
1932-33	6.2	593	27.3	22.1	8.2	6.6
1933-34	6.2	642	29.5	23.9	8.9	7.2
1934-35	6.7	781	36.3	29.1	10.9	8.7
1935-36	9.3	891	41.0	33.2	12.3	10.0
1936-37	10.2	997	43.6	37.1	13.1	11.1
1937-38	11.2	1170	50.3	43.6	15.1	13.1
1938-39	13.3	1512	56.3	56.3	16.9	16.9
1939-40	13.9	1733	59.4	64.6	17.8	19.4
1940-41	13.5	1727	63.9	64.3	19.2	19.3
1941-42	18.5	2222	86.4	82.8	30.2	28.9
1942-43	19.7	2183	98.2	81.3	34.4	28.5
1943-44	18.7	2112	121.4	78.7	42.5	27.5
1944-45	19.5	2044	142.4	76.1	49.9	26.6
1945-46	24.9	2151	145.2	80.1	50.8	28.0
1946-47	25.5	2027	123.5	75.5	43.2	26.4

(a) Indicates negligible.

TABLE 13

NET OUTPUT OF WOOLLEN MILLS

(*In million rupees*)

Year	*Number employed (000)*	*Production (million lbs.)*	*Value of output at*		*Net output at*	
			Current prices	*1938-39 prices*	*Current prices*	*1938-39 prices*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
1900-01	2.9	3.4	3.0	2.8	1.4	1.2
1901-02	3.0	4.0	3.3	3.2	1.5	1.4
1902-03	2.9	3.2	2.8	2.7	1.3	1.2
1903-04	3.0	3.0	2.9	2.4	1.3	1.1
1904-05	3.5	3.5	3.7	2.8	1.7	1.3
1905-06	3.5	4.1	4.4	3.4	2.0	1.5
1906-07	3.4	2.8	3.5	2.3	1.6	1.0
1907-08	3.5	3.0	3.4	2.4	1.5	1.1
1908-09	3.5	3.4	4.4	2.8	2.0	1.2
1909-10	3.4	4.0	4.3	3.2	1.9	1.4
1910-11	3.4	4.1	4.7	3.3	2.1	1.5
1911-12	3.7	4.8	5.1	3.9	2.3	1.7
1912-13	4.0	5.1	5.4	4.1	2.4	1.9
1913-14	4.1	5.1	6.2	4.2	2.8	1.9
1914-15	4.7	6.2	8.0	5.0	3.6	2.2
1915-16	6.6	10.6	12.3	8.6	5.5	3.9
1916-17	7.1	12.0	16.7	9.7	7.5	4.4
1917-18	8.4	11.5	20.1	9.3	9.1	4.2
1918-19	8.4	10.5	20.0	8.5	9.0	3.8
1919-20	7.3	6.8	16.5	5.5	7.4	2.5
1920-21	6.8	7.5	17.4	6.1	7.9	2.7
1921-22	5.6	5.4	13.3	4.3	6.0	2.0
1922-23	6.2	12.9	11.4	10.5	5.1	4.7
1923-24	10.1	15.9	21.0	12.8	9.5	5.8
1924-25	10.3	19.8	16.8	16.0	7.6	7.2
1925-26	8.8	19.7	19.4	15.9	8.7	7.2
1926-27	8.8	17.1	17.1	13.8	7.7	6.2
1927-28	9.0	18.5	13.1	14.9	5.9	6.7
1928-29	8.1	14.2	9.9	11.5	4.5	5.2
1929-30	8.1	12.2	9.9	9.9	4.5	4.5
1930-31	8.3	11.7	8.8	9.5	3.9	4.3
1931-32	6.0	14.2	11.9	11.5	5.3	5.2
1932-33	6.9	13.2	11.3	10.7	5.1	4.8
1933-34	7.9	12.9	10.7	10.5	4.8	4.7
1934-35	8.3	13.3	8.8	10.8	4.0	4.9
1935-36	7.2	14.6	10.0	11.8	4.5	5.3
1936-37	9.4	15.9	11.3	12.9	5.1	5.8
1937-38	11.0	17.8	13.3	14.4	6.0	6.5

1938-39	10.6	15.7	12.7	12.7	5.7	5.7
1939-40	11.1	15.7	14.3	12.7	6.5	5.7
1940-41	14.2	27.6	24.1	22.3	10.9	10.0
1941-42	17.5	29.3	63.6	23.8	28.6	10.7
1942-43	18.5	34.5	71.8	28.0	32.3	12.6
1943-44	19.5	39.4	100.4	31.9	45.2	14.4
1944-45	19.4	39.9	57.6	32.3	25.9	14.6
1945-46	20.5	42.0	59.5	34.0	26.8	15.3
1946-47	19.1	29.5	43.6	23.9	19.6	10.8

the share of the cost of raw materials, fuels and power, depreciation, etc., are as follows:

	1946 *(percentage)*	*1947* *(percentage)*
Cost of materials	53.28	43.55
Cost of fuel	2.85	2.43
Depreciation	0.85	0.97
Total	55.98	46.95
Value added	44.02	53.05

This is rather meagre evidence to enable one to have estimates of deductions for 1900-47. In the absence of adequate evidence the share of deductions is taken to be 55 per cent and the net contribution of this industry to total output at 45 per cent.

Iron and Steel Industry

The modern era of iron and steel industry in India began with the establishment of the Tata Iron and Steel Works. The first blast furnace was blown in December 1911 and the manufacture of steel started in 1912. During 1900-13 only pig iron was manufactured, the concern being the Bengal Iron and Steel Works. In 1900 the pig iron production was 35,00 tons while in 1913 it was 59,000 tons. Statistics relating to the production of pig iron and steel of different categories are available. But it is not possible to estimate the value of output in view of the product mix as well as due to the paucity of price data for different varieties. The Tata Iron and Steel Company has been until recently the principal concern manufacturing steel. The Annual Reports of this company contain data relating to production, revenue and expenditure for the period beginning from the first year of production. The gross revenue given in the financial statements includes sales proceeds and other income from rents, royalties, etc. The net value of the output of the industry during the year is relevant for the purpose of the study. The gross value of output can be obtained by taking sales value and adjusting it for stock changes. The sales value of the products along with data on stocks held are available in the

TABLE 14

IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY*

(In million rupees)

Year	*Number employed (000)*	*Production (000 tons)*	*Gross value added in current prices*	*Net output at*	
				Current prices	*1938-39 prices*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
1913-14	8.6	49	5.1	4.8	5.2
1914-15	7.9	67	5.6	5.1	7.1
1915-16	9.7	91	10.4	9.4	9.5
1916-17	10.2	99	16.8	13.3	10.4
1917-18	11.7	124	15.8	11.3	13.0
1918-19	16.3	102	12.3	10.2	10.7
1919-20	20.8	122	18.6	13.1	12.8
1920-21	25.2	122	25.3	21.2	12.8
1921-22	26.2	126	25.9	24.4	13.2
1922-23	25.9	115	21.2	18.2	12.1
1923-24	22.2	163	29.5	23.4	17.1
1924-25	24.6	248	41.0	35.0	26.0
1925-26	27.9	320	44.4	36.6	33.6
1926-27	25.1	374	47.3	42.3	39.2
1927-28	21.8	429	38.4	33.9	45.0
1928-29	19.0	288	26.0	18.6	30.2
1929-30	17.6	425	35.7	27.6	44.6
1930-31	17.7	443	36.4	28.6	46.5
1931-32	16.8	456	33.7	25.5	47.9
1932-33	15.6	431	33.5	21.0	45.2
1933-34	16.3	535	43.3	32.9	56.1
1934-35	17.4	610	49.1	39.3	64.0
1935-36	18.2	661	48.0	38.7	69.4
1936-37	18.4	680	59.9	51.1	71.3
1937-38	19.2	674	72.1	62.0	70.7
1938-39	19.9	715	80.0	75.0	75.0
1939-40	20.9	777	87.3	72.8	81.5
1940-41	20.2	834	114.3	101.8	87.0
1941-42	20.8	839	119.7	107.2	88.1
1942-43	21.1	728	113.1	100.6	76.4
1943-44	22.8	831	140.5	127.9	87.2
1944-45	22.1	747	143.8	131.0	78.4
1945-46	22.0	746	142.1	129.6	78.3
1946-47	22.2	753	147.0	131.9	79.0

*Applies only to Tata Iron and Steel Industry.

profit and loss accounts. While the annual report for each year contains data relating to gross revenue for all the years from the inception, the sales value is given only for the latest year in each annual report. As the annual reports for all the years from 1914 were not readily available, it is proposed to use the estimates of gross value added given by George Rosen. An index of the gross revenue is worked out for the period 1913-14 to 1946-47 with 1938-39 as the base. This index is applied to the gross value added for 1938-39 to obtain the gross value added for all the other years. The financial statements contain figures of depreciation for 1914 to 1947 which are subtracted from the estimate of gross value added to obtain the net output. Similarly the net output at 1938-39 prices is also obtained. The figures are shown in Table 14. They relate only to the Tata Iron and Steel Industry. The corresponding net output of the whole industry can be obtained by marking up this net output by the ratio between the total production of the industry to the production of the Tata Iron and Steel Company or by the ratio of the employment in the industry as a whole to that of the TISCO. Such a procedure in any case has to be adopted for estimating the share of those industries for which the production figures are not available. In view of this no attempt is made to estimate the contribution of the part of the industry separately.

Match Industry

The growth of the match industry in India dates from 1912 when a revenue duty was imposed on imported matches to afford protection to the home industry. Before 1921, the number of match factories was inconsiderable and the commercial production of matches seems to have been successful only after 1922. Unfortunately no production data are available for 1922-32. From 1932-33 figures relating to match production are published in *Monthly Statistics of the Production of Selected Industries in India*. An estimate quoted by the Tariff Board places the match production at 10.7 million tons in 1926.[36] For the period before 1932-33 the production of matches is estimated assuming that the production would have moved in the same way as the employment in the industry. The employment figures are available for the entire period. An index of employment with the base 1932-33 to 1934-35 is worked out for the period 1922-23 to 1932-33. This index is applied to the average production of the three-year period, 1932-33 to 1934-35, to obtain the production estimates for 1922-23 to 1932-33. It may be noted that the estimate of production so obtained gives a figure of 11.1 million gross match boxes for 1925-26 which is close to the estimate of 10.7 million quoted by the Tariff Board in its report. The prices of home-produced match boxes are not available except for the four-year period, 1924-27, from the Report of the

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[36] *Report of the Indian Tariff Board on the Grant of Protection to the Match Industry*, Calcutta, 1928, Appendix D.

Indian Tariff Board. In the absence of systematically compiled price data of home-produced match boxes; the import prices have been used. As for the deductions to be made from the gross output to obtain the net output, the

TABLE 15

NET OUTPUT OF MATCH INDUSTRY

(In million rupees)

Year	*Number employed (000)*	*Production (million gross)*	*Value of output at*		*Net output at*	
			Current prices	*1938-39 prices*	*Current prices*	*1938-39 prices*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
1922-23	0.7	0.7	1.0	1.3	0.5	0.6
1923-24	0.8	0.7	1.0	1.4	0.5	0.7
1924-25	5.7	5.6	6.7	10.6	3.3	5.3
1925-26	11.3	11.1	13.3	21.1	6.6	10.5
1926-27	15.5	15.3	16.8	29.0	8.4	14.5
1927-28	15.8	15.5	17.0	29.4	8.5	14.7
1928-29	15.4	15.1	16.6	28.6	8.3	14.3
1929-30	16.8	16.5	18.2	31.4	9.1	15.7
1930-31	19.3	18.9	18.9	35.9	9.5	17.9
1931-32	17.7	17.3	17.3	32.9	8.6	16.5
1932-33	17.4	18.8	17.0	35.8	8.5	17.9
1933-34	17.6	18.1	16.3	34.4	8.1	17.2
1934-35	19.4	16.4	24.7	31.3	12.3	15.6
1935-36	21.5	24.2	50.9	46.1	25.4	23.0
1936-37	16.6	24.0	48.0	45.6	24.0	22.8
1937-38	16.4	21.6	41.0	41.0	20.5	20.5
1938-39	16.8	21.1	40.0	40.0	20.0	20.0
1939-40	15.5	22.0	41.7	41.7	21.3	20.8
1940-41	14.5	23.1	43.9	43.9	21.9	22.0
1941-42	14.8	16.5	54.5	31.4	27.2	15.7
1942-43	11.2	14.8	48.9	28.2	24.4	14.1
1943-44	12.8	18.0	59.3	34.1	29.6	17.0
1944-45	13.6	17.2	56.6	32.6	28.3	16.3
1945-46	16.8	24.0	79.3	45.7	39.6	22.8
1946-47	18.3	21.9	76.8	41.7	38.4	20.8

Tariff Board Report gives only the distribution of "works cost" for 1927 which excludes, among other things, depreciation, managing agent's remuneration, etc. CMI gives the share of various elements to gross output as follows:

	1946 *(percentage)*	*1947* *(percentage)*
Materials consumed	41.91	46.05
Fuels, power, etc.	0.61	0.78
Depreciation	0.77	1.19
Total	43.29	48.02
Value added	56.71	51.98

As no other evidence is available regarding the deductions to be made, the net output of the match industry is assumed to be 50 per cent of the gross output.

So far the procedure followed for estimating the contribution of cotton, jute, sugar, paper, cement, woollen, iron and steel (only TISCO), and match industries have been outlined. For all these industries, the employment and production figures and price data to a certain extent were available. The remaining industries are such for most of which the production data are not compiled and published. There are, however, a few industries for which the production figures are published but the price and employment data are not available. From our point of view it is necessary to know the number engaged in each industry for which the net output is estimated because we have to account for the number of industrial workers whose contribution is not estimated directly. Further, it may also be pointed out that the production figures available for some of the industries are nothing more than guesses. In this category we can mention the glass industry which has had its beginnings in the last century. The Panel on Glass Industry (1948) observes: "In its enquiry the Panel has been very much handicapped by the absence of reliable and properly organised data regarding the industry. Even the statistics of total production of glassware in India have never been collected in a proper manner."[37] In the absence of proper data a number of rough estimates have been put forward from time to time. Sir Alfred Chatterton[38] in 1919 estimated the value of glassware made in India at roughly one-fourth of the value of imported glassware. He estimated the value of glassware made in India at approximately Rs 40 lakhs. Other estimates by the Allahabad Glass Works and Ogale Glass Works place the value of domestic manufacture between Rs 50 lakhs and Rs 70 lakhs. The Tariff Board (1932) estimated the value of glassware made in India at Rs 140 lakhs.[39] This estimate is taken to be valid for 1929-30 when the import of glass amounted to Rs 252 lakhs. P.J. Thomas estimated the value of annual production of glass at Rs 200 lakhs immediately before the war.[40] From this it is obvious that these estimates are nothing but approximations and cannot be expected to give any reliable magnitude of the contribution of this industry to national income.

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[37] *Report of the Panel on Glass Industry in India*, Department of Industry and Supply, Delhi, 1948, p. 23.

[38] Sir Alfred Chatterton, "The Manufacture of Glass in India," *Indian Munitions Board Handbook*, Calcutta, 1917, pp. 261-73.

[39] *Report of the Indian Tariff Board on Grant of Protection to Glass Industry*, Calcutta, 1932, p. 48.

For breweries and magnesium chloride industry, production figures are available. For the former they are published in *Statistics of British India* and *Statistical Abstract for British India* for the whole period. But corresponding employment figures are compiled only up to 1930 and thereafter the numbers employed are given for distilleries and breweries together while the output figures are given only for breweries. Further price data for the home-produced varieties are not published. In view of this no attempt is made to estimate the contribution of this industry separately. For the magnesium chloride industry the Reports of the Tariff Board on the Industry (relating to 1925, 1929, 1938, and 1947) contain data relating to production and not to employment. As mentioned earlier, it is not useful from the overall point of view to compute net output for industries for which employment figures are not available. Hence the contribution of this industry is also not estimated separately. In the same category can be mentioned the case of three more industries, viz., heavy chemicals, paints, and wheat flour, for which the production data are published from 1932-33 but the employment and price statistics are not available.

For the industries for which adequate production, price and employment data are not available, the net output cannot be estimated separately. Some other alternative procedure will have to be adopted to arrive at even rough magnitudes. For all these categories only employment figures are published. Various assumptions were made by V.K.R.V. Rao, Shah and Khambatta in their estimates. In his estimates for 1925-29 Rao estimated directly the contribution of cotton, jute, wool, paper, matches, sugar, heavy chemicals, and electric wires and cable and assumed the contribution of the remaining at half of the above-mentioned industries. Similarly Shah and Khambatta assigned arbitrarily certain magnitudes for engineering industries, food, drink and tobacco, silk, etc. In the absence of reliable data, there is no other way but to make some assumptions as regards their contribution. The only data available relate to the employment in these industries. With a suitable estimate of the net output per worker in the remaining industries, their contribution can be obtained. But it is difficult to arrive at a reliable estimate of net output in the absence of adequate information. CMI contains estimates of the value added in 29 industries for 1946 onwards. This includes also the eight industries for which the net output has been estimated directly. In a search for an estimate of the net output per worker for the remaining industries, the relation between the net output per worker in all the 29 industries covered by the census and the eight industries mentioned above is examined. The value added per worker for 1946 and 1947 for the two groups of industries are given below:

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[40] *Report of the Panel on Glass Industry*, Delhi, 1948, p. 8.

	1946 (Rs)	*1947 (Rs)*
For 29 industries	1524	1628
For 8 industries[41]	1521	1655

The value added per worker for the eight industries approximates closely the value added per worker for all the 29 industries suggesting that the average value added obtained from these eight industries can be taken as representative of the value added per worker for all industries. The explanation for this agreement may be that the industries not covered by the eight categories referred to above include amongst them chemical engineering, paints and varnishes, and metal industries which have very high value added per worker and industries like ceramics, glass and glassware, rice milling, etc., with very low value added per worker. These happen to be the industries for which we do not have any evidence to estimate the value added. In the absence of adequate data for estimation, it is assumed that the net output per worker of these eight industries will be representative of the remaining industries for the period covered in this study. The net output of all industries is estimated using the employment figures available. One modification is, however, attempted to allow for the employment in seasonal industries. A seasonal industry is defined as one in which the production is not carried on for more than 180 days in a year. It is, therefore, only appropriate that instead of taking the number of workers in seasonal industries as such, ony half the actual number is taken to evaluate the net output. But the figures of employment classified according to perennial and seasonal industries are available only from 1931-32 onwards for British India and 1932-33 for native states. Since the bulk of the seasonal employment is found to be in cotton ginning and pressing, for which separate figures are available for earlier years also, it is taken to indicate the magnitude of the number employed in seasonal industries for the period before 1931-32. Out of the total number employed in industries, half of the number engaged in seasonal industries is deducted to give the effective number for which the net output should be estimated. The total contribution of factory establishments in current prices and 1938-39 prices thus estimated is given in Table 16.

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[41] Industries included: cotton, jute, sugar, paper, cement, woollen, iron and steel and matches.

TABLE 16

NET OUTPUT OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

(*Net output in million rupees*)

Year	*Total factory employment*	*Employment after allowing for seasonal industries*	*Net output at* *Current prices*	*Net output at* *1938-39 prices*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
1900-01	584	539	220	298
1901-02	617	572	307	459
1902-03	642	597	254	485
1903-04	666	622	196	501
1904-05	766	698	318	521
1905-06	803	753	352	616
1906-07	893	826	563	633
1907-08	871	793	623	555
1908-09	894	820	485	557
1909-10	929	846	393	602
1910-11	957	867	316	570
1911-12	933	865	449	573
1912-13	1003	903	565	678
1913-14	1023	918	729	635
1914-15	1089	987	963	651
1915-16	1073	973	628	705
1916-17	1142	1038	804	690
1917-18	1163	1054	940	675
1918-19	1213	1101	1676	641
1919-20	1303	1179	2040	681
1920-21	1389	1255	2665	729
1921-22	1467	1327	1668	747
1922-23	1419	1315	1618	740
1923-24	1457	1350	1060	626
1924-25	1506	1391	1638	822
1925-26	1547	1429	1459	845
1926-27	1585	1469	1769	960
1927-28	1588	1470	1818	1083
1928-29	1576	1457	1574	865
1929-30	1657	1528	1808	1080
1930-31	1624	1507	1450	979
1931-32	1540	1391	1146	1026
1932-33	1522	1368	1308	1112
1933-34	1526	1360	1198	1056
1934-35	1706	1531	1208	1191
1935-36	1759	1577	1312	1288
1936-37	1819	1630	1227	1411
1937-38	1958	1771	1522	1504

TABLE 16 *(Contd.)*

1938-39	2037	1854	1701	1701
1939-40	2050	1869	1502	1751
1940-41	2144	1963	2420	1779
1941-42	2492	2306	4309	2139
1942-43	2638	2455	5011	2330
1943-44	2816	2634	9499	2599
1944-45	2916	2735	8041	2548
1945-46	3121	2948	6331	2749
1946-47	2844	2654	4841	2173

SMALL-SCALE AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

In the previous section, the net output of all industrial establishments that fall within the purview of the Indian Factories Act has been estimated. This, however, accounts for only a small proportion of the total industrial activity of the country, the greater part being accounted for by the small-scale and cottage industries. A precise assessment of the contribution of small-scale and cottage industries is much handicapped by the absence of data relating to them. For the organized sector, some data on employment and output are available. But such annual figures of employment are not compiled for this sector due to the unorganized character of production. The difficulties faced in estimating the contribution of this sector are however not peculiar to India; even in the case of Japan for 1868-1938, the authors of *The Growth Rate of the Japanese Economy since 1868* faced similar difficulties and had to make certain assumptions to arrive at the estimates of domestic manufacture.[42] The contribution of domestic manufacture was estimated on the basis of a certain assumed ratio of productivity of domestic manufacture to that of factory production per gainfully occupied person.

Before proceeding to estimate the contribution of this sector, it would be useful to review briefly the type of data available and their limitations. The method adopted for estimation and the assumptions made will depend on the nature and scope of the data.

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[42] Kazushi Ohkawa *et al.*, *The Growth Rate of the Japanese Economy since 1868*, Tokyo, 1957, pp. 90-91.

The formula adopted by them is as follows:

$Y_d = \frac{V_f}{N_f} \cdot f \cdot N_d \cdot R_d$; Where Y_d stands for net product of domestic manufacture; V_f for gross value of factory production; N for number of gainfully occupied; N_f and N_d for the number engaged in factory and domestic manufacture; f, for the ratio of productivity of domestic manufacture to that of factory production per gainfully occupied; and R_d for the net income ratio in domestic manufacture.

From this $\frac{V_d}{V_f} = \frac{N_d}{N_f} \cdot f$, i.e., $V_d = V_f \cdot n \cdot f$; Where $\frac{N_d}{N_f} = n$.

Wage Data

One of the important sources of the wage statistics is *Prices and Wages* which shows the average wages per month of "unskilled" and "skilled" labour in certain selected (but not always typical) districts of each province since 1884. But the information given is not a reliable index of the fluctuations in the earnings of the different working classes in India.

> A syce or horsekeeper is taken as representative of a domestic servant, but the class represented is very unimportant. A common mason, carpenter and blacksmith are taken as types of skilled labourers and one rate of wages is published for all of them though their remuneration is actually far from equal. The group unskilled labour is represented by only an able bodied agricultural labourer which expression itself is too vague.[43]

Moreover, no distinction is made between wage rates in rural and urban areas. The wage statistics available in *Prices and Wages* are, therefore, not considered reliable. In view of the "somewhat problematical accuracy"[44] of the returns they were discontinued in the United Provinces from 1907, in Bengal and Madras from 1908, in the Central Provinces from 1909, and in Punjab and the NWFP from 1910. From 1911 a quinquennial wage census has been introduced in all provinces except in the Central Provinces where an annual census was continued. The first quinquennial census was conducted in 1911-12 and the second in 1916-17. The third wage census due in 1921-22 was postponed pending an examination by the Government of India of the question of improving industrial wage statistics. The daily wages of common labourers, workers in iron and hardware, brass, copper and bell metal workers, carpenters, masons and builders and cotton weavers (hand industry) in urban areas and for agricultural labourers, carpenters, and masons in rural areas in different districts of Central Provinces and Berar are also available. From the district-wise data, the average daily wage of the different categories of workers is obtained for the period 1910-11 to 1920-21. Similarly, the average daily wages in urban and rural areas, obtained from the quinquennial wage censuses of 1911 and 1916 in various provinces, are also worked out.

For the purpose of *Report on the Enquiry into the Rise in Prices in India*, K.L. Datta collected separate wage statistics for 1895-1912. Wage statistics have been compiled for rural areas for village carpenters, village blacksmiths, agricultural labourers, thatchers and gharamis. For urban areas, the categories covered are skilled carpenters, blacksmiths, superior and common masons, coolies, etc., and domestic servants like coachmen, syces, sweepers, and bhisties. The average wages for artisans, general labourers and domestic servants have been worked out for urban and rural areas in different provinces for 1900-12 from the available wage data. From these provincial average wage figures, a weighted all-India average wage of workers is obtained weighting the provincial figures by the proportion of workers engaged in industry.

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[43] K.L. Datta, *Report on the Enquiry into the Rise in Prices in India*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1914, pp. 17-18.

[44] Department of Statistics, *Prices and Wages in India*, Calcutta, 1920, p. v.

The above-mentioned sources contain wage data for a number of years for different provinces and states. The rest of the material is found in scattered studies of particular provinces or villages and for specific time points. In an attempt to bring together all the wage data available in published form, an effort is made to cover a number of reports and studies, details of which are given below.

Rural Wages in United Provinces[45] contains daily wage rates for carpenters, blacksmiths and unskilled workers in different districts of the provinces obtained from the wage census conducted during 1916, 1928, 1934, 1939, and 1944. The provincial wage rates obtained as the median averages from the district-wise wage data are also available.

The Reports on the Industrial Surveys of different districts of United Provinces conducted[46] during 1922-23 contain data relating to the wages of workers engaged in various industries in the United Provinces. No distinction is made in these reports between urban and rural areas of the province. Wage data are given for individual workers in the case of most of the industries and for family as a whole in some cases. Almost all the different industries from gold lace work, embroidery, *zari* work to pottery and basket weaving are covered. From these districtwise figures, the average wage for some of the more common industries is obtained.

Another source for wage data for the United Provinces is the study, *Economic Prosperity of the United Provinces* by S.G. Tiwari. On the basis of some personal enquiries supplemented by other available evidence, Tiwari has given annual average wages for different categories of skilled workers in the province for 1921-22, 1931-32, and 1938-39. The wage data for the United Provinces compiled from sources other than *Prices and Wages* and Datta's *Enquiry into the Rise in Prices* are presented on the next page.

The data compiled from the above-mentioned sources are not comparable due to the variations in scope, coverage, and the time periods to which they refer. The wage rates quoted from Tiwari's *Economic Prosperity of the United*

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[45] S.C. Chaturvedi, *Rural Wages in the United Provinces*, Department of Economics and Statistics, Government of United Provinces, Allahabad, 1947.

[46] Reports on the Industrial Survey of the districts of Agra, Sultanpur, Benares, Bulandshahar, Almora, Bijnor, Sitapur, Shahjahanpur, Muttra, Etah, Fyzabad, Saheranpur, Mainpuri, Hardoi, Azamgarh, Dera Dun, Farrukhabad, Jhansi, Bara Banki, Etawah, Gonda, Ballia, Budaun, Pilibhit, Cawnpore, Gorakhpur, Rae Bareli, Garhwal, Partabgarh, Jaunpur, and Lucknow, conducted during 1922-24 were consulted.

A—AVERAGE DAILY RURAL WAGES IN UNITED PROVINCES

(*In rupees*)

Year	*Carpenter*	*Blacksmith*	*Unskilled workers*
1911	—	—	0.15
1916	0.41	0.41	0.19
1928	0.73	0.68	0.28
1934	0.51	0.47	0.19
1939	0.51	0.48	0.20
1944	1.07	1.04	0.66

B—AVERAGE DAILY WAGES OF WORKERS ENGAGED IN SMALL-SCALE AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN UNITED PROVINCES

(*In rupees*)

	*From Tiwari's book**						*Industrial Survey 1922-23*
	Urban areas			*Rural areas*			
	1921-22	*1931-32*	*1938-39*	*1921-22*	*1931-32*	*1938-39*	
Weaver	1.43	0.50	0.67	0.57	0.20	0.25	0.83
Leather worker	0.93	0.33	0.43	0.34	0.13	0.16	0.72
Blacksmith	1.33	0.67	0.69	0.58	0.28	0.33	1.00
Carpenter	1.33	0.65	0.62	0.67	0.33	0.40	—
Glass bangle-maker	0.73	0.25	0.33	—	—	—	0.87
Potter	0.53	0.33	0.31	0.37	0.17	0.20	0.44
Worker in building material	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.50
Wood worker	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.87
Basket making	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.75

*The annual wages given by S.G. Tiwari have been converted to daily rates by dividing them by 300.

Provinces for 1921-22 and the District Industrial Survey Reports for 1922-23 show close agreement. The wage rates of carpenters, blacksmiths, and unskilled workers in rural areas taken from *Rural Wages in the United Provinces* indicate the trend of wages between 1911 and 1944.

As in the case of the United Provinces, districtwise surveys of cottage industries were conducted in Bengal[47] in 1924. Daily or monthly wages earned by workers engaged in various industrial pursuits are given. No distinction is made between the wage levels of workers in urban and rural areas.

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[47] Government of Bengal, Department of Industries, *Report on the Survey of Cottage Industries in Bengal*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1929.

DAILY WAGES IN RUPEES OF WORKERS ENGAGED IN DIFFERENT COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN BENGAL, 1924

Category of worker	*Daily wage*	*Category of worker*	*Daily wage*
Weaver	0.93	Embroidery and lace work	1.06
Leather work	0.67	Carpenter	0.82
Potter	0.57	Blacksmith	0.80
Basket making	0.37	Tailor (worker)	0.76
Brass and bell metal worker	0.84	Cutlery	0.56

Another study on the socio-economic conditions in village Goalapara in Bengal gives the per capita income of persons in different categories in 1933 and 1958 as follows:

ANNUAL PER CAPITA INCOME

(*In rupees*)

	Village Goalapara		*Village Benuria*
	1933	*1958*	*1933 (per household)*
High caste	105	532	149
Middle caste	77	368	147
Low caste	22	157	74

It may be noted that those belonging to the high caste are all cultivators, the middle caste represents carpenters, shopkeepers, and domestic servants, and the low caste represents day labourers and agricultural labourers. The wages in Goalapara appear to be lower than those prevalent in rural areas of the United Provinces. The observation of Hashim Amir Ali about Goalapara village is worth noting: ". . . little or no change has come about in the village during the last 25 years."[48] In his *The Economic Life of a Bengal District* J.C. Jack observes: "Of the persons engaged in industry, the great majority of them are unskilled labourers. They earn good money at busy times as much as one rupee a day and generally between Rs. 15 and 20 a month."[49] This statement relates to 1906-10, but is not very helpful as it does not give any idea of the duration of the busy season and slack season so that it is difficult to work out an average annual wage from this data. At another place in the same study J.C. Jack mentions that "the average income of a non-agricultural family is Rs. 293 and Rs. 58 per each individual"[60] and also points out that "the average income of the non-agricultural class is very much higher than the average income of cultivators."[51]

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[48] Hashim Amir Ali *et al.*, *Then and Vow—A Study of the Socio-economic Structure and Change in Some Villages near Visva Bharati University, Bengal*, Bombay, 1960, p. 24.

[49] J.C. Jack, *The Economic Life of a Bengal District*, London, 1916, p. 90.

For the other provinces, such district industrial surveys are not available. One has, therefore, to depend on the data available in scattered, ad hoc enquiries.

Mul Raj in his *Survey of the Textile Industry of Punjab* states that the average monthly income of a weaver in 1929 is approximately Rs 20, i.e., Rs 240 per annum. This is very close to the wage rates indicated earlier for Bengal for 1924 and the United Provinces for 1922-23. Details of daily rates of wages for workers in cotton, woollen and silk weaving and for Muslim and Hindu weavers are also given in the Report. The observations of Mul Raj on the economic condition of weavers may also be noted: "If we take 4 as (Rs. 0.25) being the average number of members in a weaver's family, this income is nothing more than a bare subsistence wage, and keeps him and his family always just on the verge of starvation. Accordingly there are to be encountered everywhere innumerable cases of impoverishment and permanent indebtedness."[52]

The average daily wages of industrial workers in the rural areas of Ludhiana District, Punjab, are available in *Report on the Industrial Survey of the Ludhiana District.*[53] This shows the earnings of workers engaged in different industries.

DAILY WAGES OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN RURAL AREAS IN LUDHIANA DISTRICT (1938-39)

Category of worker	*Daily wage (Rs)*	*Category of worker*	*Daily wage (Rs)*
Weaver	0.33	Blacksmith	0.64
Oil presser	0.35	Basket maker	0.31
Leather worker	0.38	Tailor	0.56
Potter	0.29	Mason	0.83
Goldsmith	0.59	Mat maker	0.24
Carpenter	0.63		

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[60] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[52] Mul Raj, *The Textile Industry—A Survey of its Problems and Possibilities*, Punjab Industrial Monographs, Lahore, 1929, p. 3.

[53] *Reports on the Industrial Survey of the Ludhiana District*, Lahore, 1942, p. 136.

Report on the Resurvey of Some South Indian Villages by P.J. Thomas and K.C. Ramakrishnan contains data on daily/monthly/annual earnings of skilled and unskilled workers in eight selected villages in the Madras Province during 1936-37. The first survey of these villages was made in 1916-17 by Gilbert Slater. According to the authors of the Resurvey "...the picture presented by the Resurvey of eight villages is not quite bright. Deterioration or stagnation in some vital points overshadows the definite improvements that have been made in some aspects of rural life in the last two decades."[54] Comparable data for 1916-17 and 1936-37 for some selected villages available indicate that money wages have fallen in 1937 as compared to 1917.

VARIATIONS IN DAILY WAGES BETWEEN 1917 AND 1937 IN WATAKANCHERI VILLAGE

Category of worker	*1917 (Rs)*	*1937 (Rs)*	*Index (1917)*	*Index (1937)*
Carpenter	0.69	0.53	100	77
Blacksmith	0.56	0.47	100	84
Mason	0.62	0.47	100	76
Bricklayer	0.59	0.56	100	95
Sawyer	0.81	0.62	100	77
Coolie	0.44	0.28	199	64

A similar picture of declining trend in wages is also seen from the data available for another village:

DAILY WAGES IN GURUVAYUR VILLAGE

(*In rupees*)

Worker	*1925*	*1932*	*1936*	*Wage level with 1925=100*	
				1932	*1936*
Carpenter	0.69	0.44	0.50	64	72
Master carpenter	1.50	1.00	1.25	67	83
Mason	0.56	0.37	0.44	66	79
Coolie—Male	0.37	0.19	0.25	51	68

Report on the Survey of Cottage Industries in the Ganjam District (Madras) by D. Narayana Rao conducted in 1929 gives wage rates for workers engaged in some of the principal cottage industries. No distinction is made between urban and rural wages and the information available is given below:

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[54] P.J. Thomas and K.C. Ramakrishnan (eds.), *Some South Indian Villages: A Resurvey (1936-37)*, Madras, 1940, p. 433.

DAILY WAGES OF WORKERS IN GANJAM DISTRICT, 1929[55]

Category of worker	*Daily wages (Rs)*	*Category of worker*	*Daily wages (Rs)*
Weaver	0.60	Basket making	0.60
Worker in iron works	0.88	Furniture making	1.00
Worker in horn combs and fancy	0.88	Worker in metal fabricating industry	0.48

The wage rates for certain other categories of workers are also available but they are not useful. In certain cases they have been stated for the family as a working unit, in other cases payments have been made partly in cash and partly in kind, e.g., washerman Rs 0.50 a month and two meals daily.

Labour Gazette issued by the Labour Office, Government of Bombay, contains average daily rates of wages for agricultural and mofussil non-factory workers in the province for a number of years. These wage data have been compiled on the basis of monthly returns from representative taluks in each district of the province. The workers are classified into field labourers, ordinary labour, and skilled labour. "Field labour" includes all workers who are engaged in agricultural pursuits and are actively employed on wages in occupations such as ploughing, sowing, transplanting, weeding and reaping. "Ordinary labour" covers the general labourers like the ordinary coolie engaged in work on roads and railways, and dockyards, canal cutting and building construction and those engaged in work which demands either a little more intelligence or more strenuous exertion than the work done by a field labourer. "Skilled labourers" in agricultural areas comprise second class carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and leather workers. Wage rates are given for rural and urban areas separately. The summary of *Report on Agricultural Wages in Bombay Presidency since 1900*[56] contains data relating to the wages of field labourers, unskilled and skilled workers in rural areas in Bombay from 1900 to 1922. Statistics relating to wages in mofussil areas for the categories of workers mentioned above are contained in the various issues of *Labour Gazette.* The relevant data compiled from this source are given in Table 17.

The study *Urban Handicrafts in the Bombay Deccan* by N.M. Joshi contains a descriptive account of the various handicrafts, their problems and prospects. The wage data of certain categories of workers are also available.

The average earnings of persons engaged in different occupations in the

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[55] D. Narayana Rao, *Preliminary Report on the Survey of Cottage Industries in the Ganjam District*, Madras, 1929.

[56] Bombay Labour Office, *Labour Gazette*, August 1923, pp. 13-14 (Bombay, 1923), and April 1924, pp. 16-17 (Bombay, 1924).

TABLE 17

AVERAGE DAILY WAGE RATES IN MOFUSSIL AREAS IN BOMBAY PROVINCE

(*In rupees*)

Year	*Field labour*		*Unskilled labour*		*Skilled labour*	
	Urban areas	*Rural areas*	*Urban areas*	*Rural areas*	*Urban areas*	*Rural areas*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
1900	.19	.15	.27	.19	.75	.53
1913	.30	.23	.36	.28	.78	.67
1919	.45	.39	.52	.38	1.17	.86
1920	.53	.45	.58	.42	1.30	.96
1921	.51	.44	.60	.43	1.43	1.05
1922	.54	.46	.67	.48	1.57	1.16
1923	.57	.49	.70	.51	1.63	1.20
1924	.57	.49	.73	.52	1.68	1.23
1925	.63	.54	.75	.54	1.81	1.33
1926	.62	.53	.73	.52	1.78	1.31
1927	.59	.47	.75	.58	1.81	1.52
1928	.57	.49	.75	.57	1.82	1.54
1929	.56	.48	.76	.59	1.77	1.57
1930	.52	.45	.70	.57	1.70	1.51
1931	.45	.37	.61	.47	1.59	1.26
1932	.43	.35	.59	.44	1.55	1.21
1933	.41	.34	.55	.42	1.53	1.17
1934	.40	.32	.53	.40	1.50	1.17
1935	.38	.30	.47	.35	1.40	1.94
1936	.35	.30	.44	.34	1.32	.96
1937	.35	.28	.42	.31	1.34	.94
1938	.34	.28	.43	.31	1.34	.94
1939	.34	.29	.43	.31	1.29	.95
1940	.34	.29	.37	.31	1.27	.94
1941	.37	.29	.46	.31	1.27	.94
1942	.40	.32	.33	.49	1.29	.98
1943	.56	.48	.71	.49	1.53	1.17
1944	.92	.78	1.08	.78	2.02	1.42
1945	1.11	.95	1.31	.94	2.36	1.65
1946	1.22	1.04	1.42	1.02	2.60	1.82

town of Poona[57] in 1935-37 and in Kolhapur[58] in 1945-47 are available from the Reports on the socio-economic surveys of these towns. For the categories

[57] D.R. Gadgil, *Socio-economic Survey of Poona*, Part I (1935-37), Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, 1945, p. 288.

[58] N.V. Sovani, *Social Survey of Kolhapur City*, Vol. III, *Family Living and Social Life*, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, 1952, pp. 56-105.

relevant to small-scale and cottage industries sector, the estimates of average daily earnings are as follows:

AVERAGE DAILY EARNINGS

(*In rupees*)

Category	*Poona (1935-37)*	*Kolhapur (1945-47)*
Unskilled manual work	0.27	0.76
Skilled manual work	0.55	1.01
Small business	0.52	0.80
Highly skilled work	0.81	1.23

The Poona Report gives, in addition, the average wages of specific occupational categories. The estimates for some of the relevant categories are:

AVERAGE DAILY EARNINGS OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS IN POONA (1935-37)

(*In rupees*)

Handloom weavers	0.40
Brass and coppersmith	0.71
Carpenters	0.99
Masons	0.97
Leather workers	0.61
Goldsmiths	1.00
Tailors	0.93

Comparable figures for Kolhapur are not available.

The wage census conducted in Hyderabad by the state government during 1935 and 1940 gives wage data for different categories of workers in urban

AVERAGE DAILY WAGES IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS IN HYDERABAD STATE[59]

	1935 (Rs)	*1940 (Rs)*
Urban areas		
Blacksmith—Superior	1.09	1.16
—Ordinary	0.69	0.72
Carpenter —Superior	1.23	1.16
—Ordinary	0.80	0.75
Masons —Superior	1.17	1.15
—Ordinary	0.75	0.72
Rural areas		
Blacksmith	1.68	1.59
Carpenter	1.78	1.59

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[59] H.E H. Nizam's Government, *Statistical Year Book*, 2nd issue, Hyderabad, 1345 Fasli, pp. 652-63.

and rural areas separately. The average for the whole state is worked out from corresponding districtwise figures.

The wage data available over a wide range of scattered sources have been dealt with so far. The nature and scope of the material available reveal the inadequacy of the data for purposes of estimation at all-India level. Apart from the reliability of the available material, other deficiencies need consideration: (*a*) in most cases they relate only to specific areas or provinces and cannot, therefore, be taken to represent conditions at the all-India level, and (*b*) they refer to particular points of time and hence do not provide a continuous picture of the wage-movements. From both spatial and temporal points of view, therefore, the data are not adequate.

Statistics of Production

On the production side, data are practically non-existent except for the handloom industry. The estimates of production of handloom cloth are available in *Report of the Fact Finding Committee* (*Handloom and Mills*) and in *Report of the Tariff Board on the Grant of Protection to the Cotton Textile Industry.* These estimates are not based on directly compiled production data but are obtained by indirect methods.[60] One of the procedures adopted is to arrive at estimates of handloom cloth production on the basis of the cotton yarn used by the industry. But the allocation of "free yarn" available according to its use for non-textile purposes and for handloom industry, and the conversion into yardage is done on certain assumptions. The estimates made by the Tariff Board and the Fact Finding Committee differ in respect of the assumptions and conversion ratios. It is clear from this that the procedure involved in estimating the output of handloom cloth is complicated. Moreover, the classification according to varieties of goods produced and adequate price data are not available for the whole period covered by this study. Further, it is difficult to have comparable figures of the number of persons engaged in handloom industry as the only source for the employment data are the Population Census Reports. The changes in classification from census to census render comparison difficult. By various adjustments, the Fact

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[60] The following observations of the Fact Finding Committee are worth noting: "... the available statistics are inadequate for making a proper estimate. In the case of mills and other large-scale establishments, statistics are collected by the Government, through certain periodical returns which have to be submitted by these concerns, but this is not possible in the case of an unorganised industry like handweaving pursued in small units scattered all over the country. Even in the case of unorganised industries a periodical census of production is possible, but there are insuperable difficulties for this especially in India where small scale producers hardly keep any accounts and are not accustomed to answer questionnaires or submit returns. ... In these circumstances we have to fall back upon estimating production in some other way, utilising such other data as are available." *Report of the Fact Finding Committee* (*Handloom and Mills*), Delhi, 1942, p. 45.

Finding Committee has obtained estimates of the number of workers in cotton handloom weaving for 1901-31. These estimates can be considered to provide only a broad indication of the declining trend in the number of handloom workers. The fall amounts to about 36 per cent between 1901 and 1931. In view of these limitations of the production, price and employment statistics relating to the handloom industry, it is difficult to attempt separate estimates of the contribution of this industry for the entire period.

The District Industrial Survey Reports of United Provinces give some estimates of the production of small-scale and cottage industries in the province during 1922-23. But these too are inadequate to arrive at estimates of total output. The only alternative, therefore, is to use the available data on average wages, details of which have been given earlier to work out estimates of average annual earnings of persons engaged in this sector. The total contribution is estimated by multiplying the average annual earnings so derived by the number engaged.

In view of the limitations of the wage statistics contained in *Prices and Wages in India*, they have not been used. From the provincial wage data given by Datta, weighted all-India average daily wages are computed, weights being proportional to the number of industrial workers in the provinces as of 1911. The average wages are obtained for rural and urban areas separately for 1900-12.

The next problem is to extend the series for the remaining years, for which continuous wage data are available only for two provinces, viz., for Central Provinces and Berar from 1910-11 to 1919-20 and for Bombay from 1919 onwards for urban areas and from 1900 for rural areas. The trend of wages in these two provinces cannot be taken to reflect fully the overall trend of wages in the country.

Certain interesting trends in the wage movements of different categories of workers in Bombay may, however, be pointed out. Between 1920 and 1925, the wages of all categories of workers registered increases. There was a slight decline in 1926, which was followed by an upward trend in the next three years. Thus over the whole period, 1920 to 1929, the wages of skilled workers rose by 36.1 and 63.6 per cent in urban and rural areas respectively, while those of unskilled workers increased by 31.0 and 40.5 per cent. The wages of field labourers increased only by 6.0 per cent in the same period. It is seen from this that the percentage rise is higher in rural areas than in urban areas. To a certain extent the chances of higher wages for skilled workers in urban areas might have led to rural-urban migration resulting in shortage of such labour and hence rise in wages. But as far as unskilled workers are concerned, this may not be the only relevant cause. Another factor which might have contributed to the rise in wages in rural areas may be purely sociological, viz., the reluctance of agricultural labourers to take to non-agricultural occupations. This, however, is only a surmise.

From the point of view of building up a wage series, the point relevant is that wages as a whole increased up to 1925-26, then fell slightly the next year and regained the rising tendency in the next three years. The rise was higher in rural areas than in urban areas, more in the case of skilled than unskilled workers. From 1930-31, wages started tapering off, slowly in the early years of depression and more steeply thereafter recording the lowest level in 1937. Until 1940, they were more or less static after which they again started rising.

The trend revealed by the wage data for Bombay is also found in the case of the wages of skilled and unskilled workers in rural areas of the United Provinces and Madras. Compared to the level in 1916, the wages of skilled and unskilled workers in the United Provinces were 72 per cent and 50 per cent higher respectively in 1928. By 1933 the wages fell by 30 and 33 per cent respectively in the case of skilled and unskilled workers, compared to the 1928 level. The wage data available for certain villages in Madras indicate that money wages in 1937 were almost at the same level as in 1917. The experience of rapid rise in wages between 1912 and 1922 is also evident from the data available for Punjab. According to the findings of the third quinquennial wage census of Punjab, "the percentage increases in the wages of all classes of urban artisans in the year 1922 over 1912 amounted to over 100 per cent. . . ."[61] H.K. Trevaskis attributes this rise to the influence of war conditions, diminished labour supply due to losses from disease, and the opening up of the canal colonies. These scattered evidences give us the picture at specific points of time and do not provide any index of the annual wage variations, particularly of the turning points in the series. The broad trend over the period appears to be the same in the case of the different provinces. There must of course be differences in the extent of rise or fall.

One possible way of evolving an overall wage index is to interpolate for the intervening years from the data available for different areas and then combine them. But such a procedure has one serious limitation, viz., that the interpolated values will not register the turning points which are of particular significance from the point of view of a long period study.

Another possible alternative is to extrapolate the weighted all-India average wages for different categories of workers obtained from the data given by Datta for 1900-12, by appropriate indices of wages. For this purpose, the annual wage data available for Bombay can be used with suitable adjustments. This procedure is followed to construct annual wage series for skilled and unskilled workers.

Some allowance will have to be made for the possibility that the wage movements in Bombay may not be actually representative of other less developed or industrialized parts of the country. In the absence of adequate data for the compilation of a satisfactory wage index, the procedure followed is first, to construct wage indices for the different categories of workers in urban and rural areas from the data available for Bombay and then take simple average of the indices of skilled and unskilled workers separately with the corresponding indices of wages of field labourers for urban and rural areas. As the fluctuations in the wages of field labourers have been relatively low compared to those of skilled and unskilled workers in Bombay Province, it is assumed that the average so worked out will compensate for the differences in spatial wage variations. Applying the wage indices to the weighted all-India average wages the annual wage series for the entire period is obtained for skilled and unskilled workers.

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[61] "Extract from the Report on the Third Quinquennial Wage Census taken in Punjab, in December 1922, Report by Mr. H.K. Trevaskis, Director of Land Records, Punjab," *Bombay Labour Gazette*, November 1923, Bombay, 1923, p. 15.

The urban and rural wages are then combined to obtain corresponding all-India rates using weights of 3 and 7 respectively. The weights adopted are the same as those used by V.K.R.V. Rao for 1931-32.[62]

Scanning through the wage data culled out from different sources, presented earlier, some other interesting features regarding the variations in wage rates among different categories of workers can be noticed. Wage rates of goldsmith, persons engaged in lacework and embroidery, wood carving, etc., are found to be quite high, while those engaged in basket making, pottery, etc., are found to be at the lower end of the scale. Carpenters, blacksmiths, and masons were among the better paid workers and these categories maintained the same relative position in the scale throughout the period, unlike the weavers whose wages declined from a high level at the beginning of the period to very low levels by the end of the thirties. In view of the wide variation in the wage rates for different categories of workers, with the potter and basket maker at one extreme and the goldsmith at the other, and the artisan as defined above representing the better paid category, the wages of artisans cannot be taken as representative of persons engaged in small-scale and cottage industries. Many of the workers at the lower end of the scale do not receive wages higher than those of unskilled ordinary labourers in the urban areas and they may be only slightly better off than the agricultural labourers in the rural areas. To allow for this extreme variation, it is proposed to take a weighted average of the wages of the artisans and ordinary labourers. By a slight reclassification of the workers engaged in industry as reported in population census, they are grouped into two categories, skilled and unskilled, and their respective proportions to the total are found to be 60 : 40. Using these as weights, the average daily wage of a worker engaged in small-scale and cottage industries is obtained.[63]

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[62] V.K.R.V. Rao, *The National Income of British India, 1931-32*, pp. 146-54.

In D.N. Saxena's work on *National Income of India, 1945-46*, similar ratio of 32 : 68 is used. The ratio between urban and rural workers is estimated to be 29.5 : 70.5 in 1955-56 in the paper "Small Enterprises—Their Contribution to National Income" by P.N. Dhar and S. Sivasubramonian, *Economic Weekly*, July 1962, Bombay, pp. 1162-73.

The next problem is the choice of an appropriate multiplier for conversion of daily rates to annual. According to the Census of Manufacturing Industries (1946) the number of working days per year for the organized industries is found to vary between 139 and 330 with an overall average of 264.[64] The number of working days for small-scale and cottage industries may not exceed 264 in urban areas and possibly be a little less in rural areas. Further, those engaged in the sector may be employed only for part of the time most of the days. The possibility of a number of persons employed in seasonal industries having much lower number of working days on the average cannot also be ruled out. The agricultural labourers are estimated to be employed only for 180 days in a year.[65] The skilled worker in rural areas can be taken to be better off than the agricultural labourer. It is, therefore, proposed to take 240 working days for a rural worker and 264 for an urban worker. Using the corresponding weights of 7 : 3 for rural and urban workers respectively, the average number of working days will work out to be 247. For purposes of conversion of the average daily wage to annual wage, the multiplier 250 is used. The annual wage is taken to be equal to the net output per worker.

The number of persons engaged in small-scale and cottage industries during the period has also to be estimated. As mentioned earlier, employment data are not compiled for this sector. For the factory industries, however, annual statistics of employment are available from published sources. By interpolating the census year estimates of the total working force under the head "industry" corresponding annual figures can be obtained. Subtraction of the former from the latter gives a rough estimate of the number engaged in small-scale and cottage industries. This, however, will have the limitation that interpolation of census figures may not fully reveal the annual fluctuations and changes in the intercensal years. For instance, consequent to the steady increase in employment in factory industries from 1900-01 to 1929-30, small-scale industries registered a gradual decline. From 1930-31 employment in organized industries as well as railways and posts and telegraphs declined. Along with this there has been noticeable downward trend in prices, wages, and other indicators of economic activity. In the face of such declining trend in other sectors it is but natural that small industries also exhibit similar set-back. If the employment in small industries or for that matter any other sector is estimated by interpolating 1931 and 1941 census figures, one will get

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[63] F.J. Atkinson has followed a similar procedure of grouping the workers into the low categories skilled and unskilled according to the industry in which they are engaged and then used an appropriate wage rate. "A Statistical Review of Income and Wealth of British India," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. LXV, London, 1902, pp. 209-59.

[64] Government of India, *Census of Manufacturing Industries*, Delhi, 1946, p. 9.

[65] Government of India, *Indian Labour Year Book, 1946*, Delhi, 1947, p. 257.

TABLE 18

INCOME FROM SMALL-SCALE AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Year	*Number engaged (000)*	*Annual average wage (Rs)*	*Income in million rupees*	
			Current prices	*1938-39 prices*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
1900-01	13314	87.5	1165	1251
1901-02	13302	90.0	1197	1294
1902-03	13299	92.5	1230	1349
1903-04	13297	92.5	1230	1411
1904-05	13219	97.5	1289	1516
1905-06	13204	100.0	1320	1394
1906-07	13136	105.0	1379	1428
1907-08	13180	107.0	1417	1403
1908-09	13179	112.5	1483	1301
1909-10	13166	117.5	1547	1479
1910-11	13160	120.0	1579	1565
1911-12	13106	127.5	1671	1724
1912-13	12874	130.0	1674	1627
1913-14	12693	137.5	1745	1592
1914-15	12468	145.0	1808	1645
1915-16	12327	150.0	1849	1586
1916-17	12103	157.5	1906	1694
1917-18	11929	162.5	1938	1704
1918-19	11728	180.0	2111	1610
1919-20	11488	200 0	2298	1264
1920-21	11254	222.5	2504	1337
1921-22	11095	227.5	2524	1370
1922-23	11112	245.0	2722	1578
1923-24	11043	255.0	2816	1798
1924-25	10963	262.5	2878	1863
1925-26	10891	282.5	3077	1902
1926-27	10822	277.5	3003	1818
1927-28	10788	280.0	3021	1890
1928-29	10769	282.5	3042	1940
1929-30	10657	282.5	3011	1991
1930-31	10379	267.5	2776	2233
1931-32	9829	227.5	2236	2068
1932-33	9623	217.5	2093	2060
1933-34	9604	210.0	2017	2123
1934-35	10353	205.0	2122	2183
1935-36	10601	187.5	1988	2006
1936-37	10625	177.5	1886	1877
1937-38	11209	172.5	1934	1892
1938-39	11907	172.5	2054	2054
1939-40	12132	172.5	2093	1982

TABLE 18 (*Contd.*)

1940-41	12280	172.5	2118	1963
1941-42	12099	172.5	2087	1712
1942-43	12055	192.5	2321	1402
1943-44	11980	250.0	2995	1027
1944-45	11984	370.0	4434	1556
1945-46	11883	442.5	5258	1840
1946-47	12265	487.5	5939	1942

annual increments in view of the fact that the 1941 figures are higher than those of 1931. In order to take all these into consideration, the employment in small-scale industries is obtained by extending the 1929-30 estimate to the subsequent years on the basis of the chain index of employment in the organized sector. The estimate so worked out for 1936-37 almost agreed with the one obtained as a residual. Similar adjustments have been introduced in some other sectors for which estimates are based on the working force.

The estimates of the contribution of small-scale and cottage industries are obtained by multiplying the number employed by the annual average wage. The estimates, however, do not take into account the share of other factor payments, for the estimation of which sufficient data are not available. It is, however, well known that most of the workers engaged in this sector barely manage to get a low subsistence wage and the other forms of income are likely to be nominal. It may be noted that the number of working days of 250 may also be slightly on the high side if we consider the seasonal nature of the industries. In view of the possible overestimation arising from the multiplier of 250 and the rather arbitrary nature of the mark-up factor, if at all one can be used to allow for other factor payments, no allowance is made for other factor payments.

The contribution of this sector at constant prices is obtained by deflating the current price series by the cost of living index.

From the estimates of income produced in mining, manufacturing and small-scale and cottage industries, the total contribution of the secondary sector is obtained. The results are presented in Tables 19 and 20. While the net output of the secondary sector between 1900-01 to 1904-05 and 1942-43 to 1946-47 rose 2.2 times, that of manufacturing industries rose 5.5 times, of small-scale and cottage industries 1.1 times, and of mining 2.4 times over the initial 1900-01 to 1904-05 level.

TABLE 19
INCOME FROM SECONDARY SECTOR AT CURRENT PRICES

(*In million rupees*)

Year	*Mining*	*Manufacturing*	*Small-scale industries*	*Total*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
1900-01	53	220	1165	1438
1901-02	55	307	1197	1559
1902-03	55	254	1230	1539
1903-04	58	196	1230	1484
1904-05	62	318	1289	1669
1905-06	65	352	1320	1737
1906-07	80	563	1379	2022
1907-08	99	623	1417	2139
1908-09	93	485	1483	2061
1909-10	85	393	1547	2025
1910-11	87	316	1579	1982
1911-12	83	449	1671	2203
1912-13	99	565	1674	2338
1913-14	111	729	1745	2585
1914-15	107	963	1808	2878
1915-16	108	628	1849	2585
1916-17	123	804	1906	2833
1917-18	136	940	1938	3014
1918-19	162	1676	2111	3949
1919-20	150	2040	2298	4488
1920-21	166	2665	2504	5335
1921-22	182	1668	2524	4374
1922-23	185	1618	2722	4525
1923-24	204	1060	2816	4080
1924-25	214	1638	2878	4730
1925-26	190	1459	3077	4726
1926-27	171	1769	3003	4943
1927-28	169	1818	3021	5008
1928-29	158	1574	3042	4774
1929-30	156	1808	3011	4975
1930-31	149	1450	2776	4375
1931-32	135	1146	2236	3587
1932-33	116	1308	2093	3517
1933-34	113	1198	2017	3328
1934-35	123	1208	2122	3453
1935-36	136	1312	1988	3436
1936-37	132	1227	1886	3245
1937-38	184	1522	1934	3640
1938-39	205	1701	2054	3960

TABLE 19 (*Contd.*)

1939-40	185	1502	2093	3780
1940-41	202	2420	2118	4740
1941-42	219	4309	2087	6615
1942-43	250	5011	2321	7582
1943-44	292	9499	2995	12786
1944-45	366	8041	4434	12841
1945-46	406	6331	5258	11995
1946-47	430	4841	5979	11250

TABLE 20

INCOME FROM SECONDARY SECTOR AT 1938-39 PRICES

(In million rupees)

Year *1*	*Mining* *2*	*Manufacturing* *3*	*Small-scale industries* *4*	*Total* *5*
1900-01	89	298	1251	1638
1901-02	93	459	1294	1846
1902-03	94	485	1349	1928
1203-04	103	501	1411	2015
1904-05	109	521	1516	2146
1905-06	115	616	1394	2125
1906-07	122	633	1428	2183
1907-08	130	555	1403	2088
1908-09	131	557	1301	1989
1909-10	129	602	1479	2210
1910-11	136	570	1565	2271
1911-12	137	573	1724	2434
1912-13	146	678	1627	2451
1913-14	155	635	1592	2382
1914-15	152	651	1645	2448
1915-16	151	705	1586	2442
1916-17	162	690	1694	2546
1917-18	165	675	1704	2544
1918-19	170	641	1610	2421
1919-20	168	681	1264	2113
1920-21	155	729	1337	2221
1921-22	143	747	1370	2260
1922-23	139	740	1578	2457
1923-24	151	626	1798	2575
1924-25	159	822	1863	2844
1925-26	161	845	1902	2908
1926-27	166	960	1818	2944
1927-28	174	1083	1890	3147

TABLE 20 (*Contd.*)

1928-29	174	865	1940	2979
1929-30	183	1080	1991	3254
1930-31	173	979	2233	3385
1931-32	159	1026	2068	3253
1932-33	146	1112	2060	3318
1933-34	148	1056	2123	3327
1934-35	167	1191	2183	3541
1935-36	182	1288	2006	3476
1936-37	185	1411	1877	3473
1937-38	212	1504	1892	3608
1938-39	205	1701	3054	3960
1939-40	212	1751	1982	3945
1940-41	258	1779	1963	4000
1941-42	289	2139	1712	4140
1942-43	305	2330	1402	4037
1943-44	275	2599	1027	3901
1944-45	208	2548	1556	4312
1945-46	212	2749	1840	4801
1946-47	192	2173	1942	4307

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Political Change in British India*

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With the outcrop of regional and local studies of Indian nationalism in the past few years, the methodology of modern Indian history has succeeded in breaking out in new directions from the narrow confines of policies, personalities, and parties which formerly demarcated the boundaries of the subject. The new approaches to the study of Indian nationalism, which have been evolved with reference to particular regions and localities, differ considerably from each other. This disjunction in methodology becomes apparent when we compare studies of the politics of the new metropolitan cities which dominated India's large-scale industries and overseas trade with the parallel studies of the politics of localities and towns in the hinterland. It is not perhaps without significance that approaches adopted of late with regard to Bombay and Calcutta on the one hand[1] and U.P. and Madras on the other[2] have exhibited marked differences. The prominence of classlike social divisions and the formation of antagonistic social strata in the studies of Bombay and Calcutta politics contrast strongly with the emphasis on patron-client linkages and cross-class, cross-caste connexions straddling the different social strata in the towns and localities of the Madras Presidency and the United Provinces in comparable studies. In view of this separatist tendency at a theoretical level, the moment has perhaps arrived for an attempt to put the fragments together to see if a coherent methodology of modern Indian history is possible. This is necessary in order to prevent historians from carving out insulated little empires under their own particular sets of laws in the former divisions of the British empire in India. Perhaps the elements of a common approach can be found in the hypothesis that the apparently contradictory approaches to regional developments can be applied with profit to all regions in India, but—and this is crucial—at different times. This would imply that at different points in time the different regions of India successively went through distinct phases of a long-term social and political process. On this view the divergent methods of studying the national movement would be relevant not so much to different regions as to distinct phases through which that movement passed at one time or another in all the main centres of politics. For instance, Bombay might have reached a stage in 1885 which Allahabad would not perhaps reach before 1920. Such a hypothesis will also make provision for the possibility that the successive phases in the long-term process might be compressed and merged for towns and localities remote from Bombay or Calcutta as the process gathered momentum all over the country from 1920 onwards, reducing the time-lag between the "advanced" and "backward" centres of political activity. At the same time it will have to be taken into account that local societies and linguistic regions in India possessed their own peculiar social structures and that these social peculiarities would modify in each locality and region the operation of any long-term political processes of all-India implication that historians would seek to identify.

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*I am deeply indebted to Dr C.A. Bayly who inspired me to write this article.

[1] See Christine Dobbin, *Urban Leadership in Western India. Politics and Communities in Bombay City 1840-1885*, Oxford, 1972; S.N. Mukherjee, "Caste, Class and Politics in Calcutta 1835-1838" in Edmund Leach and S.N. Mukherjee (eds), *Elites in South Asia*, Cambridge, 1970; Sudhir Chandra, "The Indian League and the Western India Association," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, March 1971; Rajat K. Ray, Social Conflict and Political Unrest in Bengal 1875-1908 Cambridge, Ph.D. thesis, 1973; Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-1908*, New Delhi, 1973.

[2] C.J. Baker and D.A. Washbrook, *South India: Political Institutions and Political Change*, Delhi, 1975; John Gallagher, Gordon Johnson and Anil Seal, *Locality, Province and Nation. Essays on Indian Politics 1870 to 1940*, Cambridge, 1973; C.A. Bayly, *Local Roots of Indian Politics, Allahabad 1880-1920*, Oxford, 1975; C.A. Bayly, "Local Control in Indian Towns: The Case of Allahabad 1880-1920," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 4, 1971; D.A. Washbrook, Political Change in the Madras Presidency 1880-1921, Trinity fellowship dissertation, Cambridge, 1972; P.J. Musgrave, "Landlords and Lords of the Land: Estate Management and Social Control in Uttar Pradesh 1860-1920," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1972; C.J. Baker, *The Politics of South India, 1920-1937*, Cambridge, 1976; David Washbrook, *The Emergence of Provincial Politics: The Madras Presidency 1870-1920*, Cambridge, 1976, a revised version of the more powerful and single-minded fellowship dissertation.

In both urban and rural studies, "connexions" have moved to the centre of the stage, in place of communal and caste solidarities which so often claimed the attention of regional historians in the 1960s. Perhaps the most striking change in this direction has taken place in the study of politics in South India, a hitherto much neglected field. Here, after an initial attempt to visualize political developments in terms of a supposedly traditional social rivalry between Brahmans and Non-Brahmans,[3] there was a shift of emphasis to patron-client linkages in localities irrespective of caste.[4] In this scheme, magnates, who dominated or aimed to dominate their localities, rallied their dependents to build up factions that straddled both the class and the caste strata of society. Sentiments of communal solidarity were irrelevant to this game of power. Followings were composed of those who could be reached by the magnate's economic or social network; alignments were made with those with whom it would be mutually advantageous to strike a bargain; and rivalries were pursued especially between magnates of the same economic or ritual rank, who would be competing with each other in order to be one step ahead of the nearest neighbour and social equal. Caste was no bar to the alignment of Brahman and Non-Brahman for mutual advantage. Non-Brahmans, who constituted more than nine-tenths of the population of the Madras Presidency, were a made-up social category which existed only in the minds of British administrators seeking ineffectually to classify their subjects for more effective administration. It was their attempt to impose more effective administration, to draw the autonomous localities into the orbit of an increasingly active centre, that ultimately began to tie up the local rivalries into a general framework of politics. More and more local magnates were forced to turn to the centre in order to keep their local position; and their response to the new situation led to the emergence of ramshackle coalitions, suitably tailored to look like political parties, which competed with each other in launching mass agitations or tapping mass electoral networks in order to press their particular demands on the ever-probing ever-pressing government. In an essentially stable society, where the pace of social and economic change was not rapid, changes in the structure of government—the tightening up of bureaucracy and the building up of representation—produced most of the changes in the structure of politics. Changes in the economy were marginal to this process of political change, the central factor being the logic of administrative initiative. But the content of politics—the local competition between magnates for status, power, and resources—did not change; what did change were the rules of the game of power, and as a result the forms of politics. Publicists, usually lawyers who transacted the legal business of rich patrons, were hired by the latter as their political representatives. But this class of educated and professional politicians, being merely the agents of superior interests, did not represent a new and coherent social group in politics standing on its own. A scrutiny of Allahabad politics in the late nineteenth century yielded comparable results.[5] In this town the local influence of the *raises* or notables, usually big banking or trading magnates, reached the population of their municipal wards irrespective of its caste or communal composition. The patronage systems of these local magnates were serviced by publicists and politicians, who assisted them in their dealings with the government in the role of intermediaries or agents (*vakil*, a traditional term, conveyed this role, although increasingly it came to stand for lawyers of "pleader" status).

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[3] Eugene F. Irschik, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India: The Non-Brahman Movement and Tamil Separatism 1916-1929*, Berkely and Los Angeles, 1969.

[4] See the works of D.A. Washbrook and C.J. Baker. For a somewhat different interpretation of South Indian politics, which emphasizes both caste and class as factors, see David Arnold, *The Congress in Tamilnad: Nationalist Politics in South India, 1919-1937* and Robin Jeffrey, *The Decline of Nayar Dominance, Society and Politics in Travancore 1847-1908*, London, 1976.

In the recent studies of Bombay and Calcutta (together with Bengal), elements of this picture can be easily discovered; but the overall impression is different. In Bengal, especially, whether social strata were to be perceived in terms of status (as has been done by J.H. Broomfield[6]) or of class (as has been done by S.N. Mukherjee),[7] the social divisions between these strata were clear cut. The educated Bengalis of Calcutta, counterparts of the patron-bound publicists of Allahabad and Madras, stood out as a distinct social element with independent influence in society, on matter whether we regard them as a status group or a class. It is true that as a category these people did not exhibit any exclusive class character or caste basis, as has been pointed out by Sumit Sarkar who emphasizes the ambiguous role of an intelligentsia keenly responsive to world ideological trends.[8] Nevertheless what his analysis of the Swadeshi movement brings out is the vital importance of the social leadership exercised by the Bengali intelligentsia, independently of the big landed and commercial interests which extended a brief patronage to the anti-partition agitation in the initial stages. The extent to which these educated Bengalis had come to command political resources to the exclusion of the titled and landed magnates by the end of the nineteenth century was revealed by the fears of Vakil Raj expressed by the British Indian Association and its appeals for special landlord representation in the Legislative Council.[9] During the Swadeshi movement the salaried and professional groups in Bengal also exhibited a purposeful role in the foreign-controlled economy of Eastern India by launching the first concerted political assault on the domination of foreign capital, against which their growing hostility gave them a certain ideological cohesion. Their alienation from British rule on a psychological plane found concrete and practical expression in the activities of terrorist groups. Clearly this was not a situation which fitted into the elegantly constructed model of local clusters of patrons and clients seeking ways of working with the government for particular local advantages. In Bombay social antagonisms, whether between the rulers and the ruled or amongst the subjects themselves, were not carried to the point of extreme bitterness that vitiated the social atmosphere in Calcutta and charged it with an ever-present feeling of racial animosity. Consequently divisions between the different strata of Bombay society were not as deep as in Calcutta. Bombay, moreover, did not possess a social and cultural base on the hinterland as Calcutta had in Bengal. Bombay had lines into Gujarat and Maharashtra, but it belonged to neither, and remained, in more than the geographical sense, an island. Drawn from a single cultural and linguistic region, the educated Bengalis in Calcutta enjoyed a much deeper community of social life than the professional and service communities of Bombay. The middle strata in Bombay society, unlike their counterparts in Calcutta, were tied by substantial bonds with the rich patrons of their respective communities, known as *shetias*. As merchants and mill-owners the *shetias* had a more positive economic role to play than the rich landed magnates in Calcutta, condemned by the dominance of the European managing agencies to a parasitical existence on rents from urban property and landed estates. Consequently the hold of the big Gujarati *shetias* on the intellectual leaders of Bombay did not break down like the authority of the zamindars of the British Indian Association over the professional Bengali politicians of Calcutta. By 1875 educated Bengali leaders had broken away from the zamindar-dominated British Indian Association to found their own "middle class" associations, the Indian League and, subsequently, the Indian Association. In Bombay the two rival associations, the Bombay Association and the Western India Association, were at this time both *shetia*-controlled. Ten years later (1885), when the professional politicians of Bombay managed to set up the Bombay Presidency Association, they had to seek the patronage of a section of the *shetias* who willingly extended assistance and gained a voice in the new association.[10] There were thus substantial links between patrons and publicists in Bombay, but there was never any doubt as to their distinctive social identities in the municipal politics of the city. Early municipal elections in Bombay, as in Calcutta, were organized on the basis of rival campaigns between the magnates and the publicists, in strong contrast with the collaboration of these elements in the municipal elections of Allahabad. In the late nineteenth century the educated professional men of Bombay, whom Dobbin has labelled as the "intelligentsia" to distinguish them from "the *shetia* class," formed "a self-perpetuating class" dependent on law, medicine, engineering, government service, teaching, and clerical jobs. Not far away from the metropolis, in Poona, there had sprung up a similar element of educated high caste Marathis, much less tied to rich urban patrons on account of the paucity of such figures in Maharashtra, who brought a much more strident voice to the politics of Western India.[11] Like the Bengalis of Calcutta, they lacked the restraining hands of rich commercial or industrial patrons. It was among these two groups in Calcutta and Poona, enjoying cohesive social and cultural ties with the hinterland, that terrorism made its first manifestations.

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[5] C. A. Bayly, *Local Roots of Indian Politics,*

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[6] J.H. Broomfield, *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth Century Bengal*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968.

[7] S.N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*

[8] Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-1908*, New Delhi, 1973.

[9] *Bengalee*, 11 June and 2 July 1898.

Local studies of Calcutta and Bombay, U.P. and Madras, have thus revealed seemingly contradictory trends in politics. The responsibility of the historian is now to bring together the results of disaggregation to press into a composite framework of analysis the diverse patterns of political developments in the country. The first step in this task is to etch out in clearer lines the distinction between "traditional" and "modern" politics in India. Fortunately a considerable amount of research in pre-colonial political systems in India is now available to throw light on the nature of this distinction. A misconceived dichotomy of tradition and modernity, based on inadequate comprehension of the role of caste, has channelled much research into a futile search for the activation of pre-existing social rivalries in the sphere of institutional politics under the Raj.[12] As Louis Dumont has pointed out,[13] caste as a social system was traditionally confined within the local chiefship, which meant in practice that interaction between different castes or amongst members of the same caste did not extend beyond its boundaries, being regulated largely by the chief to whom all the local castes were tied by symbiotic relationships. The supra-local caste conflicts and communal tensions fanned by British rulers and Indian politicians did not represent "traditional" forces in modern Indian politics. Traditional politics were local in character, and based more on patron-client relationships than on communal solidarities.

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[10] The contrast between Bombay and Calcutta associations has been drawn in bold colours by Sudhir Chandra, "The Indian League and the Western India Association," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, March 1971. See also Christine Dobbin, *op. cit.*

[11] Gordon Johnson, *Provincial Politics and Indian Nationalism: Bombay and the Indian National Congress 1880 to 1915*, Cambridge, 1974; J.C. Masselos, *Towards Nationalism. Group Affiliations and the Politics of Public Associations in Nineteenth Century Western India*, Bombay, 1974.

Considerable light has been thrown on the operation of the Mughal political system by two close studies of Mughal politics in decline by Satish Chandra and Athar Ali. Politics in the Mughal Court, it now appears, operated through linkages between princes of the blood royal, nobles stationed in the capital and the provinces, and their armed retainers drawn from a wide range of sources, all competing for a share in the revenues with an increasing ferocity as the Emperor's controlling authority over the factions gradually weakened. In the War of Succession at the end of Shah Jahan's reign groupings at the court were determined by the promises of each prince to individual nobles or the personal associations of nobles with individual princes. Contrary to the common supposition of Rajput support for Dara and Turani support for Aurangzeb, ethnic and religious divisions did not play a determining role.[14] Similarly, at the end of Aurangzeb's reign, the groups which were formed in the court were based on clan or family relationships, or personal affiliations or interests. Slogans of race and religion were indeed raised by individual nobles to suit their convenience but the actual groupings cut across ethnic and religious divisions.[15]

After the breakdown of the central authority of the Mughal Court, the

[12] A brilliant example of this misdirected research, now loudly disclaimed by the author himself, is A. Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1968.

[13] Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its Implications*, Chicago, 1970.

[14] M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Bombay, 1966.

[15] Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court 1707-1740*, New Delhi, 1972.

political system in the provinces came to rest, in the absence of central troops for coercing local chieftains, more squarely on connections between landed magnates (Rajas) and their subjects (Prajas) in localities.[16] For the collection of revenue the Nawabs of Bengal in the eighteenth century depended on big local chieftains who had parcelled out the greater part of Bengal among themselves, exercising wide powers of administration over their respective territories. They held courts, maintained armies, and waged wars within the state.[17] Political power thus centred in the locality and was exercised along the magnate-dependent axis rather than through cohesive social units. A symbiotic relationship, reflected in a complex interchange of goods and services, bound the subjects to the local ruler and provided the basis for his autonomous rule in his local chiefdom. Medieval Bengali narrative poems conceived society very largely within the bounds of the local chiefdom, in which all the necessary functions of society were performed by subjects as a form of service to their patron, the local chieftain.[18] In the *Dharma-mangala* of Ghanaram Chakravarti, written in 1711, the hero's opponent, a chieftain of the milkman caste, seized a fort in Burdwan from its lawful owner and stopped payment of tribute to the king. He founded a town around the fort by clearing forest, and settled his new capital with representatives of the various professions whose services were needed in medieval society to build a self-contained autonomous chiefdom.[19] There sprang up a civil society complete in itself, in which all groups of professional men from different castes were tied to the ruling chief in a binding patron-client relationship. The poet drew this picture from his actual experience of the court of the Raja of Burdwan, Maharaja Kirtichand, who patronized him as his court poet.

Karen Leonard's study of the Nizam's state of Hyderabad in the eighteenth century has also revealed a political system based on connexions built up by local nobles drawn from diverse backgrounds.[20] These ground level connexions seemed to stretch upwards to the Nizam's court more often than seemed to be the case in Bengal, officers and nobles in Hyderabad being based more on the centre than on local capitals. The political system operated through loosely structured patron-client relationships, oiled by the use of *vakils* or intermediaries who represented their employer's interest at court and in dealings with parallel connexions of other nobles. The operation of the state system in Hyderabad thus differentiated three distinct political roles: patrons, clients, and intermediaries. The most important dispenser of patronage was the Nizam himself, with his personal control of the territory and its revenues and the largest military, administrative, and household establishments in the state. Then in order of importance came his powerful nobles, maintaining smaller establishments, who could dispense administrative posts and cash grants, and also, depending on their influence with the Nizam, places for their clients in the Nizam's establishment. Clients, on the other hand, also enjoyed some influence in that ambitious men with ability could change their patrons in order to improve their position in the court. Aspirants to top positions in the Nizam's court had to be introduced to the Nizam by a patron who was already in good position at the court. Such a patron was not necessarily a member of the same social group as the aspirant. Patron-client relationships in Hyderabad were formed on an individual basis and did not follow caste or kinship lines. The *vakils* also had an important rôle in the system, for they helped in maintaining friendly relations between the Nizam and their employers as well as between the different noblemen's connexions in the court. The *vakils* were also in a position to secure jobs for applicants in their employers' establishments and thus fulfilled a subsidiary role as patrons to those below them.

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[16] Big Rajas rose rapidly in North and West Bengal and the Banaras region; Philip B. Calkins, "The Formation of a Regionally Oriented Ruling Group in Bengal 1700-1740," *Journal of Asian Studies*, August 1970; Barnard S. Cohn, "The Initial British Impact on India: A Case Study of the Benares Region," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 19, 1960.

[17] Ratnalekha Ray, Change in Bengal "Agrarian Society: A Study of Selected Districts 1760-1850, Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1973.

[18] Edward C. Dimock and Ronald B. Inden, "The City in Pre-British Bengal" in Richard L. Park (ed), *Urban Bengal*, East Lansing, USA, 1969.

[19] The poet gives an interesting catalogue of the various categories of clients drawn to the capital by the upstart chieftain: priests, pandits, doctors, warriors (Kshatriyas), traders (Vaishyas), pure-blooded (Kulin) Kayastha lineages, ruling lineages of his own pastoral (Gop) caste, barbars, betel-leaf growers, weavers, oil-merchants, gardeners, merchants and capitalists, martial peasants of the Aguri caste, conch-shell workers, smiths, unclean castes, fallen Gops of the Pallab tribe, Suvarnabaniks, oil pressers, low-caste Kaivartas, deceitful goldsmiths, carpenters, boatmen, fishermen, washermen, prostitutes, untouchable sweeping and scavenging castes outside the city, Muslims of the Mir, Saiyad, Pathan, Shekh and Mogal tribes in a separate fort, a chain of savage tribes (Chuars) posted as guardsmen around the city, as well as miscellaneous warriors for manning watch-posts and garrisons.See Ghanaram Chakravarti, *Dharma-Mangal*, edited by Pijush Kanti Mahapatra, Calcutta, 1962.

The implications of these studies of connexions in pre-colonial systems, which stretched across economically or ritually defined social strata, are unmistakable. Since neither supra-local class solidarities nor inter-regional caste and community ties were available in pre-colonial society as bases of political action, the explanation for the activation not only of class forces but also of caste sentiments and communal passions in twentieth century mass politics must be sought in relatively modern processes of social and political change. Patronage networks which tied members of different classes, castes, and communities together in circumscribed local arenas under the leadership of local notables would tend to impede the development of mass social forces. In a poor country where misery was part of the life of millions and frustrated ambitions the experience of many, any breakdown in these local connexions which served as instruments of social control might lead to the eruption of agrarian disturbances, urban disorders, and communal riots. In a purely theoretical model of political change, we may therefore visualize an original state of dominant cross-class, cross caste connexions, their slow dissolution under the intrusion of new economic and political forces and the final emergence of classes, castes, and communities as the operating units of politics. But such a sharp tradition-modernization dichotomy would be unhistorical. The aspect of political change never had such clear-cut features in the actual historical processes which occurred. If the eruption of deep-rooted social forces was not unknown to Mughal India (witness the emergence of the Jat, Maratha, and Sikh states), how much more well-known are the value-neutral, economically amorphous, multicaste political factions operating in the legislative assemblies, self-governing bodies, and party organizations of independent India. The process of political change was necessarily insidious in this vast, underdeveloped subcontinent. While local structures might break down, patron-client linkages might spring up in wider arenas, interlocking in a complex manner with incipient social forces of unprecedented magnitude. Logically such complex, inconclusive processes of change would start in the centres from which imperialism was to penetrate the interior. In the interior traditional modes of social control would survive much longer than in ports like Calcutta and Bombay.

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[20] Karen Leonard, "The Hyderabad Political System and its Participants," *Journal of Asian Studies*, May 1971.

In some ways the British Raj, in its structure as well as operational content, bore striking resemblances to its predecessors, the Mughal empire and its offshoots, though one should guard against the temptation to push the analogy too far. Not surprisingly, therefore, rural and urban politics under the Raj continued to flow along pre-existing channels even though breakthroughs took place here and there at different points in time. One has only to compare late nineteenth-century politics in Allahabad, an old Mughal town, with mid-eighteenth-century politics in Hyderabad, in order to discover many instructive parallels. In Allahabad municipal politics, the historian confronts the same loose consortia of patrons (in this case mostly commercial and banking magnates) with their individual networks of clients as in Hyderabad court politics. One important element of a notable's clientage was his legal adviser and his publicist, often the same man, who acted as the patrons' ambassador (*vakil*) with regard to other patronage systems, as well as in respect of the government and the courts. Some legal luminaries with fabulous practices had become notables in their own right, but the majority of lawyers in Allahabad, until well into the second decade of the twentieth century, were clients or dependents of the big bankers as far as local society was concerned. Case study of Allahabad has suggested a political system operating through a series of *rais* (notable) connexions competing (and sometimes combining) for the government's attention; in other words, "a patron-

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client state whose greatest patron was the government,"[21] modelled on much the same lines as the Nizam's state of Hyderabad in the eighteenth century.

The British Raj, with its huge army, its sprawling apparatus of government, its reliance on local connexions for keeping social control and collecting land revenue, indeed looked more like an Asiatic state than any other colonial regime. The greater part of its energies, as in the case of its Mughal predecessor, was spent in two age-old tasks: upkeep of the army (which claimed most of its revenues) and collection of the land tax (which supplied most of its revenues). But there was one vital difference—a difference that made it an imperial, as contrasted with an Asiatic, government. The difference lay in a third task, effective discharge of which necessitated the assumption of the first two tasks outlined above. This was the protection of Britains imperial interests in India. At the end of the nineteenth century these imperial interests consisted of the Indian army which protected a wide range of Britain's strategic and military interests east of Suez, the Indian market for industrial goods which had been captured by important British industrial interests and India's export surplus which covered a great part of Britain's trade deficits with the rest of the world and thus upheld the entire structure of British external trade.[22] Increasingly the domination of these imperial interests was becoming contrary to the interests of the population of the Indian subcontinent, imposing on them a common economic role of the exploited. Earlier in the century the massive intrusion of these imperial interests had not exercised an altogether negative role. The positive achievements of the British Raj in the nineteenth century were the imposition of a connected and unified structure of rule over the subcontinent, the creation of new social interests eager to press forward the modernization of Indian society, and the foundation of a light industrial complex around the ports of Calcutta and Bombay linked with the interior by newly constructed railways. However, the massive invasion of British capital in the mid-nineteenth century, which resulted in the development of the railways and the light processing industries for export, ultimately saddled India with an annual financial obligation to Britain, multiplied by military and civil charges; which wiped out the export surplus that could have been used for building heavy and basic industries under a national government free of these charges. The Indian economy, especially at the eastern end, was twisted to an import-export orientation under the control of racially exclusive British business houses, and the development of an indigenous capitalism based on the internal market was seriously hindered as a result. The "drain" of India's export surplus through debt servicing, civil charges, and repatriation of profits came to symbolize the growing contradiction between the interests of Britain and India.

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[21] C A. Bayly, "Local Control in Indian Towns," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 5., No. 4. See also Francis Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims 1860-1923*, Delhi, 1975.

[22] For an explanation of the last point, see S.B. Saul, *Studies in British Overseas Trade 1870-1914*, Liverpool, 1960.

While the Raj thus partook of the character of a patron-client state linking its subjects in a pyramidal series of patron-client relationships with the government at the apex, it also had the over-riding character of an imperial power which set apart its subjects in a block with interests fundamentally antagonistic to those of the rulers. At a conceptual level, nationalism could not be reduced to a catalogue of rivalries between Indian and Indian vying for government patronage (though of course rivalries existed in practice, setting frustrated patronage seekers against the successful collaborators), for conceptually nationalism was what it meant—a feeling of national solidarity against imperialism, an alien political and economic force that stood against the interests of the population of the Indian subcontinent *as a whole* and constituted the objective basis of nationalism.[23] The domination of these imperial interests and their administrative arm, the Government of India, for the first time invested the subcontinent with an objective, potential unity, which was realized in time at a subjective level by intellectual proponents of "the drain."[24] A simplified concept of drain and absolute impoverishment gained currency through the newspapers. The *Pratikar* of 1 June 1877, for instance, asserted that annually 80 crores of rupees were being taken away from India for the support of English families;[25] and a more learned English language newspaper declared:[26]

> The Manchester merchants have made up their minds that India can grow cotton, should grow cotton and do nothing else but grow cotton. What is India? The cotton growing property of Manchester. What are Indian ryots? A species of animals created for the purposes of growing cotton for the use of Manchester. But Cheshire and Liverpool hold other views. They believe that Indian ryots live only to consume salt scraped from their sea-coasts.
>
> It will thus be seen that we are burdened with many masters, and we are being fleeced by one or the other, and this process is likely to be continued till we are driven to that stage when we shall have nothing left to be fleeced. Is it not therefore far better that England should demand a lump sum of

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[23] It is necessary to emphasize the unifying role of imperialism. There were no readymade cultural uniformities for shaping a nation out of the heterogeneous population of India. The feeling of national identity was fostered by the common opposition which imperialism provoked among politically conscious of the Indian population.

[24] Bipan Chandra (*The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India. Economic Politics of Indian National Leadership 1880-1905*, New Delhi, 1966) traces the evolution of the concept of "drain."

[25] Lytton Collection, MSS Eur, E. 218.14. Vernacular Press Law Papers. Government extracts from Bengali newspapers showing their disloyalty.

[26] *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 17 March 1881.

> money from us than let loose upon us a host of claimants to drain away the last pice from the country?

In these early expressions of economic discontent there was no accurate grasp of the real character of the problem: that while producing marginal development in certain directions, the domination of British capital was impeding balanced industrial growth firmly based on the domestic market for manufactured goods, checking the rate of investment possible under the hegemony of an indigenous entrepreneurship bent on reinvestment rather than repatriation of profits, and widening the economic margin between the metropolitan country and the colony in a fast-moving, technology-innovating world where technological backwardness was more and more being caught up in a circular relationship with itself. The "drain," in so far as there was a drain, consisted in an excess of exports over imports, appropriated by Britain through Home Charges and invisible services (shipping, insurance, etc.) the effect of which was not so much absolute impoverishment of the country as the transfer of the export surplus which under a national government could have been employed in industrial development by means of import of heavy capital goods.

Imperfect as the appreciation of the problem of drain was, its very crudity helped the formulation of a nationalist ideology, the unifying thread which invested all individual or group interests that were at dissonance with the immediate administrative environment with a social meaning inimical to the imperial character of the Government of India. Each particular breakdown of local control, brought about by whatever particular and local interests, constituted a threat to this government, or rather to its imperial alignment, in so far as seekers of national power were able and willing to tap these sources of local protest for building a movement running parallel to the government and seeking to replace it. In this will to replace the hegemony of imperial interests with a new economic and political order lay the basic social character of the national movement, its inner meaning and impulses towards unity. The movement, as has been usefully pointed out,[27] should be studied in terms of its tendencies and direction, its potential and aims, in other words its social character as distinct from its social bases, and not merely in terms of its composition, motivations, and causes. This overall social character was a sort of tenuous, often invisible thread, a leit-motif running through the drama that could be fully revealed only at the end. It does not explain the structure and mechanics of particular acts and scenes, which had an existence largely independent of the totality revealed only in the finale. The confrontation of imperialism and nationalism was not all or even most, there was to the shapeless, indeterminate, day-to-day politics in the towns, cities, and villages of India. The stuff of everyday politics was particular ambitions, individual rivalries, group interests, and so on.

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[27] Sumit Sarkar, *op. cit.*

These should be taken into account in any proper analysis of the structure of politics. It should be borne in mind at the same time that the aggregate of these ambitions, rivalries, and interests do not constitute *nationalism*. That is something else and cannot be attributed to mere "government impulse"[28] which ties up fragments of ambition, rivalry, and interest. The explanation for the nationalist component of politics lies in deep-rooted social and popular impulses, which illuminated the whole political scene with sudden flashes of truth from time to time (e.g., after the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and during the I.N.A. trials). After the tragedy of Amritsar, Rabindranath Tagore, describing the mood of the country, perceptively wrote to C.F. Andrews:

> Of one thing our authorities seem to be unconscious—it is that they have completely lost their moral prestige. I can recall the time when our people had great faith in the justice and truthfulness of the British Government. But I am positive that now there are very few individuals in [the] whole of India who sincerely believe in its promises, communiques, avowed motives and decisions of its commissions. It was almost ludicrous to find how our masses during the late war refused to accept as true every news of success of the allies that came to them from the English sources. This loss of faith in their rulers may or may not be justified, but it is a significant fact. . . .[29]

"No," wrote Andrews back to Tagore, "there is no doubt the whole country is rising with the one cry, and it is not shrill and clamorous, but deep and silent, the cry for the impeachment of those who have done these things, and the government which has dishonoured every Indian in his own eyes and made the iron of subjection enter into his soul."[30] The instinctive, fundamental opposition might be dormant, but it was always there. Politicians might collaborate with the government for immediate, particular advantages in their localities; but there was no let-up on the long-term goal of self-rule, on the will to replace imperial power with national hegemony. After 1919, under the direction of a national leadership gradually becoming aware of its ability to control the forces on the subcontinent more effectively than the weakening Raj, there was a slow, mounting, relentless pressure on the British to quit.

It will be analytically useful, in this context, to distinguish two aspects of the British Raj: (1) the aspect of an instrument for the protection of imperial interests that bore down on the whole subcontinent and were bound in time to arouse an opposition that would by the nature of its target be continental; and the aspect of 2 a framework of governance that was increasingly assuming greater control of distribution of resources in the localities and was drawing local rivalries and ambitions like a magnet on account of its greater effectiveness as a source of patronage. The operation of the government in this dual role drew upon the sources of authority a convergence of the pressures unleashed by the long-term objectives of self-rule and the immediate motives for accommodation. Thus the contours of an all-India political structure began to emerge. There has been of late a shift of emphasis on the framework of governance, which has the merit of explaining political change in those parts of the country where no sharp changes in the economy are observable. The "benighted" Presidency of Madras, which proved least susceptible to the dissolving impact of imperial interests, saw some significant political development due to the realignment of local magnates towards the new political institutions of an intruding centre. Where the continuing strength of local patronage systems impeded the crystallization of new social forces, changes in the forms of government served to draw the connexions in the localities into political organizations with broad constituencies. In other parts, where the rise of new social forces had eroded the connexions of magnates, more genuine changes in the content of politics were dictated by mounting social pressures. These two processes were not unrelated. If changes in the framework of governance, which changed the forms of politics in the south, were imposed from outside, from the seat of the Government of India (based until 1912 on Calcutta), it was the driving power of social opposition to imperial interests concentrated in Eastern India that dictated the overall pace of administrative change in India, unnecessarily fast perhaps for Madras, but dangerously slow for Bengal. This would resolve the paradox which has appeared in some of the recent explanations of Indian politics, in which the pace of constitutional reforms seem to determine the rate of politicization, whereas logically it should be the other way round. If the quiescent parts of India were mobilized by constitutional reforms, those reforms were conceded under pressure brought upon the government by the embattled strongholds of political opposition elsewhere. Take, for instance, the Morley-Minto reforms. On this view the emergence of a provincial framework of politics in Madras after 1909 cannot be seen in isolation from the outbreak of revolutionary terrorism in Bengal which motivated the policy of rallying the moderates.

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[28] John Gallagher, "Congress in Decline: Bengal, 1930 to 1939," *Locality Province and Nation.*

[29] Rabindranath Tagore Papers, Tagore to Andrews, 24 April 1919.

[30] C.F. Andrews Papers, Andrews to Tagore, 1 May 1919.

For this reason historians of political change in India will have to turn, as in the past, to social impulses in a colony slowly and insidiously changing under the impact of imperial interests. The process of administrative centralization from the late nineteenth century, which has figured so prominently in recent analyses of political change, was not unconnected with the needs of

imperial interests
through Cal/Bomby → pol. change
in Madras/UP.

accumulated British capital for a congenial field of operation in India. The expanding role of government in society, which triggered off the late nineteenth-century political changes in the Madras Presidency and the United Provinces,[31] derived powerful impulse from the large-scale invasion of imperial economic interests through the ports of Calcutta and Bombay.[32] The peculiar needs of foreign capital in a colony set in motion a process of structurally distorted, partial modernization, in which social tensions were inherent. While the development of indigenous capitalism was obstructed by systematic racial discrimination,[33] a modernized system of government was imposed on Indian society from above. The consequence was a shift of social influence from ruling noble, chief and warrior elements, not to entrepreneurial and industrial groups, but to bureaucratic and professional communities formerly tied to the ruling elements. There was a growing volume of demand, not for entrepreneurial talents, but for administrative, clerical, and professional skills, reflected in the migration of educated Bengalis and Maharashtrians to Upper and Central India. The new railways, post and telegraphs, courts, subdivisional offices, municipalities, health and education services laid down a sophisticated communications and administrative infrastructure. Here was an instrument which might be used for a much more rapid, state-controlled growth than the pace of economic development under the racially exclusive managing agencies. The outdistancing of economic development by institutional modernization, reflected in the difficulty of absorbing the highly educated and professionally qualified Indians in suitable positions within a restricted employment structure, thrust upon the bureaucratic and professional elements the leadership of the struggle for seizing control of the state apparatus in order to utilize the full potential of modernization. Since the struggle related to the unutilized potential of growth and arose from unfinished rather than accomplished processes of change, it would be misleading to look, as some writers[34] have done, for large-scale social and economic changes behind the emergence of nationalism. Recent Marxist historical writings in India, like some South Asian studies in the West, have come round to the view that the nationalist leadership cannot be labelled in terms of its social composition as "bourgeois" in a cut and dried manner in view of the differences between the social situations in Europe and India.[35] The reluctance of mill-owners and industrialists to get involved with the national movement was painfully apparent to its professional leaders as late as the Frist World War; financial contribution from capitalists was not forthcoming in a big way until 1920, half a century after lawyers and journalists had started agitating about the "drain." Bombay mill-owners had to be virtually dragged into the agitation against abolition of import duties on cotton manufacturers by the city's politicians in the late nineteenth century. Because of their narrow economic and social basis (comprador activities, weak ties with the domestic market, recruitment from traditional trading castes, etc.) it was likely to be a long time before industrial entrepreneurs would emerge as a well-knit, politically organized social class. The retarded capitalist development of India implied that they did not acquire social hegemony over the values and aspirations of Indian society; up to and beyond independence, leadership of social aspirations was a role reserved for the educated professional elements created by the British.

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[31] D.A. Washbrook, *op. cit.*, and F.R. Robinson, *op. cit.*

[32] The high industrial imperialism of Britain in the Indian subcontinent fed on the export of tea, jute, coal, raw cotton, indigo, opium, foodgrains, oil-seeds, hides and skins, etc., and the import of sugar, cloth, salt, and various other manufactures as well as shipping and insurance services.

[33] The controversy on this point has been settled by the massively documented, penetrating economic study of A.K. Bagchi, *Private Investment in India 1900-1939*, Cambridge, 1972, the political implications of which historians of political change cannot afford to ignore.

[34] R. Palme Dutt, *India To-Day*, Calcutta, 1970; A.R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Bombay, 1966; B.B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes. Their Growth in Modern Times*, Oxford, 1961.

The Indian National Congress which came into power in India in 1947 (and in a less marked manner the Muslim League in Pakistan) represented a broad political alliance between urban and rural intermediate elements whose roots went back to the pre-colonial social and political systems in India. Their emergence as social forces in modern politics, and the concomitant rise of nationalism and communalism, was a consequence of the gradual breakdown, at different times in different parts of the subcontinent, of the British system of urban and rural control through the connexions of local notables, in which they had been formerly absorbed as intermediaries and clients. In the towns the ancestors of the intermediate strata were the ambassadors (*vakils*) of notables, the revenue experts, clerks, accountants, record keepers, and administrators employed by all kinds of magnates upwards to the head of the state, the secular Brahmans engaged in worldly pursuits (e.g. Rarhi, Kashmiri, and Chitpavan Brahmans) and mobile service groups (Khetris, Kayasths, Karans, Prabhus, etc.) in the employ of Muslim, Rajput, and Maratha rulers in the north. In the villages the members of the competing national (Indian and Pakistani) alliances in the thirties and the forties were the dominant village lineages—headmen and land controllers—subjected by the British, for purposes of rural control, to bigger landlords, who were consciously fostered as a group of loyal magnates with useful connexions in rural society.[36]

why not Bose ?

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[35] On this point at any rate there is some measure of agreement between two leading historians of Bengal, one a proponent of the *bhadralok* (J.H. Broomfield), the other of the "intelligentsia" (Sumit Sarkar).

[36] Michal Kalecki and K.N. Raj have described the regime which emerged in India in 1947 on the basis of the alliance between urban and rural intermediate elements as an "intermediate regime," neither capitalist nor communist, non-aligned in foreign policy, equipped

Before the political links between the urban and rural intermediate elements were forged—a slow process which began as a result of the First World War and was accompanied by the gradual emergence of capital and labour as politically active forces—politics operated, at one level, as certain liberal or revivalist ideological abstractions indulged in by intellectuals among the urban intermediate social strata (backed in cases of extreme alienation by ineffective revolutionary terrorism), and at another level, as manoeuvres for local-factional advantages executed by publicists of the same social background tied more effectively to the competing connexions of heterogeneous notables. The nature of change in the political systems operating at different regional centres depended largely on the degree of political distinctiveness attained by the growing urban professional elements. Where this distinctiveness was concealed, as in South Indian society, by the continuing effectiveness of connexions, bureaucratic and constitutional reforms seemed to be the most important instrument of political integration. In North India, especially those social regions oriented to the ports of Calcutta and Bombay, such integration seemed to proceed from more socio-economically determined processes. But whatever the particular regional differences at any one point in time, all political systems at different regional centres were being swept, slowly or rapidly, in a particular direction by a single long-run process of change. From an overall historical point of view, the striking development was the growth of intermediate social strata, arising partly from the disproportionate increase in the state apparatus, as contrasted with the level of technology and produc-

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with a large public sector to keep big business in check, and pursuing a policy of industrial licensing, government employment, and land reforms which favour the dominant lower middle-class rich peasant alliance as against the rural and urban poor. This analysis has been challenged by the CPI (M) leader E.M.S. Namboodiripad who argues that the dominant power in India is the big bourgeoisie in alliance with feudal elements. Without getting bogged down in this political controversy about who hold economic and political power in India, the point can be made here that the Indian capitalist class does not enjoy social hegemony in the European sense, and this is due at least partially to the influence acquired by the intermediate strata by virtue of their leadership of the freedom struggle in alliance with dominant village lineages. But in our analysis it would be misleading, before 1947 when productive forces and class identities were relatively undeveloped as a consequence of colonial economic restraints, to describe them as new social elements labelled "lower middle class" and "rich peasantry." The dominance of foreign capital in India did not permit the emergence of a clear-cut bourgeoisie differentiated as haute and petite, nor an enterprising class of capitalist farmers producing for the market by means of employing wage labour. What the social system did contain were intermediate elements—professional townsmen in the tertiary sector and village land controllers mediating between the village and the government. See Michal Kalecki, "Social and Economic Aspects of 'Intermediate Regimes'," *Selected Essays on the Economic Growth of the Socialist and the Mixed Economy*, Cambridge, 1972; K.N. Raj, "The Politics and Economics of Intermediate Regimes," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 7 July 1973; E.M.S. Namboodiripad, "On Intermediate Regimes," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1 December 1973.

tion and the development of indigenous capitalism. The emergence of bureaucratic and professional elements as distinct social strata was not connected with any major breakthrough in the production system, but only with the adjustment of pre-colonial literati and service groups with partial changes in the economy. These intermediate strata, identified neither with a propertied class owning the means of production, nor with a propertyless class living by physical labour, enjoyed a privileged position by virtue of their access to the institutions of governance, but at the same time felt increasingly the drawbacks of racial discrimination, which blocked the way to the top in their careers, and the humiliating subordination to colonial masters, which excluded them from dynamic political leadership and direction of unexploited natural and human resources to more rapid growth. As a consequence their behaviour was ambivalent, switching easily between collaboration and resistance: loyal servants of colonialism and leaders of the freedom struggle often came from the same families.

In view of the prominence of educated professional men in politics, much discussion of Indian nationalism has understandably centred round the social character of this group. "Educated middle class" was the term employed by these people to describe themselves. Other identifications deployed by historians include the "Western-educated elite" (drawn from traditional caste, communal and regional groupings), "petty bourgeoisie" (or "lower middle clas," distinguished from big business), "nationalist intelligentsia" (ideologues of the entire national interest against imperialism and not possessing any particular class or caste character) and "publicists" and "ambassadors" (*vakils* representing a wide range of *rais* connexions and acting as "patronage—brokers"). Viewed as a dynamic concept redefined by each stage in the development of social relations, "intermediate strata" at one stage or other comprehended all the roles described in the above terms. It will be noticed that the terms "nationalist intelligentsia" and "ambassadors" envisage no autonomous group interest for the category, conceiving it merely as articulators of a perceived national interest or of a set of more particular magnate interests. As a matter of fact, the category in its formative stages was operative in both roles, depending on whether we look at the all India political platform or the local area of politics. The diverse bunch of publicists and ambassadors slowly coalesced as a politically vocal group by evolving new techniques of agitation, and although by the nature of their function they retained connexions with diverse interests in order to ensure their position in a developing electoral and representative structure, they were distinguished from eighteenth-century *vakils* in so far as they were able to formulate ideologies of the "Indian Renaissance" culminating in political nationalism and the "drain" theory. These ideologies equipped them with a collective sense of mission even while they were representing particular local connexions. With the emergence among them of an elite of ICS officers, High Court judges, legal and medical luminaries and outstanding intellectuals, professors and journalists in the 1880s, they were able to assume the role of leaders on the national scene instead of being merely clients in localities. The emergence of this ambitious, able and frequently frustrated Western-educated elite gave a structural cohesion and leadership to the intermediate strata, which now emerged as a social order differentiated from the rest of society and composed very largely of traditionally privileged elements connected with eighteenth-century administrations (Chitpavan Brahmans and Prabhus in Maharashtra, Brahmans, Vaidyas, and Kayasthas in Bengal). These intermediate strata hardly constituted as yet a "lower middle class" (or petty bourgeoisie) in view of the fact that India had no proper middle class differentiated, by the scale of their ownership of the means of production, into haute and petite bourgeoisie. Rather this was a group with no defined economic role in the production system, existing independently in the sphere of administration in a manner which would not have been possible in a developed capitalist society. It was only with the development of big business and industrial labour as organized political forces, and the emergence of small and medium scale industries under the patronage of government, that the intermediate strata began to take on a more definite class role in the production system and political structure. From 1885 to 1947, as we shall see, the intermediate character of these strata (i.e., their lack of any definite class alignment) made it possible for them to indulge in every kind of politics—liberalism, revivalism, terrorism, Gandhism, communalism, socialism and communism.

The disagreements among historians about the character of the urban professional elements, as revealed by the employment of terms ranging from "patronage brokers" to "petty bourgeoisie," have arisen largely from a considerable time lag in the evolution of the intermediate strata in the metropolitan ports of Bombay and Calcutta on the one hand, and the towns and cities of Upper India and the South on the other. The point can be illustrated by a comparison of Calcutta with Allahabad. Early Calcutta politics, as described by S.N. Mukherjee, were based on *dals* (factions) led by notables (*abhijats*) and composed of their followings amongst middle-ranking householders (*grihasthas*). These connexions between notables and commoners were subsequently institutionalized in the British Indian Association, a landlord-dominated body with brilliant "middle class" spokesmen like Kristodas Pal. With the growth of a younger generation of highly qualified educated Bengalis more confident of their position in Calcutta society, these connexions snapped suddenly in 1875 when the Western-educated professional men broke away from the British Indian Association to the newly founded "middle class" association called the Indian League. Next year they won the elections to the Calcutta Corporation (reorganized on an electoral basis) against the opposition of landed notables and European businessmen. The capture of the leadership of people by the educated publicists of Calcutta and

Bombay had led by the beginning of the twentieth century to a preliminary, hesitant, ineffective tapping of new popular energies reflected in the industrial strikes in Calcutta during the anti-partition agitation and the strike of Bombay mill-hands during the Tilak trial. In Allahabad, by contrast, the emergence of a publicist leadership and the mobilization of popular energies took a long time: both processes were accomplished by one single sweep of an all-India current released by the First World War. Before that, Allahabad publicists acted in local society as clients rather than leaders, though on the all-India political platform some of them participated in the national leadership established by the Bombay and Calcutta educated elites. Except a few legal luminaries who had emerged as patrons in their own right, these publicists were hired by wealthy commercial and banking magnates to represent their interests. The economic power of these *raises* had attracted large clienteles composed of all castes and classes, with whose support they were able to exercise power in the Allahabad municipality, where politics were largely a matter of squabbles between competing *rais* connexions. When the power of these notables declined in the 1920s, leadership of their former clienteles were captured by their publicists, who carved out independent positions of power in the municipality. Explosive popular forces of nationalism and communalism, so long kept in check by the cross-class, cross-caste connexions of notables, were increasingly tapped for exercise of power by the new publicist leadership. The end of the elegant nineteenth century mode of urban control through notables was symbolized by the total *Hartal* with which the formerly loyal town of Allahabad greeted the Prince of Wales in 1921: the streets were liberally festooned with flowers and were entirely deserted.[37]

The emergence of a publicist leadership in the towns of Gujarat, Punjab, and U.P., dramatically revealed by the temporary breakdown of *rais* connexions and widespread riots under instigation by extremist ground-level local leaders like Ram Bhuj Dutt Chaudhuri (Lahore) and Neki Ram Sharma (Delhi) during the Rowlatt Satyagraha,[38] indicated a rapidly lessening time-lag in the evolution of the intermediate strata at different regional centres.

The rapid growth of an all-India political leadership and the integration of the local publicists[39] with an all-India political organization gave the semblance of a national political force to the intermediate strata, enjoying increasing influence among the fractured remnants of magnate followings in the localities and municipal wards. Their increasing ability to tap popular energies in the towns arose from fundamental changes in the structure of

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[37] Intelligence Branch Records, Calcutta, 1923. "One Year of Non-Cooperation from Ahmedabad to Gaya" by Manabendranath Roy and Evelyn Roy.

[38] Ravinder Kumar (ed), *Essays on Gandhian Politics: The Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919*, Oxford, 1972.

[39] Described by different writers as "secondary leaders" and "subcontractors," *ibid.*; Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi's Rise to Power; Indian Politics 1915-1922*, Cambridge, 1972.

Indian society and economy during the War. Spiralling prices, unashamed profiteering, and massive reduction of current consumption on account of drastic fall in imports brought about a rapid accumulation of liquid assets in the hands of Indian capitalists at the cost of immense sufferings to the population of India. There was, on the one hand, a channelling of resources into capital formation, a structural breakthrough of national capital seeking to seize control of the private sector from European managing agencies; on the other hand, the awakening of the inert masses under the impact of unprecedented suffering, the growing consciousness and resentment of the spiralling prices and profits which were swelling the coffers of merchants and manufacturers. With the emergence of capital and labour as political forces, the intermediate strata were able to build a mass movement with financial support from Indian capitalists and popular backing from the working population in the towns. Early intellectuals, who had existed in a political vacuum on account of the quiescence of capital and labour, had been able to afford a vision of future Indian development under native capitalist enterprise; now with the threat to their position from above and below, the intermediate strata began to resort increasingly to socialist postures, meant to keep big business in check and popular energies under control.

At the same time competition within the intermediate strata for scarce resources became increasingly fierce as the decline of the Raj brought power of reallocation within their sight. The intermediate strata, after all, did not constitute a coherent class held together by a defined role in the production system. Rather, they represented an independent social order based on the functions of government in society, which had been brought into autonomous existence by the disproportionate growth of the state apparatus in an underdeveloped country. Such an artificially constructed element, arising out of no organic process of social and economic integration, was from the beginning a heterogeneous collection of pre-existing bureaucratic groups who were in a position to extend their hold in the expanding network of the new institutions of the Raj. Such were the Marathi Brahmans in Guntur, Bikrampuri Babus in Dacca, Kashmiri Pandits in Fyzabad, whose extended networks in the various government and estate establishments impeded the entry of new competitors and provoked natural resentment among "out" networks of kinship, caste and community. Internal competition was inherent in the nature of the new resources on which the intermediate order of society was built—jobs, educational facilities, municipal positions, etc. Increasingly the organizing principles of competition became communal as administrative and economic integration broke down local barriers to interaction of castes and communities over large arenas. Moreover the declining Raj, no longer able to rely on local *rais* connexions for social control, resorted to a new system of control which classified society in large supra-local categories (Indian Musalmans, Non-Brahmans, Depressed Classes) for selective patronage in order to divide and weaken the intermediate leadership of popular forces. In these circumstances natural competition within the intermediate strata began to divide them increasingly in large communal blocks. Connexions of a new type with their respective communites were forged on a supra-local basis and these were then deployed in the battle for jobs, education and political representation. This competition for material resources had ideological over tones which gave psychological reality to the political categories defined by the Government of India. In a fragmented, plural society, attempts at reform by intellectuals had necessarily to be addressed to their particular societies. The Arya Samaj among the Punjabi urban Hindus, Sakti-oriented neo-Hinduism among the Bengali gentry and Aligarh modernism and Deoband revivalism among the U.P. Muslims contributed to the articulation of communal consciousness in the wider arenas of public life in India.

The politics of nationalism and communalism, as sketched above, sprang from the impulses of urban history. So long as the Raj could be sure of keeping control of the countryside, the new political forces of a relatively small urban sector could not offer any viable alternative machinery of rule over the subcontinent. The First World War generated tensions which ultimately eroded the nineteenth-century mode of rural control.[40] Links were slowly forged between urban and rural intermediate elements that indicated the outlines of two sprawling machines of political control, the Indian National Congress[41] and the All-India Muslim League, which were eventually to replace the British Raj.

Over the greater part of North and Eastern India and large parts of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, the British relied for collection of revenue and maintenance of rural peace on a great variety of legally declared "estates" which had developed out of hereditary tribute collection rights over revenue units. These estates were of all kinds and sizes, ranging from great compact blocks of territory to petty interlaced parcels of subinfeudated rights. Their common function, from the British point of view, was to create connexions along which orders could be passed down to the countryside, a function in which they did not usually fail, except in the remarkable case of the subdivided and subinfeudated petty estates of the smaller Hindu gentry in East Bengal who turned to revolutionary terrorism at the beginning of the twentieth century under the pressure of an accumulating local economic impasse. At the village level these owners of "estates," quite often of non-cultivating castes, had to deal with holders of local land control rights belonging to dominant village lineages govt. → owner of estate | holders of local land control rights traditional rural landlords — money-lenders — grain dealers | village

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[40] For recent explorations of this theme, see D.A. Low (ed), *Congress and the Raj: Facets of the Indian Struggle 1917-47*, London, 1977.

[41] For the expansion of the Congress, see Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: The Mahatma in Indian Politics 1928-1934*, Cambridge, 1977; B.R. Tomlinson, *Indian National Congress and the Raj 1929-1942. The Penultimate Phase*, London, 1976,

of cultivating stock, with whose cooperation they collected the revenues. These village leaders of peasant origin, who were in the intermediate position of representing the village before the estate and the government and of representing these external authorities to the village, were not rich peasants of a new type practising capitalist farming with wage labour, but were rather traditional village landlords who acted as money lenders and grain-dealers at the same time and cultivated with the help of share-croppers and bonded labourers.[42]

The relationship between the legal landlords and the village lords of the land was ordinarily one of mutual dependence, arising from their sharing in a common structure of authority emanating from the government. The estate owner collected tribute from the villages with the help of the dominant lineages, while the latter derived much of their authority as representatives of the government and the estate before the villagers. There might, of course, be outbreaks of violence due to sources of strain inherent in the relationship between estate owners and dominant village lineages, but such outbreaks tended to be localized and temporary in view of the fact that the dominant village lineages did not traditionally have very substantial external relations except through the estate itself, so that as often as not local resistance by dominant village lineages was connected with conflicts within the complex structure of the estates.[43] A coherent political action over a large part of the country by isolated village lineages was not possible until they could be related to a broader regional structure of economic and political relationships. Such rural political action did not occur in India until 1921, when non-co-operation led to disturbances in Assam, Bengal, U.P., Gujarat, and elsewhere which changed the traditional rules in the game of rural control.

In the end the nineteenth-century mode of rural control was bound to break down because of the operation of certain long-term factors which undermined its basis. In the first place, there slowly developed during the decades following the First World War a crisis in subsistence agriculture—a deterioration of quantifiable proportions[44] in the agriculture of British India. A more broad-based structure of political control was thus needed for coping with the rural tensions arising from the growing agricultural crisis of the thirties and forties. As if in response to this crisis, there developed, in the second place, social, economic, and political networks of integration which involved

[illegible] culture.

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[42] Rajat and Ratna Ray, "The Dynamics of Continuity in Rural Bengal under the British Imperium: A Study of Quasi-Stable Equilibrium in Underdeveloped Societies in a Changing World," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, June 1973; Peter Musgrave, *op cit.*

[43] The Pabna disturbances of 1872 in East Bengal, led by village bosses of peasant stock, were connected with disputes between co-sharer landlords as well as disputes between *zamindars* and *patnidars*. Bengal Revenue Proceedings, Land Revenue Branch, Miscellaneous, January 1874, Collection 14, No. 11.

[44] See George Blyn, *Agriculture in India 1891-1947: Output, Availability and Productivity*, Philadelphia, 1966.

the dominant lineages of the little world of the village in a wider world where power was exercised by more widespread linkages. The year 1921 proved a crucial point in this break with the older modes of rural control, partly because, as we have seen, there was unprecedented social distress (particularly acute in the countryside) in the aftermath of war, and partly because there was a determined non-cooperating urban intermediate element able to offer a new connexion to the villagers through which they could make their weight felt in the overall political system.

A myriad of variables operated in the increasing interlocking of urban and rural intermediate elements which determined the shifting patterns of the rise of Indian nationalism and Muslim separatism. Fierce competition within the urban intermediate strata had taken, as we have seen, an increasingly separatist turn among urban professional Muslims. The possibility of power to be exercised by Congress and Muslim (Non-Congress) politicians within the new mass-based representative and agitational structure of politics depended on the kind of lines they could drive into the countryside. Of crucial importance in this set of variables was the question whether these lines ran into a commercial or landed element in the countryside which was alien to peasant society or whether the links were with a broad cross-section of the dominant village lineages directly involved in agricultural operations. Seen in this light, the increasing desperation of Bengal and Punjab Congress politicians on the one hand, and Muslim League politicians in U.P. on the other, can be readily understood. The common characteristic of all these politicians was that they came from elite groups alienated from peasant society.[45] The nationalist politicians of the Punjab—predominantly Hindus of Khetri, Arora, and similar urban castes were—identified with sharply demarcated non-agricultural money-lending groups in the interior, who had provoked the hostility of landlords and tenants alike. This common hostility was the basis on which Fazl-i-Husain was able to organize a loose coalition of various rural elements (including some Hindu Jats) called the Unionist Party which became in the thirties the dominant factor in Punjab politics In Bengal the nationalist politicians had somewhat deeper lines into the countryside, among petty high caste gentry with cohesive cultural traditions, which for a time enabled these politicians to mount political campaigns in the countryside of far greater intensity than anywhere else in India. The same link, however, alienated them from the vast masses of Muslim and Namasudra peasantry in East Bengal under the leadership of prosperous *jotedars*. By exploiting the source of power provided by these *jotedars* in the new system of responsible government in the provinces, Fazlul Huq was able to organize a Krishak Praja Party which similarly dominated Bengal politics in the thirties. Loss of power ultimately compelled the Punjabi and Bengali Hindu politicians to voice in 1946-47 the very demand for partition which as nationalists they had long opposed. Exactly similar was the response of *sharif* Muslims of U.P. when their position of eminence in landholding, service and professions was slowly eroded by a groundswell which swept off the courtly culture of big Rajput and Muslim taluqdars.[46] For the dynamic Aligarh-educated professional Muslim the prospect of power receded further and further in the thirties as the Indian National Congress developed as a massive political structure in U.P., Bihar and Gujarat, firmly and broadly based on the dominant village lineages—for instance, the Patidar peasant community of Kaira who had lines into Ahmedabad through urban professional Patidars like Vallabhbhai Patel.[47] Hence it was that the demand for Pakistan came more insistently from the U.P. *ashraf*, who could never hope to acquire a peasant base in the new representative structure of politics, than from urban Punjabi and Bengali Muslims, who had links with rural elements that could be effectively exploited for the exercise of power at a provincial level. In the heartland of Hindusthan, the dissolution of the rural connexions, dramatically announced by the political collapse of the great estates of Oudh, led to a polarization of forces: on the one hand, the village lords to whom the super-connexion of the estate had become a positive hindrance in view of the availability of the Congress connexion; on the other hand, the *sharif* Muslims, driven by the instinct of political survival to forge lateral links with Muslims of whatever class in their own and other provinces within the framework of the Muslim League.

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[45] David Washbrook, "Country Politics: Madras 1880-1930," *Locality Province and Nation.*

If we now take an overview of long-term developments, the direction of political change becomes clear. In 1870 political power was exercised in localities by notables with connexions—for instance, banking magnates in Allahabad, commercial magnates in Bombay, and landed magnates in Calcutta, who controlled the services of publicists. In 1945 political power was exercised in extended supra-local arenas by a coalition of urban professional elements and dominant village lineages. They had been formerly subordinated to a system of competing *rais* connexions but were now independently connected to each other through a representative political system, in which rivalries had been organized along class and communal lines over extended territory. The upper pillars of society on which the British Raj was largely based had been knocked off and new Indian and Pakistani political systems based on supports closer to the ground were emerging.

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[46] D.A. Low (ed), *Soundings in Modern South Asian History*, introduction; Francis Robinson, *op. cit.*

[47] Kenneth L. Gillion, *Ahmedabad: A Study in Indian Urban History*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1968, pp. 160-66.

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Indian Indentured Labour in Natal, 1890-1911

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Indian indentured workers were imported into Natal from 1860 to 1911.[1] The process of recruitment for indenture has been thoroughly described by Hugh Tinker in *A New System of Slavery* which discusses the export of Indian labour overseas between 1830-1920.[2] Recruitment for Natal fits the general pattern which emerged from Tinker's research: the single most important factor which shaped the process was the Indian's unwillingness to emigrate. Recruiting statistics and official correspondence leave no doubt that it was a rare Indian who would willingly exchange even a subsistence level existence for emigration. But the increasing pressure on land as the nineteenth century advanced produced a situation of growing rural indebtedness and swelled the ranks of landless labourers. With subsistence margins reduced to a bare minimum, rural wage labourers and peasants were increasingly unable to support the burden of a hostile ecology and the demands of landlord and tax-collector, particularly in seasons when natural disaster struck and whole crops were lost to drought or flood. Officials were frank in their recognition that it was the "floating population who live from hand to mouth"[3] on whom recruiters depended. And even they were loth to emigrate except in "times of scarcity" when the "starving inhabitants" would "troop to the depots."[4] In addition, fraud and kidnapping were often resorted to,[5] especially in years when there were good rains and a healthy crop. Thus the bulk of Natal's indentured labourers came to be made up of the distressed, the despairing, the diseased, and even the disabled; victims of a socio-economic system which offered, at best, subsistence, but too often only starvation.

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[1] A total number of 152,184 labourers, shipped out of Calcutta and Madras, entered Natal during the years of importation 1860-1866, 1874-1911. Agricultural labourers numbered approximately 8,500 in 1890, 14,000 in 1895, 15,500 in 1899, 24,000 in 1904, 26,000 in 1908, and 18,000 in 1911. These figures are compiled from the Protector of Immigrants' Report, 1911, in Gov. Gen. To Col. Sec., S. Africa no. 350, 5 June 1912, C.O. 551/19319, P.R.O. (P.R.O. is used to denote Public Record Office, London. N.A. denotes State Archives; Natal. T.A. denotes State Archives, Transvaal) and Reports of the Protector, General Manager of the Railways, and Commissioner of Mines, in the annual *Natal Departmental Reports.*

[2] H. Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, London, 1974, pp. 116-43.

[3] Calcutta Emigration Agent to Protector, 10 March 1902, I 1621/01, N.A.

[4] Calcutta Emigration Agent to Protector, 23 August 1895, I 1371/95, N.A. And see, for example, Circular, Indian Immigration Trust Board of Natal, 25 March 1901, I 464/01, N.A., and Madras Emigration Agent to Natal Protector, 4 October 1901, I 1389/01, N.A., about the difficulty of obtaining recruits after a good harvest.

[5] *Report of Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies for the*

This paper is concerned exclusively with agricultural labourers, the backbone of the coastal sugar estates, and the mainstay of up-country farms and wattle plantations. The period under review is 1890-1911, the heyday of indentured labour in Natal when conditions had stabilized and Commissions of Enquiry and the appointment of a Protector of Indian Immigrants had, allegedly, eliminated the abuses which were endemic in the early days of the system. The areas which this paper has sought to examine are, firstly, the conditions of agricultural indentured labour in Natal; and, secondly, the way in which the labourer responded to them, and the processes which shaped his response.

Every aspect of the labourer's material existence was regulated by the contract which he signed before leaving India. Since the provisions of the contract conformed to Government of India legislation[6] they differed little from colony to colony. Natal offered a five-year term of indenture which began on the date of arrival in the colony. A free return passage was available after five years indentured and five years free service and, until 1890, the labourer had the choice of taking up a plot of land in lieu of a return passage. The working week consisted of a nine-hour day, every day except Sundays and public holidays. Emigrants were classified as men of 18 years and upwards, or women and minors. The former were paid ten shillings a month in their first year of indenture, with annual increments of one shilling a month in every successive year of the contract; the latter were paid half these amounts. In addition every immigrant over the age of 12 years was entitled to either one and a half pounds of rice daily, or two pounds of maize meal on three days of the week, and rice for the remainder. The monthly rations consisted of two pounds of dal, one pound of salt, two pounds of salt fish, and one pound of ghee or oil. Emigrants under 12 years of age were entitled to three-fourths of an adult ration. Medical attendance in case of sickness was free, so was accommodation which had to be kept in good repair by the employer at his own cost.[7] The contract said nothing about clothing, but the emigrants' own inadequate means and the relatively cool Natal winters made the issue of

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Year 1894, Govt. of India, 1895, p. 10. See also Madras Protector of Emigrants to Natal Emigration Agent, 23 May 1901, I 2063/01, N.A., for similar cases.

[6] In Natal's case, India Act XXIII of 1860.

[7] *Report on Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies for the Year 1894*, Govt. of India, 1895, p. 4.

clothing an unavoidable necessity. At the point of embarkation each male was provided with two dhotis, two jackets, two caps; each female with two saris and one jacket; each infant with a shawl and cap, and every emigrant with a blanket.[8]

On paper the terms of indenture appeared perfectly adequate. With the assurance of a balanced diet for himself and his dependents, well-kept housing, medical care, and a regular wage, the immigrant seems at first glance to have been considerably better off than his free counterpart in rural England.[9] Like any system though, this one was open to abuse, and it is necessary to examine the extent to which it was abused in order to arrive at a clear picture of conditions for agricultural labour. The principal source of evidence for this examination is the files of the Protector of Immigrants, and the most efficient—the briefest—way of conducting it is by considering the records of two of the largest employers of agricultural indentured labour: Reynolds Brothers and the Tongaat Sugar Company. The examples which they provide will be supplemented by others from smaller sugar estates, farms, and up-country plantations.

The Reynolds family were among the first of the Natal sugar planters. Lewis Reynolds arrived in the colony in 1850. Within a few years he had been talked into planting cane by J.B. Miller and Henry Milner, joint owners of the land on the Umhlali River which produced the first commercial crop in 1854, and where the first sugar manufacturing factory was built in 1855.[10] Reynolds survived the labour shortages and price slumps which bedevilled the infant sugar industry. By the late seventies the original holding had been expanded.[11] By the turn of the century the Reynolds Brothers Sugar Company owned several estates. The largest, Esperanza, spread for several thousand acres around Umzinto Village in Alexandra County on the south coast. It employed over 1,000 indentured labourers.[12]

In 1906 Frank Reynolds, the Managing Director of Esperanza, was called before a Commission of Enquiry into the treatment of his labourers. The death rates on Esperanza were more than double the colonial mean: an average of 40 per thousand for men and 43 per thousand for women between 1902-1905 as compared to 19 per thousand for both men and women throughout the colony as a whole.[13] The Medical Officer for Uminzinto Circle[14] had

[8] Natal Emigration Agent to Chief Officer S.S. Congella, 11 April 1901, I 713/01, N.A.

[9] Cf. for example some of the autobiographical sketches in J. Burnett (ed), *Useful Toil*, London, 1975.

[10] A.F. Hattersley, *The British Settlement of Natal*, Cambridge, 1950, p. 238.

[11] W.Y. Campbell, *The Natal Sugar Industry*, Durban, 1885, p. 33.

[12] Commission on the Treatment of Indians on Messrs. Reynolds Brothers, Esperanza, Alexandra County (hereafter referred to as Commission: Esperanza), Protector's evidence, p. 1, C.S.O., vol. 2854, N.A.

[13] Commission: Esperanza, Protector's evidence, pp. 1-2, C.S.O. vol. 2584, N.A.

[14] The areas of heavy concentration of indentured labour were divided into Medical

already mentioned these figures to the Protector in 1903.[15] During the two preceding years the overall mortality rate in the colony had begun to climb (see Table 1). These were the objective sort of features of the indentured system on which the Government of India kept a close watch. The Protector therefore complained to Reynolds several times in 1904. Nothing was done.

TABLE 1
MORTALITY RATES PER 1000 OF THE POPULATION* 1890-1911

Year	*Population*	*Death rate*
1890	33,494	16.27
1891	35,736	14.52
1892	38,365	16.08
1893	40,510	16.11
1894	42,967	13.24
1895	46,343	13.14
1896	49,643	14.46
1897	54,561	14.77
1898	59,858	14.30
1899	60,756	15.17
1900	65,925	15.62
1901	72,965	15.25
1902	78,004	20.29
1903	81,390	20.78
1904	87,980	18.21
1905	94,621	19.81
1906	101,963	25.61
1907	102,857	23.25
1908	103,158	18.95
1909	103,836	15.28
1910	108,694	17.96
1911	113,192	21.42

*This table is compiled from the annual Protector's Report in *Natal Departmental Reports*. Figures given are for the entire indentured and ex-indentured population. In the few cases where a breakdown is listed mortality rates for the two different groups do not seem to have differed markedly.

In March 1905 he complained to the colonial Secretary. Nothing was done. Reynolds represented, as the Protector said, "a very strong and influential company backed up in many quarters."[16] In fact he represented not one, but

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Circles which contained small hospitals run by a European M.O. and a Compounder who was usually Indian.

[15] Protector to Princ. Under Secty., 21 January 1907, I 3676/06, N.A.

[16] Commission: Esperanza, Protector's address to the Commissioners, p. 7, C.S.O. vol. 2584, N.A.

two influential companies: he was also Chairman of Elandslaagte Collieries Ltd., the second largest coal-producing company in Natal. Furthermore, at the first hint of trouble he had had himself appointed to the Indian Immigration Trust Board. The Medical Officer who had laid the original complaint was an employee of the Trust Board. He immediately retracted his earlier criticisms.[17] Thus when a change of Ministry in September 1905 resulted in a Commission of Enquiry being called, the Protector had lost his principal ally. The majority of the Commissioners did report in the Protector's favour but no action was taken against Reynolds.[18] However the evidence which was given before the Commission offers many valuable insights into the indentured labour system in Natal, beginning with a description of conditions on the Reynolds Estate over a 20-year period.

Throughout the period 1884-1907 for which evidence is available both men and women on Esperanza worked a minimum 12-hour day from at least mid-February to June. Rollcall was taken in the fields by torchlight around 4.30 A.M. so that work could begin as soon as there was light to see.[19] On an estate this size the barracks were as much as two miles from the work area so that the time taken to walk some four miles to and from the cane fields must be added to the 12-hour day. This was the slack season in Natal when the rows of growing cane were hoed and weeded and general estate duties such as path-clearing, sugar-bagging or brick-laying were attended to.[20] In July the crushing season began and from then until as late as January, life on the plantation revolved around the mill.

The Reynolds estate was profitable enough to have developed its own milling complex when decreasing world sugar prices had led to the emergence of a central milling system in the late seventies and eighties.[21] However, the Esperanza mill and the Esperanza work force, in common with others in the colony, was apparently unequal to the demands of the crushing season. There were several ways in which these inadequacies could have been overcome. A heavy capital outlay on machinery and buildings would have provided a large enough processing plant. The labour force to man it and to feed it could have been found in two ways. The number of indentured labourers might have been doubled, but this would have resulted in half the work force standing idle throughout a good part of the year. Alternatively, extra labour could have been hired during the season. But this would have meant risking the crop: the local labour supply was unreliable which was why the Natal planters had first turned to indentured labour. Furthermore, all of these possibilities were expensive and the profit margins on sugar continued to decline.[22] There was one other possibility however. The prime months for sugar processing in Natal were October, November and December.[23] Cane had to be burned when it matured, then cut and processed within 24 hours in order to ensure a first class product. It was possible to extend the season on either side of the peak months, but only so far. By working the labourer to the limits of his endurance during a period which might stretch for as long as July to January,[24] a season could be created for which the normal work force and inadequate milling facilities were sufficient, and which still produced a fine quality sugar. During these months, then, Reynolds Indians regularly worked 17 or 18 hours a day. They were turned out around 1 A.M. either to carry on the previous day's milling, or to fire the cane so that harvesting could begin at first light. Two shifts of overseers worked to a single shift of labourers.[25]

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[17] *Ibid.*, Mdeical Officer to Reynolds Bros., 8 May 1905.

[18] Protector to Princ. Under Secty., 21 January 1907, I 3676/06, N.A.

[19] Commission: Esperanza, evidence of District Officer in charge of Umzinto Police; evidence of labourers Peramal and Mari etc., C.S.O. vol. 2584, N.A.

[20] Managing Director Natal Estates to Protector, 6 October 1897, I 3711/97, N.A.

[21] *Natal Official Handbook*, London, 1886, p. 78.

Reynolds claimed that the Esperanza work hours were little different than those on any other coastal estate.[26] His claim was probably valid. Given a carefully calculated inadequacy of milling facilities and work force it is difficult to see how else the crushing season and the overlapping planting season[27] could have been handled. And since conditions at Esperanza were a matter of public knowledge, it is difficult to imagine that officials or, indeed, business-minded fellow planters would have permitted them to continue had they been unique. In short it is inconceivable that Esperanza alone maintained the perfect balance which allowed the crop to be harvested and processed with the minimum of expenditure on labour and machinery. Finally, despite the difficulties of engaging the Protector's attention, some of which have already been noted, his files reveal many direct complaints about overwork. To mention just a few varied examples from within the agricultural sector: Rama Naiken, indentured to a farmer named John Todd, complained of overwork in January 1895; Saibdeen, indentured to a farmer named Paul Meldrum, complained in August 1895; a group of the Tongaat Sugar Company's labourers complained in November 1895; a group of labourers on the Kearsney Tea Estate complained in August

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[22] A.G. Lowndes, (ed), *South Pacific Enterprise*, Sydney, 1956, pp. 442-43, Appendix 13, "Raw Sugar Prices on World Free Market, 1728-1954."

[23] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[24] According to a contemporary observer the normal limits of the season in Natal were July to January. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[25] Commission: Esperanza, evidence of Renaud (overseer, Esperanza Mill, 1887-1894); evidence of labourer Peramal; evidence of Peddie (former juniour overseer); evidence of Mellon (overseer, Esperanza Mill, 1884-1890, 1896-1897, 1899-1900), and so on. C.S.O. vol. 2854, N.A.

[26] *Ibid.*, Reynold's statement, p. 1.

[27] The normal limits of the planting season were September to mid-February, Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

1901, and a group from the Illovo Sugar Company in July 1910.[28]

The only compensation which Reynolds labourers received for their illegal work-load was an extra one and a half pounds of rice per week.[29] The whole question of rations opened up a grey area of the contract: the rationing of women and children. Females and minors on Esperanza were rationed only if they worked.[30] Evidence from the Managers of other large estates suggests that this practise was widespread.[31] The presence of women on the estates was required by Government of India legislation which demanded at least four female emigrants for every ten males.[32] The planters made the best they could of the situation by refusing to ration or to pay any non-working Indian. One of the consequences of this practise was an unnecessarily high child death rate which was mentioned frequently in Medical Officers' reports. They commented either on the Indian's callous neglect of his children or, if they were sensitive enough, on the low expectation of survival for infants who spent their days lying in a field exposed to the elements while their mothers worked.[33] The other possible consequence of non-rationing was the severe malnourishment which was the inevitable result of a male labourer trying to support a wife and family on a single man's allowance. It should be borne in mind here that that allowance was not necessarily up to contract standards to begin with. In 1904, for example, the Protector complained to Reynolds about non-issue of the dal which constituted half the protein content of a monthly ration.[34] Indeed, in his annual report for 1890, the Howick Medical Officer had even complained that Indians were not sufficiently or suitably fed at the government-run depot where new arrivals were kept between embarkation and allotment.[35]

Thus far then, we have a picture of a labourer who is certainly overworked and probably undernourished. A third important aspect of his material existence which was also covered by the contract was the housing provided by the estate. Here again, the evidence of a special investigation provides detailed information on the meaning of the many references to "improper" and "inadequate" housing which appear in the Protector's files. In September 1906 there was an enquiry into the heavy mortality on the Tongaat Sugar Company's Estate. Edward Saunders, founder member of the company, had long been as notorious as Reynolds for the maltreatment of labourers.[36] The second investigation, like the first, can therefore be understood only in terms of overall mortality figures. In August 1906 the Protector pointed out that "unless there is a distinct improvement we shall, apart from Mauritius and the Malay Straits, show the heaviest death rate among all the colonies importing indentured labour."[37] With mortality rates of 60 per thousand for males and 55 per thousand for females on a population of 2,000 during the past year,[38] Tongaat, like Esperanza, therefore represented a convenient target in a bid to lower the death rate for the whole colony as quickly as possible.

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[28] Deposition by R.N. before Protector, 19 January 1895, I 101/95, deposition by S before Resident Magistrate Howick, 26 August 1895, I 1200/95; Sergeant Abraham to Acting R.M. Inanda, 22 November 1895, I 1654/95; Managing Director Kearsney Tea Estate to Protector, 26 August 1901, I 1386/01; Protector to Managing Director Illovo Sugar Company, 19 July 1910, I 1619/10, N.A.

[29] Commission: Esperanza, evidence of Lidstone, C.S.O. vol. 2854, N.A.

[30] *Ibid.*, Protector's address, p. 1.

[31] *Ibid.*, evidence of Godwin, Manager of Barrow Green Estate and evidence of R.C. Hawkesworth, a member of Hawkesworth Bros., C.S.O. vol. 2584, N.A.

[32] Tinker, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 204.

[33] See, for example, Protector's Report 1890, p. 37, I 305/90, or M.O. Lower Umzimkulu Report 1890, I 298/90, or M.O. Avoca to Protector, 10 August 1906, I 2015/06, N.A.

[34] Commission: Esperanza, Protector's evidence, p. 1, C.S.O. vol. 2854, N.A.

[35] Annual Medical Reports 1890, I 1298/90, N.A.

The investigation of Tongaat concentrated on housing rather than overwork. The Health Officer for the Colony attributed much of the disease on the estate to the location, design, and construction of the barracks, and the fact that their intrinsic faults were compounded by failure to carry out essential repairs. The barracks were, wherever possible, located on land which was unsuitable for agricultural purposes. Often this meant that they were sunk into a steep hillside, or an area where the sub-soil water level was abnormally high, or even a semi-swamp where pools of stagnant water collected on the surface. In all of these cases water percolated through the floors at least when it rained, and possibly for some time after a rainfall. In the last case, malarial mosquitos were added to the more generalized health hazard produced by damp surroundings. The construction of the barracks varied between grass and thatch, grass and iron, daub and iron, and brick and iron. They were usually arranged in rows of back rooms without window or chimney. The sloping roofs varied from 4-6 feet above ground level in older barracks, to perhaps 5-9 feet in newer. A single room housed two, or as many as 20, emigrants depending on its size. In either case it was likely to violate Section 8 of the 1901 Public Health Act which prescribed a minimum of 300 cubic feet of space per person in workmen's barracks. Roofs leaked, doors hung at such an angle that wind and rain had free access and, by the time that Tongaat was investigated, some of the grass huts were only months away from collapse. The estate did not provide latrine or refuse facilities, consequently the surrounding ground and water supplies were badly contaminated.[39]

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[36] See, for example, R.M. Inanda to Protector, 30 December 1897 concerning an assault charge to which Saunders pleaded guilty. He was cautioned and discharged. I 1525/97, N.A.

[37] Protector to Secty. Indian Immigration Trust Board, 15 August 1906, I 954/06, N.A.

[38] Report on Heavy Mortality in the Year 1906 among Indian Labourers on the Tongaat Sugar Cos. Estate (hereafter cited as Report: Tongaat) p. 1. I 954/06, N.A.

Similar though less detailed examples of failure to provide contract standard housing are found in annual medical reports from the various circles. To take a few other instances, in the reports for 1900 the M.O. for Nottingham Road (an up-country farming district) condemned the poor standard of housing in his circle as a causal factor in tubercular diseases, the Umzinto M.O. complained of contaminated water supplies, and the Stanger M.O. commented on the insanitary state of most of the barracks in his circle.[40] Not all housing was ever that bad, but as late as 1912 barracks were still being condemned and scheduled for evacuation,[41] as happened with many of those on Tongaat[42] and Esperanza[43] in 1906.

Medical statistics confirm the general trend which is beginning to emerge from the discussion of living and working conditions on the estates. That is to say that the labourer's terms of contract were systematically and severely abused, and that these abuses were contributory if not direct causal factors in abnormally high disease and death rates. A few examples taken from a single year are sufficient to corroborate this contention. The examples have been drawn from the annual Medical Reports for a year during which the death rate of 16.2 per thousand happens to have coincided almost exactly with the mean average rate for the period 1876-1911. In 1890 approximately 55 per cent of all deaths in the Stanger Medical Circle were caused by intestinal diseases or diseases of the respiratory system. The comparable figure for Avoca was 45 per cent, for Verulam 60 per cent, for Isipingo 30 per cent, for Umzinto 95 per cent, and for Estcourt 100 per cent.[44] Moving forward 16 years, little has changed. Some 66 per cent of the fatalities on Tongaat during 1906 resulted from malarial fever or intestinal diseases.[45] The first point to bear in mind here is that the primary enabling factor in the high incidence of disease was the general debility of the labourer which resulted from overwork and malnourishment. The second point, to quote medical testimony from the investigation of Tongaat, is that "the principal diseases of coolies in Natal are eminently preventible, and they will disappear or to a large extent decrease when the conditions which produce them are removed."[46] It has already been noted that malaria occurred when barracks were located in a mosquito-infested area. Generally its incidence was not high in the coastal belt. Intestinal diseases, however, were a major problem on all estates. Yet, their obvious causes, most of which were mentioned in connection with Tongaat, were ignored until the sudden need to lower mortality figures produced an official flutter of preventive measures aimed at protecting water supplies and barrack surrounds from contamination by the human waste which provided breeding grounds for intestinal diseases. In 1908, for instance, the Health Officer of the Colony served 32 owners or managers with orders to provide proper latrine facilities for their labourers. The fact that most recipients of the order not only ignored it, but seemed to regard it, to quote the Health Officer, "as a fad of this Department,"[47] is an excellent testimony to a lengthy history of official neglect. For different reasons, venereal diseases had been the object of an earlier wave of official concern. They were more-disabling than intestinal infections and equally, if not even more, widespread.[48] Preventive measures in this instance began in the mid-nineties with stricter medical inspection in India.[49] Women, and particularly family women, were so reluctant to emigrate[50] that recruiters and Agents had hitherto taken whoever they could get in an effort to meet the Government of India's requirements concerning the composition of the labour force. Less disease was imported into the colony after the institution of a system of special inspection and certification by licensed female medical practitioners.[51] This was followed up in Natal by attempts to trace and treat infected persons with whom labourers were likely to come in contact.[52] No attempt was made however to check the root cause of high rates of venereal disease: the promiscuity which resulted from a male-female ratio of 5:2. In fact, a little later in this discussion an attempt will be made to assess the extent to which promiscuity was encouraged by employers and officials. Phthisis, a lung infection which occurred mostly among miners,[53] was another disease which sprang suddenly into prominence during the preoccupation with mortality figures after 1902. In fact, it was phthisis that drove the colonial death rates up, one of the results of which, paradoxically, was the long overdue investigations of Esperanza and Tongaat which brought to light the other diseases that flourished in their crowded and insanitary barracks. Phthisis itself was dealt with mainly by early detection and repatriation of invalids[54] whose deaths, therefore, were recorded in India rather than Natal.

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[39] Report: Tongaat, descriptions of no. 1 Mill Barracks, "L" Barracks, "B" Barracks and Ramsamy Barracks, I 954/06, N.A.

[40] Annual Medical Reports 1890, I 1298/90, N.A.

[41] Protector to W. Starr, Buckhurst Estate, 19 June 1912, I 1699/12, N.A.

[42] Report: Tongaat, p. 1, I 954/06, N.A.

[43] Commission: Esperanza, Protector's Evidence, p. 1, C.S.O. vol. 2854, N.A.

[44] Annual Medical Reports 1890, I 1298/90, N.A.

[45] Report:Tongaat, p. 1, I 954/06, N.A.

[46] *Ibid.*, annex. B, memo by Dr Ross on "The Arrangement of Coolie Locations."

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[47] Report of Health Officer for Colony, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1908, p. 25.

[48] See, for example, Protector's Report 1889, pp. 37-38, I 305/90; Durban Annual Medical Report and Avoca Annual Medical Report 1890, I 1298/90. N.A.

[49] Secty. Indian Immigration Trust Board to Protector, 11 June 1895, I 605/95, N.A.

[50] Natal Emigration Agent to Calcutta Protector of Emigrants, no. 1222, 19 August 1895, I 1371/95, N.A.

[51] Specimen certificate testifying that female emigrant is free of venereal disease, signed by diplomaed nurse and midwife, I 703/01, N.A.

[52] See, for example, Isipingo Medical Report 1901, I 599/31, or Durban Medical Report 1890, I 1298/90, N.A.

[53] Cf. I 162/06 and I 3557/06 which contain, respectively, lists of phthisis cases from Glencoe (a mining district) and Verulam, Avoca, Isipingo, and other agricultural districts.

The various attacks on specific diseases were ineffectual from the point of view of improving general standards of health. There was little attempt to alter the widespread conditions in which all of these diseases were rooted. Thus the incidence of a particular disease may have decreased, but others took its place, as the table of mortality figures clearly shows. The question of death, as opposed simply to illness, raises a final brief question respecting conditions on certain estates: the imbalance between disease rates and mortality rates. It has been suggested that the breaches of contract which occurred on Esperanza and Tongaat were widespread, and that it was a rare agricultural labourer who did not live a sub-contract, if not sub-minimal, existence. Some further explanation is therefore required for the exceptional fatality levels which were reached on the two estates which have been considered in detail. Evidence from Esperanza, Tongaat, and the Clifton Tea Estate, which had an equally high death rate, suggests not that there was more disease on these three estates, but that there was less treatment. On each of these three estates, labourers were prevented as far as possible from seeking necessary medical attention.[55] On Esperanza, at least, the boundary between fitness and unfitness to work was crossed only when a man was too ill to stand up.[56] It must be re-emphasized however that the presence or absence of this final abuse did not mark the difference between employers who exploited their labourers beyond the terms of contract and employers who did not. It simply marked the difference between degrees of additional exploitation, for there is a solid weight of evidence in the Protector's files to suggest that the overwork, malnourishment, and squalid living conditions which are well documented for Esperanza and Tongaat formed the pattern of daily life throughout much of the agricultural sector.

Given the harshness of living and working conditions outlined above, two questions are immediately raised. The first of these is, how was the labourer kept at work? The second is, was he completely unresponsive to the situation, or did he attempt to manipulate it to his advantage in any way; and, if he did, can he be said to have become politicized in so doing? The answer to the first question is to be found in the oppressive layers of formal and informal controls which were exercised by employers, officials, and even certain elements in the free Indian community. Clearly, the answer to the second question, which seeks to explore the possible existence of responses, is already implicit in a discussion of controls. Controls are necessary to contain responses and to mould them into a shape which will not present a challenge to the system. Thus, the two questions are closely related: responses, or the threat of responses, elicit controls, which shape future responses, and so it goes. For the purposes of analysis however, the two questions will be roughly separated, starting with a brief discussion of controls.

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[54] See, for example, list of indentured labourers in collieries, 1906, I 3422/06, N.A., or Protector's Report 1911, Part IV in Gov. Gen. to Col. Sec., S. Africa No. 350, 5 June 1912, C.O. 551/19319. P.R.O.

[55] Commission: Esperanza, evidence of Renaud (overseer, Esperanga Mill, 1887-1894); evidence of Mellon (overseer, Esperanza Mill, 1884-1890. 1896-97, 1899-1900), C.S.O. vol. 2854, and Report: Tongaat, p. 1, I 954/06, and Report by Health Officer concerning excessively high death rate on Clifton Tea Estates, 26 October 1906, I 3581/06, N.A.

[56] Commission: Esperanza, evidence of Mellon, C.S.O. vol. 2854, N.A.

Broadly speaking, informal controls are here taken to mean the use of palliatives and official attitudes towards them. The palliative need not be officially instituted, or even encouraged at the official level, in order to rank as a mechanism of social, or informal control. Bearing in mind that, by definition, a palliative acts as a counterpoise to a carefully inculcated work ethic, then official awareness of its use, and tacit approval of that use, offers sufficient cause to posit the notion of control.

Alcohol was probably the most highly favoured palliative of the Natal indentured labourer; certainly, it was the most easily obtainable. Labourers were permitted to circulate without pass in a two mile radius around the estate. Within that radius, there was probably a small township, and each of these townships had its canteens or other licensed outlets for liquor. For instance, in 1906 when Umzinto catered to an indentured population of around 1500, there were four or five canteens in the village.[57] Some estates even issued tots of rum to their labourers.[58] The widespread use of alcohol had its disadvantages of course. A close reading of the magisterial records suggests that as many as 10 per cent of criminal cases brought against indentured labourers were for drunkenness.[59] A successful charge was likely to result in three-seven days in jail. Nevertheless, not only employers, as we have just seen, but a variety of officials who had an interest in the smooth running of the system, countenanced, or encouraged, the use of alcohol. In 1890, for example, the Umzinto M.O. commented on the number of intoxicated Indians who littered the roadsides around the village on a Sunday. He was not concerned with the possible long-term effect that a steady consumption of high proof alcohol might have on their health, or even their ability to work, but rather with the short-term debility which might result from being wheeled back to the estate in a barrow by a careless African constable. His only suggestion was that the barrow might be replaced by a stretcher.[60] Again in 1890, the Protector claimed in support of the easy availability of alcohol, that "the labouring class of the Hindoo and common Madrasees look upon their toddy as one of the few comforts they possess; in fact spirits have been described as being to them almost a necessary of life."[61] And, in 1893, R. Garland, speaking in the Legislative Assembly, approved the Indian presence in Natal on the grounds that the colony derived £20,000 a year from the sale of rum to indentured labourers.[62] This was something of an exaggeration, because rum was not consumed only by Indian labourers, whether indentured or free. However, Garland was defending sugar interests in general and the point to note here is that, even leaving aside the notion of control, the production of spirits for a captive market as a time-honoured means of dealing with molasses, the principal by-product of sugar production.[63]

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[57] Commission: Esperanza, evidence of Rouillard, C.S.O. vol. 2854, N.A., See also evidence of Aboobaker Amod and Ceorge Mutukistna, *Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission, 1885-1887*, Pietermaritzburg, 1887, pp. 194, 199, on easy availability as a factor in encouraging the abuse of alcohol.

[58] Shankeranand Swami to Nalal Col. Sec., 6 January 1910, C 19/1910, N.A.

[59] See, for example, return of Umlazi criminal cases for May 1890, I 579/90, or return of Klip River criminal cases June 1889-June 1890, I 704/90, N.A.

Narcotics also appear to have been widely used among indentured labourers. In the mid-eighties, for instance, it was estimated that 20 per cent of the population in the Pietermaritzburg Medical Circle smoked *dakka* in excessive amounts.[64] In 1890 both the M.O. for Lower Umzimkulu and the M.O. for Verulam commented casually on the fact that opium and *dakka* were still widely used.[65] In 1899 the Nottingham Road M.O. made a similar observation.[66] *Dakka*, at least, was not hard to come by. A native hemp known locally as *insangu* grew freely in the rural districts. It yielded a narcotic much like that derived from *cannabis indica*[67]. And, in Umzimkulu, Pietermaritzburg district, and perhaps elsewhere, cannabis was actually cultivated by the Indians.[68] Nothing is known about the source of opium, however, except that, as with *dakka*, neither employers nor officials concerned themselves about the fact that it seems to have been readily obtainable. Medical records reveal occasional deaths from both narcotic and alcohol poisoning.[69]

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[60] Annual Medical Report Umzinto Circle, 1890, I 1298/90, N.A.

[61] Protector's Report (supplementary), January-June 1891, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1890-1891, p. A 136.

[62] *Natal Witness*, 2 May 1894.

[63] Cf. van Onselen, C. "Randlords and Rotgut," *History Workshop Journal*, 2, pp. 34-89, for parallel cases of dealing with agricultural surplus by the production of spirits.

[64] Report on the use of dakka, *Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission, 1885-1887*, Pietermaritzburg, 1887, pp. 6-8.

[65] Annual Medical Report for Lower Umzimkulu 1890, I 1298/90, N.A., and Protector's Report 1890, Natal Departmental Reports, 1890-1891, p. A58.

[66] Protector's Report, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1899, p. A40.

[67] *Natal Official Handbook*, 1886, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[68] Annual Medical Report Lower Umzimkulu 1890, I 1298/90, N.A., and Report on the use of dakka, *Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission, 1885-1887*, Pietermaritzburg, 1887, pp. 6-8.

If drugs and alcohol offered a subjective escape from a harsh reality, moneylending, "pools," and gambling helped make the reality more acceptable by holding out the possibility of an objective improvement in conditions. Again, however, official interest did not extend beyond observing that these activities were widespread and a constant source of trouble among the labourers.[70] Detailed information is therefore sparse. But available evidence suggests that organized usury was carried out by both moneylenders and Bombay merchants from the free Indian community with interest rates as high as two shillings and six pence in the pound per month.[71] The figures given in Table 2 for the Borough of Durban and the Magisterial Divisions of Inanda, Umlazi and Lower Tugela show that Indian trading activity was most heavily concentrated in the sugar belt where the Indian population was densest. And, within that area, the trade of townships such as Verulam, Richmond, and Pinetown was completely dominated by Indian merchants.[72] With their stock of condiments, cheap cloth and jewelry,[73] they created needs for the surrounding Indian population, both free and indentured, then extended credit for the fulfillment of these and other needs which will be discussed shortly. By contrast, "pools," or "chitties" as they were generally called, seem to have been organized by the labourers themselves. A group of, say, five would agree to donate ten shillings a month for five months to a pool. A draw every month provided one of the participants with £ 2:10:0d, but the unlucky stood to lose several months' wages.[74] The details of a particular double suicide case are illustrative of the type of problems which could arise from these sorts of attempts to augment a subsistence level income. The dead bodies of Sital Pargan and his wife were found hanging on Mount Edgecombe Estate on 21 October 1897. The Managing Director of the estate could find no possible reason for their deaths although, in his investigation, he discovered that the couple owed 20 shillings to one chitty, were owed seven shillings

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[69] See, for example, Protector's Report, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1895, p. A35, and Protector's Report 1899, "Return of Deaths from other than Natural Causes," I 305/90, N.A.

[70] See, for example, Deputy Protector's Report 1911, in Gov. Gen. to Col. Sec., S. Africa no. 350, 5 June 1912, C.O. 551/19319., P.R.O.

[71] See, for example, evidence of George Mutukistna and Telucksing, *Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission, 1885-1887*, Pietermaritzburg, 1887, pp. 193, 200; Protector to R.M. Klip River Division, 24 June 1890, I 540/90; Dr Edward Nundy to Natal Col. Sec. 8 December 1905, C 112/05; Protector's Report, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1908, p. 11, N.A.

[72] Comparative Table showing the number of licenses issued to Indian traders in the years 1899 and 1904 in certain towns in Natal, and precis of replies received to Confidential Circular Letter no. C 49/04, L.G. 97/2, T.A.

[73] See Ramsamy's letter to editor of *African Chronicle*, published on 1 August 1908, for description of goods typically sold in Indian stores.

[74] Managing Director Mount Edgecombe to Protector, 22 December 1897, I 1502/97, N.A; Protector's Report, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1904, p. 16.

TABLE 2

RETURN OF TRADING LICENSES ISSUED TO INDIANS IN NATAL DURING THE YEARS 1895 to 1908*

Boroughs	*1895*	*1896*	*1897*	*1898*	*1899*	*1900*	*1901*	*1902*	*1903*	*1904*	*1905*	*1906*	*1907*	*1908*	*Remarks*
Pietermaritzburg City											109	105	93	82	Not possible to furnish returns prior to 1905
Durban							387	459	368	457	408	389	421	319	Not possible to furnish returns prior to 1901
Newcastle				8	8		13	27	23	23	21	16	16	14	No record 1900 and prior to 1898
Ladysmith	23	24	23	22	22	25	27	25	26	35	29	31	26	26	
Dundee				18	16	12	13	28	21	18	16	15	16	15	Township established in 1897
Townships															
Greytown				6	8	8	8	6	6	6	6	4	4	4	Township established in 1897
Verulam	20	22	18	22	18	19	21	22	19	20	19	18	16	16	
Estcourt											5	18	13	9	Township established in 1905
South Barrow															Nil
Charlestown														7	
Vryheid															Nil
Utrecht											1				

*G 374/1908, N.A.

TABLE 2 (*Contd.*)

Magisterial Divisions															
Pietermaritzburg City															See City and Boro. of P.M. Burg
Umgeni						19	26	29	32	22	27	31	34	30	
Camperdown										19	13	12	13	10	
Lions River	10	13	13	12	15	21	23	20	19	20	22	20	20	17	
Richmond	10	12	15	14	12	13	13	16	18	16	15	14	15	14	
Ixopo	1	1	1	2	2	3	5	5	5	3	3	3	3	3	
Polela	4	1	4	4	4	3	5	5	3	3	4	5	5	5	
Underberg															Nil
Impendhle	1	3	6	5	4	3	2	2	2	2	4	4	5	5	
New Hanover		3	7	5	3	5	6	8	10	9	10	11	7	8	
Bergville										5	6	5	3	3	Record prior to 1904 cannot be found
Umvoti	13	9	15	12	44	9	12	13	14	15	11	9	9	9	
Estcourt	23	28	33	28	26	28	33	35	38	30	27	18	16	16	
Weenen	4	7	11	8	6	6	7	12	11	7	10	10	10	9	
Krantzkopf		1	3	4	2	2	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
Klip River										22	24	19	4	4	Records prior to 1904 cannot be found
Newcastle	28	31	38	34	15	12	10	27	59	51	22	30	53	38	
Umsinga						10	11		8	11	16	4	11	7	Records for other years destroyed by fire

Dundee	57	74	77	44	38	11	15	29	33	27	27	33	34	31	
Durban															See Boro. of Durban
Umlazi	91	99	106	114	124	128	135	139	155	162	155	156	136	117	
Inanda	85	101	119	122	98	97	110	106	100	105	104	116	99	79	
Lower Tugela										104	113	88	94	77	Records prior to 1904 cannot be found
Indwedwe															Nil
Mapumulo					1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Alexandra	18	25	25	24	25	27	26	26	23	19	26	24	24	19	
Alfred	4	8	7	8	7	7	7	8	8	7	7	7	7	7	
Lower Umzimkulu	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	3	3	3	
Utrecht															Nil
Vryheid															Nil
Paulpietersburg										1	1	2	2		
Bahanango												2		1	
Ngotshe															Nil
Totals	393	464	523	520	461	472	923	1056	1009	1225	1269	1226	1216	1008	Grand Total 11,765

and six pence from another, and owed a further 20 shillings to a local Bombay merchant.[75]

Women were the most sought after luxury commodity on the estates and, in some cases at least, the most cynically manipulated by employers and officials. It was known at the official level that traditional marriage ceremonies between indentured workers were conducted by Brahmans,[76] and these marriages could be, and often were, registered by the Protector, as were the marriages of newly arrived couples.[77] Adultery was evidently so seriously viewed by the labourers that Protector and Magistrates found it necessary to deal, relatively, very harshly with offenders.[78] It was known too that in some cases traditional sanctions were also applied against adulterors.[79] Nevertheless, officials and employers played on and encouraged the promiscuity which resulted from the imbalance in the male-female ratio. Single women were treated almost as chattels, and even marriage was regarded with contempt in some quarters. The Protector himself stated in 1901 that a certain percentage of women were necessary "for the convenience and comfort of the men in connection with their household arrangements etc. etc . . thus the men are kept together on the estates which would not [otherwise] be the case."[80] The Protector also permitted collaborators, who will be discussed more fully in a moment, to choose women from batches or new arrivals.[81] One M.O. spoke of the "so-called" marriages of coolies,[82] and another, fresh from England, described the "wholesale whoring" which resulted from women being supplied to the estates.[83] A puzzled employer whose five male labourers, not surprisingly, fought fiercely over his single female employee, demanded to know exactly what was the relationship between these women and men: "are they their wives," he asked, "or are they to put it mildly for the use of all?"[84]

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[75] Managing Director Mt. Edgecombe Estate to Protector, 21 October and 22 December 1897, I 1502/97, N.A.

[76] Protector's Report 1890, I 305/90, N.A.

[77] Some of the marriage registers survive in the Natal Archives.

[78] The normal punishment was £10 fine or 30 days hard labour. See, for example, return of Inanda criminal cases, May 1897, I 815/97, or return of Inanda criminal cases October 1897, I 1500/97, N.A. See also evidence of Abubaker Amod and Telucksing on labourers' attitudes towards adultery, *Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission, 1885-1887*, Pietermaritzburg, 1877, pp. 192, 195.

[79] Statements of Venkatesan, Sankadu and Santharim before Natal Police (Umzinto), on 19 June 1897, I 736/97, N.A.

[80] Protector to Principal Under Sec., 1 February 1901, I 720/01, N.A.

[81] See J.B. Aiken to Protector, 16 May 1890, C. 3124/90, or R.C. Kessler to, Protector, 14 December 1895 and Protector's pencilled notation on the letter, I 1430/95, N.A.

[82] Pietermaritzburg Annual Medical Report 1890, I 1298/90, N.A.

[83] Commissioner, Legion of Frontiersmen to Colonial Office, 15 April 1909, C.O. 179/12833, P.R.O.

[84] F.G. Richmond to Joseph Baines, M.L.A., 4 June 1901, I 960/01, N.A.

And, in some cases at least, women were routinely used to punish recalcitrant male labourers: on Esperanza a rebellious man would be moved to the opposite end of the estate from the woman with whom he had been living.[85] Thus a situation was created in Natal which permitted Europeans to believe that Indians were incapable of sustaining bonds of mutual affection or responsibility. This belief reinforced the cynical view of Indian women which derived initially from the fact that employers grudged the presence of potentially non-working Indians on the estates. And, out of this cynicism grew the level of control which was, perhaps, the most destructive of human dignity and human relationships.

Informal controls existed within, and were made possible by, a network of institutional, or formal, controls. Within the confines of the estate these formal controls were exercised by a hierarchy of individuals whose role and status was racially determined. The degree of complexity of the hierarchy naturally depended on the size of the estate. An estate with 100 or so labourers might have a European owner-manager, an overseer who was probably European, but may have been a Mauritian Greole with estate experience, and two or three sirdars, or gang bosses, who were inevitably Indian. A small farm would be run only by a European owner-manager and a sirdar. Large estates such as Esperanza were split into divisions controlled by European managers. Each division had its overseers—again, European or Creole—and its sirdars.[86] In every case however the most active level of control was the sirdar. Thus a knowledge of how and why the sirdari system functioned is the most useful tool to understanding how the estate labour force was controlled.

It is as well to begin with a brief description of some of the privileges which sirdars received in return for playing a potentially dangerous role as collaborator. Besides higher wages, the sirdar's most distinctive privilege was the right to bear a sjambok, or some similar means of violence. A good sirdar might be rewarded by receiving official permission to choose a woman for himself from a batch of new arrivals at the depot.[87] There is also sufficient evidence to suggest that sirdars and, indeed, even overseers and occasionally managers, expected to indulge in the indiscriminate sexual exploitation of women on the estate.[88] Sirdars were tacitly permitted to augment their income by illegal means. For instance, the extortion of money, or goods, was overlooked if the sirdar could find a convenient method of operating. Extortion might take the form of a direct levy, as in the case where labourers were "taxed" for moving into huts which they had been required to build for their own use.[89] Or, it might be indirect, as in the case of a sirdar who exchanged some fresh vegetable for a newcomer's ship's blanket.[90] Vegetables were grown on garden plots allotted by the estate. In theory these plots were cultivated in the labourer's spare time. It has already been noted how scarce a commodity that was, even in the growing season. Yet, sirdars were permitted to command that time for the cultivation of their own plots.[91] In the example given above, the sirdar was probably exploiting one labourer with the product of the exploitation of another. A little later in the discussion we shall see that the sirdar's extra-plantation privileges included, by and large, judicial sanction for the pursuit of his illegal plantation privileges, some of which have just been outlined.

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[85] Commission: Esperanza, evidence of Mr Renaud (overseer, Esperanza Mill, 1887-1894), C.S.O. vol. 2854, N.A.

[86] Impressions about the relationship between size of work force and complexity of authority structure are based on extensive reading in the Protector's files. But, see for example, Commission: Esperanza, passim, C.S.O. vol. 2854, or R.C. Kessler to Protector, 14 December 1895, 7 November 1895, I 1430/95, or evidence in assault charge laid by Mamunugadu of Ikwifa Estate, I 1511/97, N.A.

[87] See, n. 1, p. 19.

[88] See, for example, deposition of K. Appalsamy before Protector, 16 March 1895, I 418/95,

Individual sirdars come to the surface only in litigation brought by, or against, labourers. Even then, magisterial records or depositions made before the Protector often refer to the sirdar only by title, and not by name. But those cases where names do appear suggest that sirdars were appointed, when possible, on the basis of their being different from the labourers whom they supervised. The distinguishing feature may have been ethnicity, caste, or the sirdar's status in Natal.[92] One obvious intention in utilizing this pre-existing social distance was to draw a sharp line of demarcation between sirdar and labourers. This reduced the possibility of sirdar identifying with labourer, and also made the sirdar's special position readily recognizable by newcomers. Furthermore, if the sirdar was of higher caste than the labourer (or the estate equivalent, a free man), then the creation of a dominant-submissive relationship was greatly eased. This point is perhaps better illustrated by a failure than a success. A conflict situation arose on the Kearsney and Karkle Vale Tea Estates when a group of Telegu Baptists were confronted by sirdars who "say that they are gentlemen, and no-one greater than them. Sirdars have much caste distinction and therefore they treat and behave badly towards coolies by force."[93] There are two interesting points here. First, these high-

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or Protector to Col. Sec. 24 September 1906, I 6949/06, or T.F. Spencer to Protector, 29 January 1906, I 222/06, N.A.

[89] J.L. Hulett to Protector, 26 August 1901, I 1386, N.A.

[90] *Ibid.*

[91] See, for example, assault charges laid by Mamanagadu of Ikwifa Estate, 28 September 1897, I 1511/97, or deposition by Govindar before Protector, 27 December 1894, I 3/95, N.A.

[92] Both of the examples given in n. 1 (above) are relevant here. See also papers in connection with assault by one J.F. Bateman, overseer, and Venkatareddy, sirdar of Umzinto Estate, 13 March 1895, I 509/95, N.A.

[93] Indians at Karkle Vale and Kearsney to Protector, 21 August 1901, I 1386/01, N.A.

caste sirdars were evidently accustomed to a traditional submissiveness from their labourers. Second, although the Christians recognized a traditional Hindu authority-figure, they refused to submit to the sirdar on that basis. This type of opposition appears to have been exceptional though. Generally the sirdar's right to a collaborative role with its attendant privileges seems to have gone unchallenged.

Briefly, then, that is why the system operated. The actual mechanics of operation need even less description. It will be remembered that the sirdar's primary badge of distinction was the whip, or the stick. There is no evidence to suggest that physical force was routinely used, at least on the large estates. But there are so many instances of illegal floggings by sirdars, overseers, and even employers, that it is reasonable to conclude that the threat of force was ever present, and that the exact nature and extent of that threat was clearly understood by every labourer, and that this understanding was a key element in the maintenance of submissiveness. A few examples from different types and sizes of estates and farms are sufficient to illustrate the way in which an omnipresent threat of violence was maintained. On 13 March 1895 Chonan, a newcomer to the Umzinto Estate, was assaulted by a sirdar and a European overseer. On 25 September 1897 Mamunugadu, a male labourer on the Ikwifa Estate, was assaulted by a sirdar. On 25 October 1897, the male labourer Papaiah was assaulted on the Tongaat Estate by the joint owner. On 16 March 1895 a male labourer was assaulted on the Umzintu Estate by a sirdar. On 19 January 1895 a male labourer on the John Todd farm was assaulted by the owner. In December 1901 an elderly female labourer was assaulted by a sirdar on the Arde Estate. The list goes on throughout the period under review, and includes two cases of assault so brutal that they were brought to the attention of the Colonial Office.[94]

There are countless other examples in which, like those given above, illegal floggings were administered for minor failures to meet the demands made by the estate. These demands were concerned, generally speaking, with work, and an alternate or additional penalty for failure to fulfil them was the witholding of part or all of the means of subsistence. That is to say that most estates attempted to extract maximum productivity from their labourers by operating on a task work basis: receipt of the full monthly income was made dependent on a daily completion of the allotted task.[95] But, given the terms of contract, which allowed for rationing besides a monthly wage, all of the labourer's possible expenditures must be taken into account before the full force of the task work system can be appreciated. We have already seen that the crudest level at which this technique was applied concerned the rationing of women and children; and the indirect affect which this had on certain male labourers was noted. The amount of illness which prevailed on the estates has been pointed out, and it should be mentioned here that the labourer lost six pence for every day sick.[96] Since his average wage throughout the period of indenture was only about six pence a day, it is clear that illness was a costly business. In addition, male labourers forfeited one shilling a day for "unlawful absence" and females six pence, with provision for extension of the contract period if the amount to be forfeited exceeded the monthly wage.[97] Although at first glance this may seem to be a legitimate safeguard against desertion or absence without leave, we shall see a little later how easily a labourer's lawful absence could be turned against him to become unlawful absence. And, finally, it has also been observed that labourers were at least permitted, and sometimes encouraged, to acquire consumer-oriented habits. We have seen that at one level this ranks as a mechanism of control by allowing the labourer a certain measure of escapism. At a second and more fundamental level it contributes to control as one of several factors which reduces the labourer's income, possibly to the point of indebtedness. The impact of task work now becomes clearer. The labourer may no longer be faced with the simple choice of whether to attempt to complete a rigorous task, or to accept a reduction of wages. The choice may lie between task and prolonged and increased indebtedness, or task and feeding himself and his family, or possibly both. In any event, the choice is likely to lie between task and subsistence.

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[94] Papers in connection with assault by overseer Bateman and sirdar Venkatareddy of Vmzintu Estate, I 509/95; assault charges laid by Mamunugadu of Ikwifa Estate, I 1511/97; assault charges laid by Papaiah of Tongaat Sugar Cos. Estate, I 1525/97; deposition of K. Appalasamy before Protector, 16 March 1895, I 418/95; deposition of Rama Naiken before Protector, 19 January 1895, I 101/95; Resident Magistrate Verulam to Protector, 6 December 1901, I 2033/01, N.A; South African British Indian Committee to Col. Sec., 6 June 1907, and encl., & C.O. minuting, C.O. 179/24322; Gov. Gen. to Col. Sec., 4 December 1913, C.O. 179/41895 & Gov. Gen. to Col. Sec., S. Africa, Secret, C.O. 179/44186, P.R.O.

All of the mechanisms which have been described above served to enforce acceptance of unfavourable, and sometimes intolerable, conditions. The final series of controls was confronted by labourers who refused to accept, and who attempted to use the official channel for protest, a complaint laid before the Protector or Resident Magistrate. Each estate was visited annually by the Protector or his Deputy. Given the atmosphere of intimidation on the estates it is not surprising that complaints during the annual visits were rare.[98] The alternative course for the labourer was to leave the estate and seek a private interview with Protector or Magistrate, but here too there were obstacles to be overcome. A written ticket of leave was required for a journey more than two miles beyond the boundary of the estate.[99] Obviously, few labourers would risk asking for permission to complain. The usual practice would therefore be to leave the estate without a pass. But any police constable, or any person entitled to the services of an indentured labourer, or even any servant of such persons, could apprehend without warrant an Indian who had no written ticket of leave.[100] The labourer would then either be returned to the estate, in which case he would probably abandon his attempt to complain, or be taken before the Resident Magistrate and charged for absence without leave. In the latter case the victim had now become a criminal, and the usual penalty for this crime was seven days hard labour or a ten shilling fine[101] which, as we have noted, the labourer could ill afford. However, having paid his fine or served his sentence he was at least in the proper location to lay a complaint. The next major obstacle was the interpreter. Generally a fellow-Indian, who earned as much as £ 90 a year,[102] the interpreter did not scruple to increase his income by extorting money from the labourers whose dependence on him was absolute.[103] Having paid off the interpreter, the labourer finally submitted a deposition, but his problems were not yet over. If he was a seasoned hand, he would have ensured before leaving the estate that his witnesses were willing to testify. By this time, though, they may well have been bought off, or frightened off, by the sirdar, or overseer, or whoever the labourer was trying to bring charges against. Under these circumstances if the case ever got to court it would end in dismissal or acquittal.[104] Sometimes witnesses stood firm, though, or the plaintiff himself bore clear evidence of a brutal assault. In these rare cases, the accused was fined up to £ 10.[105] But even then, though the labourer had won the battle, the system won the war. In December 1901, for instance, a sirdar on the Arde Estate was fined

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[95] Protector's Report 1899, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1899-1900, p. A18.

[96] *Extracts from Laws and Regulations Affecting Indian Immigrants and Employers*, Durban, 1890, p. 5

[97] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

[98] It is only in 1908 that there seems to be evidence of the Protector's awareness that he was dealing with "a class of people who are often afraid to state their grievances." Protector's Report, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1908, p. 10.

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[99] *Extracts from Laws and Regulations Affecting Indian Immigrants and Employers*, Durban, 1890, p. 4.

[100] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[101] See, for example, return of Inanda criminal cases, October 1897, I 1500/97, N.A.

[102] Return of Officers in Government Departments, and Salaries, 1 July 1904, I 1653/04, N.A.

[103] See, for example, papers concerning complaint of Ramsamy and others against interpreter Howick Court, C 88/1902, or papers concerning allegations of extortion against interpreter Port Shepstone Court, C 15/1903, or Report of R.M. Umlazi Division on three charges of misconduct against court interpreter. C 19/1904, N.A.

[104] See, for example, H. Laroipierre to Protector, 7 January 1895, I 3/95, or Protector's Report 1890, which lists 4 charges of assault against employers or persons in authority, and one conviction, I 305/90, or Protector's Report 1899 which lists 55 charges and 14 convictions, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1899-1900 p. A16.

[105] See, for example, Protector to Col. Sec. 3 May 1895, I 624/95, or report by R.M. Weenen County, 28 August 1890, I 1326/90, N.A.

£3 for assaulting an elderly widow. As was usual in these cases, the widow was transferred to another employer. This was the sirdar's third conviction for assault within a month, but the question of removing him from his position was dismissed on the grounds that even one such example "would tend to undermine authority on the estates."[106] Throughout the entire period during which agricultural labour was used in Natal, official mechanisms of protection were mobilized on behalf of the agricultural labouring population in only a handful of cases. A rare employer such as Duncan McKenzie found himself temporarily banned from using indentured labour if, firstly, he practised systematic and extreme brutality and if, secondly, his labourers had successfully fought their way through the network of controls to make their condition known at the official level and if, finally and perhaps most importantly, he represented only a small, uninfluential concern.[107]

In the face of such a well-organized and repressive network of controls, the variety and intensity of possible responses is severely restricted. It was noted in the discussion of informal controls that labourers developed a number of responses which served to accommodate them to the situation either subjectively or objectively. This behaviour pattern fits into a category which might be called making the best of a bad job. An important response within this category which has yet to be mentioned was petty larceny. Criminal statistics are of little use in this instance since pilfering can be expected to have remained largely undetected. But although these cases which reached the courts may not in any way have reflected the extent of this response, they are of use in determining its nature. The vast majority of such cases suggest a specific response to deprivation of essential commodities in that they involved the theft of foodstuffs and firewood.[108] Malnourishment has already been discussed. Shortage of firewood was a frequent complaint among labourers,[109] many of whom may have been reduced to eating their food raw, as often happened to the 1,000 workers on Esperanza Estate.[110]

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[106] Resident Magistrate Verulam to Protector, 31 January 1902, I 2033/01, N.A.

[107] McKenzie, an up-country employer was banned from using indentured labour for 6 years after assaulting a labourer so badly that he "could scarcely stand upright," Protector to Col. Sec. 8 May 1889, I 510/89, and Protector to Col. Sec. 3 May 1895, 22 April 1896, I 624/95. Harry Marshall was banned when, after a £5 fine for repeated brutal assaults, he informed the Protector that the fine was "so disproportionate to the amount of the chastisement" that next time he was provoked by a labourer he would "give the culprit something to remember for years to come," Marshall to Protector, 5 November 1890 and Protector to Col. Sec. 7 November 1890, I 1211/90, N.A.

[108] For example, labourer Moorvan fined £1 or one month's hard labour for theft of two pieces of firewood, 8 May 1890, I 472/90, or any of the Umlazi returns of criminal cases which contain particularly high proportions of prosecutions for petty larceny by both free and indentured Indians, e.g. return for January 1890, I 152/90; return for March 1890, I 340/90, N.A.

[109] Labourers were expected to forage for firewood on Sundays. Sometimes they were not

The other major category which has still to be considered is the diametrically opposed alternative to accommodation, and that is resistance. For a number of reasons, many of which are already apparent, acts of resistance on the estates were usually individualistic, often of a type which did not require premeditation, and almost always ineffectual except from the point of view of providing momentary psychological release from an intolerable burden of frustration. So far as it is possible to judge from criminal records, the most widespread means of resistance which had these attributes was withdrawal of labour through malingering, absenteeism, or desertion. Even then, this type of resistance, which was generally labelled "refusal to work," was not by any means sufficiently widespread to challenge the system. In the nineties convictions for refusal to work averaged at least 50 per cent of total convictions in Inanda,[111] a magisterial division which held approximately 40 per cent of the indentured population.[112] But this figure (50 per cent) represented less than ½ per cent of the Inanda labour force.[113] A broader view becomes easier after the turn of the century when the Protector included the annual total of convictions for withdrawal of labour in his yearly report.[114] Withdrawals had increased substantially over the Inanda figures by the early 1900s, which may in part reflect the fact that the Protector's figures deal with both agricultural and industrial workers.[115] In any event, the proportion of the population engaged in this type of activity was still minimal: an average of approximately 4 per cent between 1900-1910.[116] These figures do not take

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even permitted to use what they could find on the estate, as in the case of Moorvan who was fined £1 or one month's hard labour for "stealing" two pieces of wood from his employer H.P. Harrison in May 1890, I 472/90, N.A.

[110] Commission: Esperanza, evidence of Mr Renaud (overseer, Esperanza Mill 1887-1894), and Protector's address, p. 4, C.S.O. vol. 2854, N.A.

[111] This figure is based on an examination of 36 monthly returns of criminal cases from within the period. The returns are included in the Protector's files.

[112] In 1891 the Inanda population was around 4,000. The figure for the whole colony was around 10,000. Annual Report of the R.M. for the Division of Inanda, 30 June 1890-30 June 1891, and Protector's Report 1890, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1890-1891, pp. B37, A44.

[113] Criminal statistics have been calculated as a proportion of the entire indentured population since the exact numbers of non-working females and minors are not available.

[114] In 1900 the Government of India demanded annual totals of convictions of indentured labourers. Princ. Under Sec. to Magistrates, circular no. 48/1900, I 387/01, N.A.

[115] Industrial workers were generally more resistant for a number of reasons which, unfortunately, cannot be gone into here, but most of which stemmed from the fact that there was less coercion in the industrial sector.

[116] Protector's Report, *Natal Departmental Reports*; 1900, p. A18; *ibid.*, 1901, p. 24; *ibid.*, 1902, p. 16; *ibid.*, 1903, p. 16; *ibid.*, 1904, p. 17; *ibid.*, 1905, p. 15; *ibid.*, 1906, p. 17; *ibid.*, 1908, p. 16.

full account of desertions. The ex-indentured community in both the sugar belt and, more particularly, the frontier with the Transvaal, provided opportunities for a deserter to remain undetected.[117] Thus prosecutions for desertions do not necessarily reflect the rate of desertion. Again, though, this means of resistance was never practised by a significant proportion of the population: an average of approximately 0.6 per cent in the years between 1890-1901 for which figures are listed.[118]

Destruction of estate property is another type of resistance which emerges in criminal records, but its incidence is so low as to be hardly worth mentioning. It was kept in check by severe penalties for even such low key "destruction" as ill-treating estate oxen through negligence.[119] The labourer was more prone to work out his aggressions in brawls and fist-fights with his fellow labourers.[120] It is significant that except during the 1913 general strike, which presents a special case involving extraneous factors, the Natal workers never seem to have followed the classic pattern of resistance on sugar estates, burning the cane.

In the pitifully limited range of options which presented themselves, suicide represented not just the final, but the only, act of resistance for many labourers. Of the 11 who took their own lives between June 1894-June 1895, for instance, six were new arrivals.[121] The suicide rate fluctuated somewhat from year to year, but it was always high: 66 per 100,000 of the indentured population between June 1894-June 1895, 90 in 1899, 76 in 1903, 59 in 1904, 60 in 1905.[122] For the most part officials could find no satisfactory explanation for these high figures. In 1899, for example, the Protector concluded that "jealousy, no doubt, amongst the Indians, is the primary cause accountable for many of these unfortunate deaths."[123] Statistics suggest that nearly all suicides hanged themselves. What is far more likely is that only hangings were unequivocally recognized as acts of self-destruction. Had investigation been thorough there seems little doubt that many of the allegedly accidental deaths by burning or drowning would also have emerged as suicide.

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[117] In 1894 the Deputy Protector reported that many unapprehended deserters were known to be in Johannesburg. They avoided the Indian police on the line of rail by crossing the border on little-used roads. Protector's Report, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1894, p. A18. By 1895, illegal border crossings were known to number upwards of 35 per month. See, for example, District Superintendent Natal Government Railway, Newcastle, to Protector, 11 February 1895, 12 March 1895, 22 April 1895, 22 July 1895, 17 December 1895, in I 209/95, I 380/95, I 548/95, I 1040/95, I 1799/95, N A.

[118] The Protector's statistics are incomplete to 1901, after which desertions are not listed at all. See Protector's Report, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1890-91, p. A46; *ibid.*, 1892-93, p. A35; *ibid.*, 1893-94, p. A35; *ibid.*, June-December 1895, p. A66; *ibid.*, 1897, p. A10; *ibid.*, 1898, p. A9; *ibid.*, 1899, p. A17; *ibid.*, 1900, p. A18; *ibid.*, 1901, p. 24.

[119] In October 1897 a labourer in Inanda was fined £5 or 30 days hard labour for this crime. Return of Inanda criminal cases, October 1897, I 1500/97. N.A.

[120] In 1912, for example; there were 33 convictions for assaults on other labourers and 36 for "insolence to employers and injury to property", Protector's Report 1911, part XVII, in Gov. Gen. to Col. Sec., S. Africa no. 350, 5 June 1912, C.O. 551/19319, P.R.O.

[121] Protector's Report, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1894-1895, pp. A9-10.

[122] Protector's Report 1899 (unnumbered pp. listing causes of death), I 305/90, N.A.; Protector's Report, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1894-95, p. A9; Protector to Col. Sec. 8 October 1906, I 3491/06, N.A,

Given a triple layer of oppression and exploitation by employers, officials and fellow-Indians, it comes as no surprise that group protest was rare and short lived. What is surprising is that it occurred at all. In all of the cases which have been examined in detail, the participants in a group protest either had pre-Natal links with each other, or else belonged to the same work unit or barracks on the estate. Pre-Natal links refers, almost exclusively, to shipmates. In the sudden dislocation from a familiar way of life, many labourers appear to have established firm friendships with a small group (four or five) of those who arrived in the colony on the same ship.[124] There is insufficient evidence to determine conclusively whether these friendships required the additional reinforcement of proximity during working or off-duty hours in order for the notion of joint protest to be conceived and carried out. But this requirement can safely be assumed. Except on Sundays, it would have been almost impossible for persons to maintain contact who were not in the same barracks or work-unit. It is thus likely that group action seldom, if ever, transcended the living and working units into which the estate labour force was broken down. Certainly, the Telegu Baptists who were mentioned earlier, and who arrived in the colony together,[125] offer the only example of group protest which involved labourers from different estates. It is significant though that less than 10 per cent of the Baptists participated in the protest[126] despite the strength of their pre-Natal links, which received constant reinforcement during weekly prayer meetings when all Baptists on the Hulett Estates were permitted to gather together.[127] In all of the cases which were examined, including the one above, protest took the form of a simple joint complaint to the Protector. Complaints were concerned exclusively with gross abuses of the contract such as frequent floggings, extra work being demanded after completion of task, Sunday work, or non-payment of wages.[128]

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[123] Protector's Report, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1899, p. A9.

[124] See examples given in n. 4, p. 30.

[125] J.L. Hulett to Protector 26 August 1901, I 1386/01, N.A. In 1904 another batch (133) of Telegu Baptists arrived in the colony. Protector's Report, *Natal Departmental Reports*, 1904, p. 13.

[126] In 1903 there were approximately 100 on the Hulett Estates. Rungiah, Rev. John, *First and Second Annual Reports of the Telegu Baptist Mission, Natal, South Africa*, Madras, 1905, p. 2. Ten of them participated in the joint complaint. Indians at Karkle Vale and Kearsney to Protector, 21 August 1901, I 1386/01, N.A.

[127] J.L. Hulett to Protector, 26 August 1901, I 1386/01, N.A.

Group protest, then, was so sporadic and so low-key that it did not present a challenge to the system, far less a threat; consequently it was as ineffectual as individual action. A particular case on the Tongaat Estate which, with 68 participants, represented an unusually large group protest, is illustrative of this point. The Protector accepted the justice of the group's complaint that they were overworked. But nothing was done about the complaint except to warn the Managing Director that he would face legal proceedings if it happened again.[129] Two final points are worth noting in an attempt to understand the factors which militated against sustained joint action. Firstly, whenever there were signs of the formation of a group, key members were immediately transferred to different parts of the estate, or even off the estate altogether.[130] Secondly, leaving the estate in "large numbers" (and it was left to the discretion of the Magistrate to decide what constituted a large number) for the purpose of making a complaint was an offense punishable by a fine of four months wages or two months hard labour, even in the event of the complaint being successful.[131] Put simply, the possible advantages to be derived from group protest were insufficient to counterbalance the certain disadvantages.

Dislocated from a familiar existence, and subjugated to a labour coercive system in which there was little room for even such basic human comforts as family life, the conditions for agricultural indentured labourers in Natal were generally harsh at best and inhumane at worst. Yet, in assessing worker responses, the most important points which have emerged are that accommodation far outweighed resistance, and that within the category of resistance, individual action far outweighed group action. Three major factors operated to determine the high degree of passivity. These were, the politically unsophisticated nature of the labourers, the collaborative role played by those in whom political awareness might have been expected, and the elaborate network of constraints on worker organization. Agricultural labourers failed to make demands on the system. It is unlikely that they even formulated demands. Conditions in the agricultural sector which should have encouraged the growth of political awareness were heavily outweighed by conditions which militated against politicization.

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[128] Labourers indentured to John T. Todd, depositions before the Protector, 19 January 1895, I 101/95; Sgt. Abraham to Acting Magistrate, Inanda, 22 November 1895, I 1654/95; Edwin Essery, Umhlali, to Protector, 12 November 1895, I 1585/95; Labourers indentured to Natal Estates Ltd., depositions before Protector, 25 July 1901, I 1232/01; Protector to Managing Director Illovo Sugar Estates Ltd., 19 July 1910, I 1619/10, N.A; *Indian Opinion*, 28 January 1911, 4 March 1911.

[129] Protector to E. Saunders, 28 November 1895, I 1654/95, N.A.

[130] See, for example, Deputy Protector's Report 1912, in Gov. Gen. to Col. Sec. S. Africa no. 174, 19 March 1913, C.O. 551/11530, P.R.O; Commission: Esperanza, evidence of Renaud (overseer, Esperanza Mill 1887-1894); R.C. Kessler, Polela, to Protector, 14 December 1895, I 1430/95, N.A.

[131] *Extracts from Laws and Regulations Affecting Indian Immigrants and Employers*, Durban, 1890, p. 6.

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Lower-Caste Peasants and Upper-Caste Zamindars in Bihar (1921-1925): An Analysis of Sanskritization and Contradiction between the Two Groups*

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This paper is based mainly on some government reports on peasants' retaliation against zamindars' oppression from 1921 to 1925 in Bihar. These reports are to be found in File No. 171 of 1925, Political (Special), Government of Bihar. They narrate instances of encounter (both violent and non-violent) between peasants of the Yadava, Kurmi, and Koiri castes and their zamindars who were upper-caste Hindus and Muslims. They describe *who* were the parties, along with their socio-economic background, and *what* were the manifest and latent causes that triggered off these confrontations. Hence they deserve attention even though the period covered is brief and the instances are relatively few.

Yadavas, also known as Goalas and Ahirs, were the most numerous caste in Bihar.[1] They were basically "cultivators of all kinds" and also "herdsmen and milkmen."[2] Kurmis and Koiris were also two "great cultivating castes of Bihar."[3] Each of these, being one of the ten most populous castes, had a sizeable strength.[4] Koiris particularly were known for being "skilful and industrious cultivators," the "best tenants," and "market gardeners of Bihar."[5]

During the period of five years covered by these reports both North and South Bihar, excluding the Chhota Nagpur area, were affected. Confrontations took place in 20 villages of the districts of Patna and Monghyr of South

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[1] W.G. Lacey, *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. VII, Bihar and Orissa, Part II, Tables, Government Printing Press, Patna, 1932, pp. 136-37.

[2] P.C. Tallents, *Census of India*, 1921, Vol. VI, Bihar and Orissa, Part I, Report, Government Printing Press, Patna, 1923, p. 294.

[3] L.S.S. O'Malley, *Census of India*, 1911, Vol. V, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, and Sikkim, Part I, Bengal Secretariat, Book Depot, Calcutta, 1913, p. 512.

[4] W.G. Lacey, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-37.

[5] L.S.S. O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers*, *Darbhanga*, Bengal Secretariat, Book Depot, Calcutta, 1907, p. 40; *Bengal District Gazetteers*, *Muzaffarpur*, Calcutta, 1907, p. 37; *Bengal District Gazetteers*, *Gaya*, Calcutta, 1907, p. 105.

Bihar, and Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur of North Bihar. The reports though written by government employees are not biased either in favour of zamindars or in favour of government officers. The reporters did not hesitate to point out when they found that an officer of the rank of S.D.O. had sided with the zamindars at Samastipur (then a sub-division of Darbhanga) against peasants without conducting a proper enquiry. The reports are given below and then will follow a discussion:

I

FILE NO. 171 OF 1925, POLITICAL (SPECIAL)

"The Goala movement first started in about 1914 but did not assume any significance till after the war when it received a fillip by the starting of the non-cooperation movement. Signs of the Goala movement in Bihar Sub-division were first prominent in February, 1921, in connection with some cases which were instituted against the *Goalas* by the Muhammadan Zamindars who were in the habit of taking ghee, curd, etc., from *the Goalas at rates lower than those which prevailed in the bazar. This the latter resented, and resolved not to supply the Zamindars any longer with commodities except at bazar rates.*

The resentment among the Goalas continued and they determined to reform their *social status so as to bring themselves on a level with the higher castes.* They held several meetings which were attended by Goalas from every part of the Patna Division and discussed various aspects of their religious and social position. At one of the meetings held at Muhammadpur they laid down certain instructions to be followed by their community, viz (1) to educate the children, (2) to stop early marriage, (3) to keep unity among themselves, (4) to herd cows, (5) *to use the sacred thread,* (6) to collect one anna per bigha from all the Goala cultivators and utilise the fund towards the education of their children, (7) to open shops of their own, (8) *not to do begari for zamindars,* (9) to do all their own requirements such as shaving, washing clothes, serving as midwives etc., (10) *not to commit theft,* and (11) *not to quarrel with each other as far as possible.* They also decided to discontinue the sale of *chipris* (cow-dung cakes), milk, curds, etc. except at the bazar rates to their landlords, and forbade their women-folk to hawk their goods from door-to-door as was the custom.

The landlords then started a counter or anti-Goala movement and sought the cooperation of the other high castes on the plea that *Goalas* had taken to wearing the sacred thread. The first meeting of the anti-Goala movement was held at Andhewas P.S. Silao in the middle of October, 1922, in the house of Maulvi Muhammed Wali, a zamindar. The organizer of this movement was also a Muhammadan (Maulvi Muhammed Masood of Marija), P.S.Silao, a *zamindar of some influence and a non-cooperation leader.*

The reprisals against the *Goalas* by the landlords were (1) *to deprive them of the Khud Kast Lands and to turn them out of their houses on the ground that the houses belonged to the landlords,* (2) refusal to allow their cattle to use the ordinary grazing grounds and to take water at the ordinary drinking tanks, and (3) complete social boycott, e.g., *banias* to refuse to sell, priest to perform religious ceremonies, *chamars* to bury dead cattle, *Chamains* to attend midwifery cases, barbers to shave, *kumhars* to supply earthen pots, *dhobis* to wash and *lohars* to make ploughs etc. The *Goalas* of Ben, Karjar, Aminganj, Ramganj, Andhewas, Maijra, Saura and Bora were completely boycotted, while *pattas* were issued from Ben to Shahpur in the zamindari of the Nawab of Husanabad to stop all social and domestic services to the Goalas of that place.

The effect of the anti-Goala movement was to give a further impetus to the *Goalas* to organize. They held meetings at Ekangar Sarai, Hilsa, Paithana, Maidi, Islampur and Silao and decided to establish shops as *banias,* perform religious duties relegated only to *Brahmans* and remove their dead cattle, etc. themselves of wearing (sic) the sacred thread in the Belsant, Paru and Shakra police stations.

The example of the *Goalas* of Patna and Muzaffarpur districts in wearing the sacred threads was followed by the *Goalas* of Darbhanga district, and this brought them into collision with the *Brahmanas and Babhans* resulting in a riot at Chak Salem village. The *Babhans* who disliked the idea of the *Goalas* claiming to be their equal assaulted a *Goala* girl and left her naked. She lodged a complaint *before the S.D.O. at Samastipur who dismissed it without enquiry.* Failing to secure redress from the courts, the *Goalas* decided to hold a Panchayat. In the meantime the Chak Salem *Babhans* decided to revenge themselves against the *Goalas* for lodging the complaint and they cut the fruit from the plantain trees of one of the *Goalas* of that village. They also burnt down one of their own houses with the intention of casting suspicion on the *Goalas.* The news of this reached the *Goalas' Panchayat,* who mustered their men to oppose the *Babhans,* looted mangoes belonging to a Babhan and beat another *Babhan* of the village. The *Goalas* paved into the neighbourhood from all sides and the *Babhans* who were outnumbered hired a force of about 300 mallahs to oppose them.

A serious riot was apprehended and the armed police had to be summoned. The mob were out of control and could not be pacified. The D.M. through the help of the Inspector of Police got into touch with the leaders of both parties and explained to them the folly of rioting and taking the law into their own hands. He pointed out that the question at issue between them was trivial and could easily be amicably settled. He also asked them to settle their differences in a rational manner by arbitration instead of by rioting and persuaded them to disperse which they did without further trouble occurring though a few individual cases of assault had occurred. This however was not the end of the movement which had established itself firmly in the *Goala* community. But after a lapse of some months, the ill-feeling between the *Goalas* and *Rajputs* manifested itself in the Sitamarhi Police Station in the district of Muzaffarpur. A *Goala* was asked by the Rajputs not to wear the sacred thread and on his refusal to do so he was assaulted.

The movement since then appears to have been dormant though still smouldering as is evident from recent riot at Lakho Chak in the Monghyr district.

They took to wearing the sacred thread and started carrying out their resolution in some places. In order to give effect to their resolutions they held a series of meetings in different localities within the jurisdiction of Hilsa, Ekangar, Sarai, Islampur, Bansuli and Silao thanas. At Bansuli an anti-*Goala* party also assembled in large numbers armed with guns, swords, lathis and accompanied by drummers under the pretext of defending themselves. There was a collision with the *Goalas* and the result was assault on a police head constable who was a *Goala*, some other *Goalas* and an old women.

The tenets of the *Goala* movement had however in the meanwhile spread to the other districts outside Patna and in the middle of 1923 it was brought to the notice of Government that in Muzaffarpur the annoyance caused to the higher castes by the determination of *Goalas, Koeris, Kurmis*, etc., to wear the sacred thread and to attach 'Singh,' 'Rai' to their names, had culminated in two riots in Shoohar and Belsand Police Stations. A crowd of about 1000 Rajputs collected at village Jahangirpur, P.S. Sheoha and damaged the crops belonging to the *Kurmis*. The *Kurmis* who were in minority did not venture to retaliate, but they attacked a small detached crowd of 40 to 50 Rajputs in which the Rajputs suffered, one being killed and another injured."

II

REPORTS ON THE RIOT AT KIUL BY D.I.G., BIHAR AND ORISSA

"*Motive of the riot*

The riot was between the *Babhans* and *Goalas*. The *Goalas* had convened a meeting which they claim was a purely social one. The *Babhans* intended to break it up ostensibly because the *Goalas* were conspiring to adopt certain privileges peculiar to the higher castes as for instance the wearing of the sacred thread. This was the ostensible motive. *The true motive is that there is a movement amongst the Goalas to resist certain exactions of their zamindars.* Many Goalas told me that from 7 to 15 days a month in Kartik and Bhado they have to plough for their zamindar without payment: that they have to sell them ghee at 6 seers to the rupee when the proper price is 10 Chatanks to the rupee, milk at 1 pice instead of 1 anna, 6 cow pats per cow free, and that they are not given rent receipts."

III

No. 1077, Dated 11th June, 1925 from J.D. Sifton, C. S. to Government of Bihar and Orissa to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department

"In continuation of my telegram No. 1009C dated the 2nd June, I am directed to make the following report on the riot which occurred in Monghyr district on the 27th May.

On the evening of the 26th May the local police of Lakhisarai thana were informed that an attack was contemplated by local *Babhan* Zamindars upon a panchayat of *Goalas* which was called for the morning of the 27th May at a village Lakho Chak to discuss *matters of caste improvement.* The local police sent information to the D.M. at Monghyr and proceeded to the scene of the intended riot. The Superintendent of Police started the same night from Monghyr with 17 armed police.

On the morning of the 27th, before the arrival of the armed police at Lakho Chak a large body of rioters advanced upon the village. The local police intervened to expostulate and were at once surrounded, the Sub-Inspector and Chaukidar received grievous injuries and the other constables of the party were hurt. After ill-treating the local police, the rioters retired temporarily but returned to the attack soon after the arrival of the S.P. with his force. The Superintendent and S.D.O. went out to meet advancing rioters and attempted to parley with them. The attacking party, however, to the number of about 3000 armed with lathis, axes and spears continued to advance and the police were forced to fire to protect themselves and the *Goalas.* Although temporarily checked by the fire, the *Babhan* party continued to advance as they outflanked the police on both sides, the police were forced to retire fighting to the village site three or four hundred yards to their rear. The retirement was effected in good order and after the defending party reached the village the rioters withdrew.

The same evening the D.M. arrived in person with a reinforcement of 32 armed police but no further attack was made nor has there been any subsequent disturbance in the district.

The Goala community in South Bihar for some time past has been agitating for the improvement of the social status of their caste and *pari passu with taking the sacred thread they have been proposing to refuse menial and other services hitherto rendered to their landlords. Apparently the local landlords resenting this collected a force in order to break up an important Panchayat of* the Goalas and there seems little doubt that but for the timely intervention of the police, the village of Lakho Chak would have been sacked and burnt and the members of the Goala Panchayat would have suffered severely."

IV

No. 108 CON. FROM S.A. KHAN, DIST. OFFICER, BHAGALPUR TO THE COMMISSIONER OF BHAGALPUR DIVISION. 7 JULY, 1925 "RE: THE GOALA MOVEMENT, ITS CAUSES AND CHARACTER."

"The *Goalas* are taken as *Shudras* and thus suffer from a lot of handicaps in the mofussil. As a class they do not wear the sacred thread, an emblem of high class and purity amongst the Hindus. They live by cultivation and very often work as field labourers for others. Man and woman of this class will readily sell milk, curd, ghee and cow dung at market places. They sometimes go about hawking in the bazars. Early marriages, illiteracy and drinking habits are very common. The movement is primarily directed against these social evils. Meetings are held at which members are asked to start wearing the sacred thread, give up early marriages, drinking and sending their women folk to sell things at markets. They are asked to believe that they are as closely connected to the Lord Krishna as other Hindu castes and should perform the Sradh ceremony on the 13th day like them and not on the 30th, like low castes, such as Dusadha, Mushars etc. So far the movement is purely social.

But there is one more aspect of it. The low caste Hindus generally do some kind of benign work for their landlords. *A people wearing the sacred thread are taken as respectable and are exempt form gratis services of this type. They would also take it to be very derogatory to work as daily labourers or even as hired ploughmen. It is here that the movement collides with the vested interests of the higher castes of Hindus.* A Goala after he takes sacred thread refused to do begari or even to plough up or weed the fields for his Rajput or Brahman landlords. The latter naturally is very much annoyed and would do anything to discourage the infection of reform amongst Goalas from spreading. The higher caste Hindus have made no secret of their feelings of resentment. Meetings have been held to condemn the movement.

The social boycott of Goalas has been advocated. Barbers and Brahman priests have been asked to stop serving the Goalas who take to the sacred thread. Abuses, taunts and jokes have been hurled on the Goalas. A printed leaflet in Hindi has been distributed. This is in verse and is sung by hired boys in the mofussil." (Italics author's.)

DISCUSSION

The "reports" cited above discuss broadly two points: first, the conflicts between upper-caste Hindu and Muslim zamindars on the one side and lower-caste peasants, particularly Yadavas, Kurmis and Koiris on the other, and secondly, the causes of such conflicts. There are, however, other sources also which throw light on such conflicts. M.N. Srinivas has also referred to the violent reaction of upper-caste men in North Bihar at about the same period against the Yadavas' attempt at Sanskritization. This violent reaction of the upper-caste men, according to him, was just for "maintaining the structural distance between different castes."[6] One of the sources for such a generalization by Srinivas is a short description of the activities of the lower-caste men contained in the *Census of the India Report* for 1921.

This *Census Report* records the following:

> . . .many of the lower castes have "Sabhas" or associations to promote their social uplift, some of them more or less spasmodic in their activities while others have regular articles of association. . . . But the most important and effective Sabha in the province is probably the *Gop Jatiya Maha Sabha* of the Goalas, or as they prefer to call themselves *Ahirs*, founded in 1912 and including members from the whole of the north of India is described as a "Pan Ahir Movement." Sessions are held once a year and are attended by several thousands of persons . . . . A considerable body of literature has accumulated in support of the claim of the Ahirs to Kshatriya origin and it is stated that "nothing less than Kshatriya position will satisfy it [the community]." In pursuance of this theory a number of Ahirs have assumed the sacred thread. This action on their part was originally resisted, particularly in North Bihar, by the higher castes such as the *Rajputs* and *Bhumihar* Brahmanas and led in some cases to violence and the criminal Courts. The *Ahirs* have also reduced the thirty days' *Shradh* or funeral ceremony prescribed for the Sudras to have twelve days of the twice-born. The resolutions of this Sabha also are directed against the drinking of liquor, child-marriage and such like. The interest shown by the higher castes in resisting the caste claims of the Ahirs has weakened . . . . The men of this caste refused to do *Begari* . . . for their landlords or to permit their women folk to attend the markets to sell milk and ghee.[7]

It is evident that the above does not contradict the reports cited earlier. It is only with regard to the cause of the Sanskritization and the resistance of the peasants that the two reports differ. The *Census Report* ascribes the attempt of lower castes at social uplift to the efforts of their respective caste sabhas. The reports under discussion emphasize the socio-economic oppression of the lower-caste peasants in general and Yadavas in particular by the zamindars of upper castes as the root cause. The latter seems to be more realistic as no appeal from any caste sabha against zamindars or upper-caste men would have invoked a response from its members unless they had been oppressed and exploited by the zamindars. Thus the socio-economic oppression seems to be the basic factor as indicated by the reports. The real motive behind the attempts of the Yadavas, Kurmis and Koeris at Sanskritizing themselves was to get rid of this socio-economic oppression.

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[6] M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, Allied Publishers, 1966, pp. 16-17.
[7] P.C. Tallents, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-37.

Studies on Sanskritization have focused mainly on models (Brahmanic, Rajput, etc.) and functions. The questions regarding *why* and *when* a caste chooses to Sanskritize itself have been dealt with by only some scholars such as Bailey and Hardgrave Jr. Bailey observes, "The acquisition of substantial wealth by the two Distiller castes led to investment in land, for land is still the best investment and without it a man has no prestige. They followed this by Sanskritizing their customs and rituals in order to raise their position in the caste system."[8] Similarly, Hardgrave Jr. writes:

> In the early nineteenth century new economic opportunities and development of transportation facilities had led to the migration of Nadar traders . . .up to the towns of Ramnad and Madurai. . . . Gradually acquiring wealth and power as traders and money lenders the Nadar community in Ramnad found an increasing gap between its low traditional social status and its rising economic position . . . . In an effort to achieve a social status commensurate with their new economic position, the Nadars began to adopt the attributes of the higher castes in the process of Sanskritization.[9]

Such observations can be summarized in a theoretical proposition, namely that economic prosperity leads to social status through Sanskritization. But in the case of Bihar, during the period under review, the cause of Sanskritization does not seem to lie in the economic prosperity of the Yadavas, Kurmis, and Koeris. Sanskritization was attempted here as a means to get rid of economic and social oppression. Further, such attempts were resisted stubbornly by zamindars and upper-caste men to protect their vested interests. The vested interests of zamindars and upper-caste men were clear, as the reports mention them in detail. The Yadavas and other lower-caste men used to do *begari* and other duties for zamindars as they were placed lower in the social scale. Their efforts to jump up the social scale threatened the economic and social interests of the upper-caste men and zamindars. It was for this reason that the latter became violent, and not to maintain the structural distance with lower castes in their capacity as "cultural watch dogs."[10] It may be pointed out that under this cultural cover of maintaining tradition, perhaps, the socio-economic vested interests of the upper-caste men and zamindars were responsible for such conflicts in India. However, in the case of Bihar this fact of vested interests working behind the violent reaction of zamindars and upper-caste men supports at least indirectly the above-mentioned observation about the motivation of peasants regarding Sanskritization. Thus, it was the economic and social oppression rather than the economic prosperity that led the peasants of lower castes in general and Yadavas in particular in Bihar during early 1920s to start the process of Sanskritizing themselves. (More or less a similar view was held by Harold A. Gould also earlier).[11]

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[8] F.G. Bailey, *Caste and the Economic Frontier*, Oxford University Press, 1958, p. VII.

[9] Robert L. Hardgrave Jr., *The Nadars of Tamilnad*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1969, p. 263.

[10] M.N. Srinivas, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

Another important point is that through these reports one gets some idea of a belief that prevailed among the peasants of lower castes in Bihar in early twentieth century. The belief was about the relationship between "caste" and "class" or economic status. Sufficient empirical data on earlier periods are not yet available. However, in the case of Bengal of the British period, Ramkrishna Mukherjee found out that economic hierarchy by and large corresponded to social hierarchy.[12] Bihar was for long a part of Bengal and therefore what was true for Bengal may have been true for Bihar also. The reports under discussion also support the finding of Ramkrishna Mukherjee and tell us more about the contradiction between upper castes (also upper class) and lower castes (also lower class).

According to the reports, peasants of some lower castes chose to Sanskritize themselves because they were socially and economically exploited and oppressed. It is not that they were oppressed for the first time. There are instances of their oppression by zamindars in earlier periods. The peasant's response to such oppressions used to be flight from their zamindars' territory[13] instead of retaliation. It seems that their anger against one zamindar whose territory they had to leave was counteracted by the shelter that they used to receive from another. Since land was available in abundance, shelter might not have been a problem and therefore the feeling of oppression perhaps could not be so intense as to compel them to organize any mass movement. The other theory is that Indian peasants were too docile to resist the oppression of their zamindars.[14] In Bihar, however, there were cases of sporadic disputes between zamindars and raiyats during the British period in which raiyats resisted the might of zamindars even without being led by anybody other than themselves.[15] But, it was during the 1920s that their retaliation was relatively wide-ranging, organized only by themselves, and to some extent successful too. In those retaliations, as mentioned above in the reports, it was caste orientation and not class orientation that dominated at the manifest level. This calls for an explanation.

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[11] Harold A. Gould, "Sanskritization and Westernization: A Dynamic View," *Economic Weekly*, Vol. 13, 24 June 1961, pp. 945-50.

[12] Ramkrishna Mukherjee, *The Dynamics of a Rural Society*, Akademi Verlag, Berlin, 1957, pp. 99-100.

[13] Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Asia Publishing House, 1963, p. 117.

[14] Barrington Moore Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Penguin Books, 1967, p. 330.

[15] C.J. Stevenson Moore, *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Muzaffarpur District (1892-1899)*, Patna, 1922, pp. 182, 184, 185, 194; J.A. Hubback, *Final*

As is well known, Bihar in the twenties of the present century was economically underdeveloped. Except for a limited number of places in the South Bihar region such as Jamshedpur and a few mining areas, there were practically no industries and agriculture carried on through primitive techniques was the sole source of livelihood for the overwhelming majority of the population. The zamindars dominated the rural areas because of their economic and often political influence. In other words, society was still in the precapitalist stage. According to G. Lukacs, ". . . class interests in precapitalist society never achieve full [economic] articulation. Hence the structuring of society into castes and estates means that economic elements are *inextricably* joined to political and religious factors."[16] Therefore, protection from socio-economic oppression in Bihar got "*inextricably*" bound with the promotion of caste interest, as is evident from the fact that lower caste-peasants felt that by Sanskritizing themselves they would enter the upper-caste fold, that is, they would also be in the class of oppressors and thus their own oppression would come to an end for good. It means that there was already a belief in their minds that upper-caste men were socially and economically dominant and therefore oppressive while they, being lower-caste men, were socially and economically oppressed and wretched. The belief that upper-caste men were of upper class (economic status) and lower-caste men of lower class and *the two in contradiction* was thus a social fact as was evidenced in the violent encounters mentioned in the reports. This belief probably grew stronger and the contradiction became sharper in course of time. The prevalence of this social fact can probably explain Swami[17] Sahaja-

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Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Shahabad (1907-1916), Patna, 1928, pp. 52-53.

[16] G. Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness*, Merlin Press, London, 1971, p. 55.

[17] Swami Sahajanand Saraswati wrote the following regarding his Kisan Sabha: "*Is Samaya to madhyam shreni ke aur bare bare khetihar hi adhikans me Kisan Sabha aur us ke kam ka sathi hain.*" See his book, *Maharudra ka Mahatandava*, Sitaramashram, Bihta, 1949, p. 11. Walter Hauser, in an analysis of the working of Kisan Sabha in Bihar, has mentioned that "Socially, the Kisan Sabha leadership was predominantly *Bhumihar* and there were also *Rajputs*, *Brahmins* and *Kayashthas* . . . . Economically, the Kisan Sabha leaders were primarily from landholding families. . . ." "The Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha, 1920-42: A Study of an Indian Peasant Movement," Unpublished Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1961, pp. 77-78. These observations make it clear that the Kisan Sabha organization in Bihar was virtually under the control of upper-caste landowners. Lower caste peasants' participation was very limited. Hauser holds the view (*ibid.*, p. 156) that the charismatic personality of

nand Saraswati's failure in drawing the lower-caste peasants to the fold of the Kisan Sabha movement in Bihar.

Swami Sahajanand was the sole mobilizing force and as his interests shifted the movement became ineffective. Thus the organizational leaders of the Kisan Sabha could not be accepted by the masses of lower-caste peasants as their leaders and consequently it seems that they (lower-caste peasants) could not identify the Kisan Sabha as *their* organization.

NOTE

Private Archives in the United Kingdom Relating to India and Problems in Consulting Them

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Researchers in Indian history wishing to consult private archival collections in the United Kingdom have to experience sometimes certain difficulties. The custodians of the private archives also have their own problems in allowing the use of their ancestral papers to the unknown individuals. If the interested researchers and the British archivists, more particularly, the India Office Library and Records, London, cooperate on some thought-out plan, it is likely that the present and future researchers may get more easy access to this important source material on Indian history. The National Archives of India also can perhaps play its role in this regard.

I shall first review the availability of private collections in the United Kingdom relating to India and the attempts that have been made in locating them and cataloguing their contents; and then proceed to discuss the difficulties involved in consulting them, and make some tentative suggestions in this regard.

It is well known that a large number of employees of the East India Company, the British administrators, businessmen, and travellers, etc., took home from India their papers in the form of diaries, correspondence, surveys, business accounts, etc., often containing valuable descriptive information and statistical data relating to economic and social conditions of the people of different regions of India of the seventeenth-nineteenth centuries. Although as a rule copies of all official correspondence and accounts of the East India Company were to be preserved as official documents at the administrative headquarters in India, or, sent to the East India House in London (and later, the India Office), this rule was not always, in each case, strictly adhered to. Thus, along with their private papers, a few of the British administrators in India, when they left office, also carried away copies of official correspondence to England. It is, however, gratifying to note that, in course of time, a number of these papers found their way to the Public Record Office, the India Office

Library and Records, the British Museum as also the county record offices, the university libraries and the city public libraries, etc. Nevertheless not all important documents are yet recovered.

WORK OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION AND THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF ARCHIVES

The Historical Manuscripts Commission was appointed as early as 1869 to collect information on private collections, and to publish such documents as seemed important for publication. The Commission was also to prepare calendars for documents available in the private collections and issue periodical reports on them. Thus, the Commission, through its over 200 volumes, has reported on more than 400 private collections and 200 corporate archival bodies. Since 1945, the Commission undertook a more comprehensive survey of private collections through the National Register of Archives. Mention must also be made here of similar bodies like the National Register of Archives (Scotland) and the Business Archives Council.

From the point of view of the researcher in Indian history, the more important reference work in this field is a cumulative catalogue entitled, *A Guide to Western Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles relating to South and South East Asia*, compiled by M.D. Wainwright and Noel Matthews, under the general supervision of J. D. Pearson (London, Oxford Univesity Press, 1965). The Guide catalogues the holdings of both public and private manuscript collections in the United Kingdom, but excludes the important collection of the India Office Library and Records. The Guide is, as stated in the Preface, "at best a compilation from catalogues prepared by many hands and can be no better than the sum of these catalogues; it justifies its existence only on the grounds that it brings into one place, for the first time, information that would otherwise have to be sought for in many places." Although the compilers of the Guide have tried to cover all the manuscript collections in the United Kingdom relating to South and South-east Asia, so far as private collections are concerned, their work, according to them, is not complete and exhaustive. In spite of all efforts to trace the private archives on this subject, it is felt by the compilers that a large number of them must have still remained undetected. Even where the private archives have been traced, not all the owners have agreed their addresses to be published in the reports of the National Register of Archives. Only where the owner was willing, the National Register could mention his address or that of his agent. And in other cases it is suggested and emphasized that the inquiries be first made to the National Register of Archives, or the Historical Manuscripts Commission or similar other relevant body, rather than directly to the owner. Bodies like the Historical Manuscripts Commission try to help the scholar in arranging introductions to use private archives. But it is stressed that under no circumstances the scholars should approach directly the owners of the private archives. For, it is feared that a large number of direct applications may prejudice the owners resulting in the denial of access even to genuine researchers. Therefore, the researcher is advised to write first in this regard to the Secretary, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, WC 2.

This is agreeable so far as it helps the researcher in getting introduction to the custodian of the private collection. But it should be noted here that the introduction does not mean that the owner then, as a matter of course, would necessarily allow the researcher the use of the archives. The possibility of a prejudicial negative decision cannot be completely ruled out at this crucial stage.

UNREPORTED ARCHIVES—A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

Sometimes a researcher has to face another type of problem. The name of the possible private collection in which he is interested may not have appeared in the reports or guides which he has consulted. He is also not sure about the existence of any archives of the family. Generally, under such circumstances, the Historical Manuscripts Commission can come to his aid. But in many cases one has to find out one's own way. Following is a brief account of a personal experience in this regard. It would, of course, be hazardous to make generalizations from an individual's single experience. But it is mentioned here since it was thought that it could possibly indicate a way for direct approach when the existence of the archives and the address of its owner or his agent was not known.

The present author was interested in collecting material relating to Sir Charles Warre Malet (1752-1815), the first British Resident at the Peshwa Court (1786-1796). The India Office Library and Records, London, have purchased from Sir Edward Malet, the great-great-grandson of Sir Charles, the latter's official diaries—106 volumes in all. But it appears that even when the purchase was made a few diaries were missing. Hence the IOLR collection of Malet diaries is not complete. Again, there were also some more important files of papers with the owner, which were not sold to the IOLR. *A Guide to Western Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles*, mentioned above, indicates only two other documents relating to Sir Charles Malet—both being in the British Museum (Warren Hastings Papers, Add. 29216; Wellesley Papers, Add. 13595).

In order to locate the missing volumes of the diaries and other important material (like the sketch of the Maratha history) certainly known to have been written by Sir Charles Malet, but not available at the IOLR or other public archives like the Public Record Office, it was decided to make inquiries with Sir Edward Malet himself directly. His address could be got from an official working in the IOLR. Some correspondence was entered into with Sir Edward who showed great interest in the research relating to his great-great-grandfather Sir Charles Malet. It is indeed gratifying to note that, as a result of this correspondence, Sir Edward and his wife cordially invited the author to their village in Somerset, and extended all cooperation to him in going through the large number of Malet papers available with them. It was a delightful surprise to the author to have discovered there, apart from important papers of his interest, a large collection of European-style sketches, drawings, paintings, wooden art works, etc., done by a contemporary Indian artist, namely, Gangaram Chintaman Navagire. The historians had come across his name, but nobody knew where his works might be ("or, were they all destroyed?") and here they were safe at Malet collection in England! There were also presentation articles received by Sir Charles Malet from Peshwa and others. (For details, see "Sir Charles Warre Malet's bequests at Chargot, England" by the author, in *Indian Archives*, Vol. 25, No.1, January-June 1976, pp. 14-23.) Subsequently, the Director of the IOLR was informed about the type of papers and other Indian art works available with Sir Edward Malet.

PROBLEMS AND SUGGESTIONS

It is indeed a fact that the owners of the private archives in the United Kingdom have their own problems in allowing unknown researchers indiscriminately the use of the archival material in their possession. At places away from the cities, at estate places, the owner has, on occasions, also to extend some kind of hospitality to the researcher. Some personal problems are also involved in this, and they are important. On the other hand, the researcher also sometimes experiences difficulties in contacting the owner of the private archives—of his requirements—and getting permission from him to allow the use of his collection for research. This problem is felt more acute if the stay of the researcher in the United Kingdom is for a comparatively short duration.

Once the owner is convinced of the bonafides of the researcher and his research work, personal relationship is also likely to develop between the two. For, more often than not, the researcher is likely to have a fund of knowledge about, and shows keen interest in, the career and writings of the owner's ancestors. This often proves to be a binding factor. Incidentally it must be mentioned here that the old imperial ties are no longer there. Most of the present owners have probably very little interest in and knowledge about India or its history. Before Indian independence, there was in most of the families continual revival of contact with India as some member of the family or other took service there, and on his return to England, added something to the family collection. Family collection was then a growing organism. That process is now stopped. And, at least so far as it relates to India, the family collection has come to mean a "dead" ancestral property.

The possibility of mutual sympathy developing between the owner of the family archives and the particular researcher, and their mutual contacts generally prove to be of a shortlived duration. Since academic research is a continuous social process, ways must be found out to record and institutionalize these contacts, as far as possible, on a permanent footing. The Historical Manuscripts Commission and the National Register of Archives and similar other bodies are, of course, doing a great work in this field. But those interested in preserving and retrieving archival data relating to India, wherever it may be, should also take active interest in this work. The India Office Library and Records, London, and the National Archives of India, New Delhi, can play more useful roles in this regard for the benefit of researchers in Indian history.

In view of the various problems mentioned above the following suggestions are made for consideration:

(*i*) A researcher who has discovered or found out the special importance of a private archival collection in the United Kingdom relating to India should inform about its existence and other relevant details to the India Office Library and Records. The IOLR should maintain a special register for this purpose. The National Register of Archives, no doubt, is meant for gathering and disseminating such information. But since the IOLR is a specialized archival body on Indian historical studies, a direct contact between the IOLR and the researcher would appear to be more fruitful—from the point of view of future researchers.

(*ii*) The IOLR should bring out a comprehensive guide to the private archival collections in the United Kingdom relating to India. As funds permit, the IOLR of course purchases or otherwise acquires important private collections relating to India.

(*iii*) Informative articles on relevant private archives may also be published in *Indian Archives*, the biannual journal published by the National Archives of India.

(*iv*) The NAI, with the cooperation of the IOLR, should also explore the possibility of microfilming the relevant important files of private archival documents in demand and keeping one set of the microfilmed material in India as it does in the case of other archival material in the United Kingdom.

BOOK REVIEWS

E.A. RAMASWAMY, *The Worker and His Union: A Study in South India*, Bombay, Allied Publishers, 1977, Pp. 204, Rs 30.

Most discussions of the Indian industrial worker and of the relationship between the worker and his union have been based either on the recollections of labour politicians who have had little actual contact with the work place, or on the research of social scientists who have derived their data from written sources or from interviews with outside (non-worker) labour leaders. Consequently, the Indian worker has remained a shadowy figure, considered part of an abstract social category but rarely a human being.

Dr Ramaswamy's study of the interaction between the textile workers of Coimbatore district and the socialist Coimbatore District Textile Workers' Union is, therefore, particularly important in that it helps bridge a large gap in our knowledge by focusing upon the everyday lives and thoughts of a group of Indian workers and upon how they perceive and relate to their union. The book is based on 15-month intensive fieldwork during which the author, a sociologist from nearby Erodetown, relied for the bulk of his data on his observations and interviews with the rank-and-file members. From this fieldwork has emerged the best picture yet of a group of Indian workers.

Dr Ramaswamy's main interest is the ties that bind a worker to a particular union. He argues that these ties are complex and are dependent upon the workers' place in the work force, the union's relationship with rival unions, and the political affiliation of the union.

In developing his thesis, Dr Ramaswamy queries a number of generalizations which have been made about the Indian worker. He argues, for example, that while the majority of the workers, like workers elsewhere, are apathetic towards their union; except when they need its help, the success and strength of the union is dependent upon the active support and hard work of leaders from among the millhands. Very often the Indian worker has been considered a helpless pawn in the hands of the outside labour leader, but this is certainly not the case in Coimbatore where the full-time outside leaders are very dependent upon the support of the worker leaders who dominate the union executive. It has also been claimed that rival unionism in India is primarily the consequence of political rivalry among the outside leaders but Dr Ramaswamy has shown that the situation is far more complicated and that commitment to a political party or ideology is strong also among the workers themselves. Indeed, the politically committed are among the most hardworking of the union supporters. Dr Ramaswamy joins in the general condemnation of union rivalry which weakens the workers' bargaining power but he also points out that the rivalry keeps union officials on their toes and hampers the employers' attempts to buy off union leaders or to set up stooge unions. He also makes the interesting observation that most strikes are initiated on the shop floor and are more often an expression of rank-and-file resentment against the union leadership or the result of inter-union rivalries than are caused by industrial issues such as pay claims. What emerges, in fact, very clearly from Dr Ramaswamy's study is the complexity of industrial relations and the futility of trying to reduce industrial phenomena, such as strikes, to some simplistic formula.

Thankfully, the author does not make any pretence to the myth of academic objectivity. The great strength of the book is that he respects, admires, and sympathizes with the millhands as human beings. There is little of the arrogance or condescension that underscores many academic studies of industrial workers. This is shown in an extremely interesting and useful appendix where, with underlying wry humour, Dr Ramaswamy discusses some of the pitfalls he encountered during his research.

Despite his close involvement and identification with members of one union, Dr Ramaswamy's discussion is generally fair and balanced. However, it was methodically unsound to have used the rival Congress union, which is depicted as corrupt, as a foil for the Textile Workers' Union. He may well be right, but considering that inter-union rivalries forced him to depend almost entirely on members of the Textile Union for his data the contrast he draws between the two unions may be too extreme. Union rivalry also prevented him from making extensive contacts with the communist-controlled workers in Coimbatore town and so his observation that the Coimbatore jobbers (foremen) were invariably hostile to unions may not hold true for all. The jobbers in the Coimbatore town mills have had a closer relationship with the ordinary workers and provided many of the union leaders, at least in the early stages of unionization.

Dr Ramaswamy's claim that traditional social loyalties have had little influence on union affairs may also have to be modified. He mentions, for example, on p. 45 that union organizers found difficulty in organizing workers in new areas due to the "continuing traditional authority of the millowners" but does not discuss how this authority is manifested. The women workers are reluctant to take an active part in union organization and one wonders whether this is a general phenomenon of trade unionism or is partly at least a function of the traditional shyness of south Indian women.

In a separate journal article, Dr Ramaswamy dismisses caste in Coimbatore as being important in determining a worker's loyalties to employer or union. Certainly caste has played less of a role in Coimbatore than in other south Indian textile centres. However, in his eagerness to dismiss caste, Dr Ramaswamy does not do adequate justice to the interesting statistics relating to the caste composition of the Coimbatore work force which he produces on p. 16. For example, he explains the comparatively high proportion of the Naidus in the work force by suggesting that they were numerically strong in the areas where the mills were situated. He is, however, unable to prove this and ignores the alternative explanation that the millowners preferred to employ members of their own caste. His own statistics tend to support the latter view. For example, in one Naidu-owned mill the caste comprised about 26 per cent of the work force while in a Chettiar mill they were only 3 per cent. In a Gounder mill the Gounders were 60 per cent while in a Naidu mill they were 33 per cent. Other statistics on p. 16 support the view that in Coimbatore there is some correlation between mill ownership and the caste composition of the work force. Whether caste loyalty to the millowners significantly cross-cuts loyalty to the union is another matter. The author strongly denies this but his own data and his reliance for information on union members who would be expected to play down caste difference makes one query his conclusion. Caste is used loosely. On p. 14 the Gounders are a group of peasant castes with a common title while on p. 16 they are the largest caste in the mills.

These, however, are minor queries which do not detract from the worth of the book. Dr Ramaswamy has the enviable distinction of being a native of Coimbatore and thus being able to relate closely to the workers he studied. He skilfully guides his reader through the often tortuous process of inter- and intra-union conflicts avoiding academic jargon. This is not just the best of its kind on the Indian worker but is a valuable contribution to the general literature on industrial workers.

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HARVARD SPODEK, *Urban-Rural Integration in Regional Development: A Case Study of Saurashtra, India, 1800-1960,* Chicago, University of Chicago, Department of Geography Research Paper 171, 1976.

In this book, Professor Spodek attempts to present history in a form which has political and social significance for the present. His main interest is the role of the city in encouraging regional economic development which is a key theme for planners in underdeveloped countries. His contention is that there are two fundamentally different ways of looking at the city as a generator of economic growth, and these viewpoints are determined by the position and training of the observer. On the one hand, there are planners, trained in a variety of social science disciplines, particularly economics and geography, who have to work within a specific political context and who rely on quantifiable data; on the other, there are historians who, with the advantage of hindsight and the freedom of the academic, can assess all important factors, political and social, economic and geographical, but especially the non-quantifiable political elements. Spodek sets out to explain that only a comprehensive approach to the relationship between city and region can produce the insight into how cities do or do not generate economic growth. He also wants to prove that planners are forced to ignore the most important element —politics.

Spodek's study is the justification of this thesis. He sets out his material with great clarity. He chooses the Saurashtra region as one which, by Indian standards, has been highly urbanized over a long period of time. It also provides him with a history in which political structures substantially change in the period he chooses for study, from 1800-1960. He divides his analysis into three sections, concentrating in turn on the pre-British era, the British era, and then the post-independence period. Documentation for his study varies considerably in the three periods, obviously the most recent periods having much more quantifiable data available. Most of the statistics for the nineteenth century tend to illustrate overall economic activity rather than the significance of the urban-rural relationship. Spodek attempts, quite convincingly, to overcome the paucity of some of his primary sources by a comprehensive and judicious use of secondary material. It is a pleasure to find the footnotes published on the pages of the text and an excellent bibliography at the end of the volume.

With all this competence and conscientious effort however, what does he tell us that is new? The answer is: very little. This is not a history of the Saurashtra region, it is not a history of the Saurashtrian cities, nor is it an economic or political history of the period. Professor Spodek paints with the generalist's brush, touching on all these aspects but only in so far as they relate to his thesis of the importanc of politics in the economic role of the city in its region. His problem is, of course, the old one. There are a number of sophisticated theories and models of the role of the city in generating economic growth, yet there are few historical monographs on the Saurashtra region. Therefore, Spodek has to provide his own material as well as argue his case, which tends to mean that interesting historical questions about the nature of urban growth and prevailing forms of economic activity fail to get asked.

Ibn Khaldun, the distinguished, bold and independent Arab scholar of the fourteenth century, wrote in his *Prolegomena* of the origin, growth, and decay of cities. He suggested that the role of the city depended on the life of the dynasty which founded the city, the city itself and its hinterland, and the balance of power between city and countryside. In his final chapter, Professor Spodek makes a similar assessment in the context of the modern cities of Saurashtra. He categorizes the writers of modern theories of urban-rural integration in regional development into four: those who see the city as a growth pole in the region, those who see the city as a market centre, as a communication hub or as a centre of specialization. In a survey which begins with Plato and includes Karl Marx and modern scholars such as John Friedman, E.A.J. Johnson, Bert Hoselitz, and Eric Lamyard, Spodek reviews the factors considered to be most important for developing economic activity in underdeveloped regions. His conclusion, however, echoes that of Ibn Khaldun. Cities cannot be understood apart from the people who live in them and particularly their political and social structures. Perhaps this is a point which cannot be made too often. Specialization and political pressures have left both academic observers and practical planners with a myopic view of cities and their role in regional development. Spodek's plea for a wider viewpoint is a salutory one.

HELEN MELLER
University of Nottingham

M.N. SRINIVAS, *The Remembered Village*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1976. Pp. xiv+356, Rs 60.

My qualifications for reviewing this book by India's leading social anthropologist are not obvious, but still valid; the book has been extensively reviewed by social anthropologists and a special number of *Contributions to Indian Sociology* (Vol. 12, No. 1) is to be devoted to it. But it should be read by all those who are interested in rural India, and readers of this journal may be interested in the views of an economic historian with a special interest in south Indian agrarian problems.

The Remembered Village

Srinivas's account of the Mysore village in which he did his field work in 1948—drawn from memory after his field notes were burnt in Stanford—has the essential truth of art. I can think of no novel on Indian rural life in English, with the possible exception of Raja Rao's *Kantapura*, which has the vitality of the first 99 pages of *The R membered Village*. Srinivas's villagers are not the puppets that academics and writers for tourists produce, for ever exploiting or being exploited. His villagers engage in these activities, of course, but they resemble the rest of mankind in other ways too, especially in their variety of character. The description of "three important men" in Chapter III is particularly lively. He does not romanticize the misery of the poor, especially of bonded labourers, but records the sardonic jokes they make about their own condition. (There are frequent references to the jokes made in the village which lead me to conclude that a Mysore village is not the place to go to for a good joke.) Even though he says that he regrets not having spent more time with agricultural labourers, his few pages on them are more illuminating than many much longer works.

Unfortunately, in the remaining 240 pages the social anthropologist takes over from the writer. The trouble with social anthropologists, especially those who write on Indian villages, is that they take so long to state the obvious or well known. It does not matter if we all know that villagers are preoccupied with agriculture and the land (p. 101); the social anthropologist must report that *he* noticed it in *his* village. But embedded in this bran, packed in boxes labelled "The Universe of Agriculture," "The Sexes and the Household," "Relations Between Castes," "Classes and Factions," "The Changing Village," "The Quality of Social Relations," and "Religion," is much valuable information. Anyone who puts in a thumb will pull out plums. I was interested, for instance, in the references to raids on paddy-carts during thc Depression (p. 224); to the fact that contracts of service for jita servants were enforceable in a court of law (p. 61), and that one servant, unlike all other villagers, did not want to be photographed because the police could use photographs to catch runaway servants; to the fact that the right to operate as a guru in any area "was treated like any other alienable property, being liable to be sold, mortgaged, rented or inherited (p. 309); that big estates were built up not so much by acquiring land as "through the accident of single sons in more than one generation" (p. 112); in the organization and payment of female labour (p. 126)—but the list is endless. I will only add one more: a triple murder soon after 1918 brought the city police into the village, their methods of interrogation frightened the villagers out of factionalism into unity, and many villagers believed that it was after this date that the village fortunes improved: the panchayat discouraged ceremonial expenditure; villagers paid more attention to agriculture and gradually cleared their debt (pp. 69-70)!

Readers with other interests will find other facts interesting, but all will have something to learn, and those who work on south India will use it often. Scholars should make their own additions to the Index; I found a number of important references missing.

DHARMA KUMAR

WILLIAM CENKER, *The Hindu Personality in Education: Tagore, Gandhi, Aurobindo*, Manohar, 1976, Pp. 230, Rs 50.

It is not surprising that, once the initial admiration for everything European had worn off, Indians should find defects in the pattern of education which was introduced in India by the British. This was partly a reaction against the early excess of enthusiasm, partly it grew out of an increasing recognition of some of the values of India's own heritage. It was felt by many that the prevailing system was not rooted in India's tradition and culture. Tagore, Gandhi, and Aurobindo were three pioneering experimentors who offered alternative patterns of education. Cenker's reason for choosing these three figures is not so much because of the importance of their educational contribution but because they are, according to him, religious personalities who sought to make their educational schemes vehicles for a distinctive philosophy of life based on their own experience and conception of man.

Cenker discusses each of the three personalities in terms of "The Man," "His Thought," "Educational Theory," and "Praxis and Significance." The sections on "The Man" give biographical sketches that would help to understand and interpret the thinkers under discussion. The section "Thought" discusses the general philosophy and the one on "Educational Theory" the philosophy of education of the individuals concerned. The last section in each case discusses the practical implementation of educational ideas.

The author begins with Tagore and rightly so because he was one of the first to realize that education in India had little contact with the aspirations and problems of the Indian people. As early as 1892 in *Sikshar Herpher*, Tagore accused Indian education of making no adequate preparation for Indian culture and giving no inspiration to the Indian mind. In this same essay he evolved the principle that education must be a process of joy. Cenker describes Tagore's personality as "relational" and his philosophy as "*Ananda Yoga.*"

Gandhi's educational ideals emerged from a lifetime of training that he supervised within the Phoenix Settlement, the Tolstoy Farm, Sabarmati Ashram, and Satyagraha Ashram. The author describes Gandhi as "the experimentor" and his philosophy as "*Karma Yoga.*"

Aurobindo articulated his educational ideas in the early part of this century when he addressed himself to the problem of national education. He placed great emphasis on providing the conditions necessary for the growth of the human soul in all its powers and potentialities.

Tagore, Gandhi, and Aurobindo perceived the ultimate value of things Indian and the importance of maintaining continuity with the past. Tagore believed passionately that the achievement of harmony between the individual and the universe is the main end of education. Gandhi declared that the aim of education is to make the individual realize his inner truth so that he can serve as a creative citizen. Aurobindo dreamed of the day when education would enable man to transform his consciousness. While there is considerable similarity in the ideas of these three thinkers, there are also differences which Cenker does not sufficiently emphasize. Tagore's views on education are more elitistic and concerned with the development of the aesthetic sensibilities. Gandhi was more concerned with mass education.

Much has already been written on Tagore, Gandhi, and Aurobindo and the author adds little to our existing knowledge. He relies almost entirely on secondary sources. Cenker does however synthesize their thought and tries to relate it to their personalities. While it is no doubt important to be aware of an educationist's personality and philosophy of life, his educational theory and experiments cannot be understood solely in these terms. This is particularly true of Gandhi whose Basic Education Scheme was evolved to meet the needs of rural India. He founded the Gujarat Vidyapith during the first Non-Co-operation Movement when he asked students and teachers to boycott schools and colleges. Tagore and Aurobindo also initially interested themselves in education out of patriotic motives. Their educational ideas and schemes were the result of what they perceived were the country's needs. They have thus to be studied against the social, economic, and political background in which they operated. The present work gives us a one-dimensional view. Moreover, it fails to answer the question as to why the educational experiments at Wardha, Santiniketan, or Pondicherry did not succeed. Why did these alternative patterns of education not become popular? Did Tagore, Gandhi, and Aurobindo generalize from their own experiences which were based on extraordinary minds and very special circumstances? How relevant or realistic are Tagore's or Aurobindo's ideas on education in the contemporary setting? Finally, why was it necessary to entitle the book *The Hindu Personality in Education*? The educational ideas of Tagore, Gandhi, and Aurobindo are not strictly Hindu. There is little Hindu about the Basic Schools where education was to be centred round a craft or about Sriniketan where an attempt was made to link education with the needs of rural society. While basically Indian, these thinkers were sensitive to educational theories and experiments abroad and it cannot be argued that they were unaffected by the West and that their ideas were based solely on the "Principle of interiority."

APARNA BASU

MOHD. ABDUL WAHEED KHAN, *Brief History of Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad. State Archives, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1972, Pp. 131.

J. MANGAMMA, *The Rate Schools of Godavari*, Regular Monograph Series of State Archives No. 3, Hyderabad, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1973, Pp. 100.

These two volumes are the first and third of a monograph series started by the State Archives of Andhra Pradesh. It is an excellent idea for State Archives to publish series of monographs; it should stimulate interest in the archives and, one hopes, improve the preservation of records. In many State Archives, records are being destroyed by white ants or dust or even deliberate action and rare books are stolen, but these facts come to light only when people use the archives.

Unfortunately, the first volume is worthless. It is meant to be "a popular introduction to the history of Andhra Pradesh"; this is not in itself an appropriate subject for the monograph series, and besides it is written in a bald and boring manner.

The second volume is also written in a rather dull way, but at least it contains some useful information on the Rate Schools of Godavari, started after 1854, and maintained by the voluntary subscriptions of the raiyats; each village had to contribute at least Rs 60 per year. The monograph gives details of the fees, the numbers of schools and pupils, the names of textbooks, and so on. But all of this from published sources—extraordinary in an archival monograph series!

DHARMA KUMAR

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